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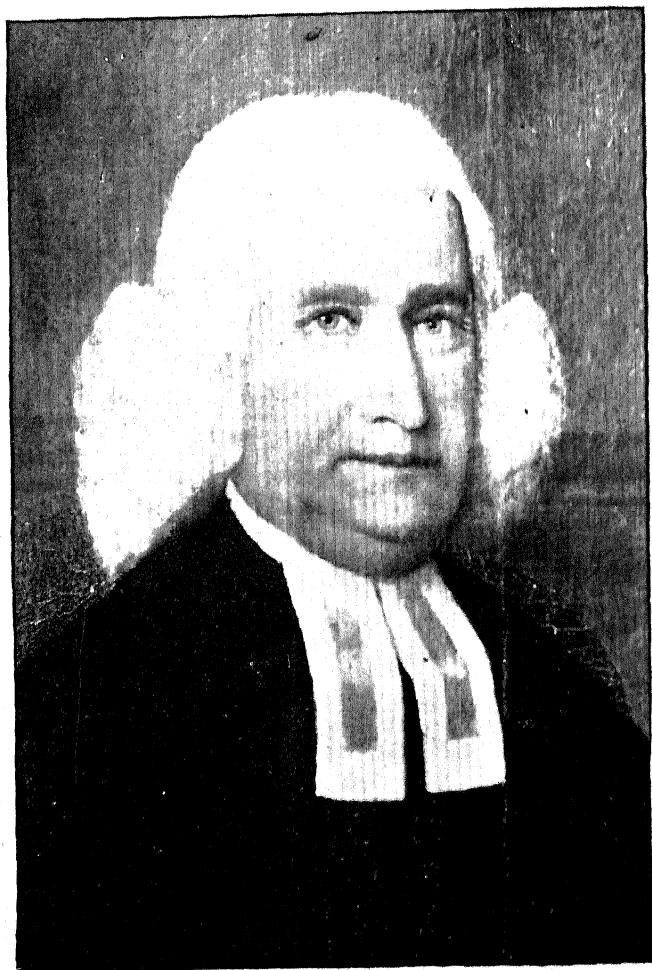
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ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

A HISTORY
OF
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

AND
THE TOWN OF HANOVER
NEW HAMPSHIRE

BY
FREDERICK CHASE

EDITED BY JOHN K. LORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

CAMBRIDGE
JOHN WILSON AND SON

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1891

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BY JOHN K. LORD.

PREFACE.

THE first sheets of this volume of the "HISTORY OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE AND THE TOWN OF HANOVER" had been sent to the press when the sudden and untimely death of its author, FREDERICK CHASE, January 19, 1890, brought the work to a stand. Fortunately the volume was nearly complete. For ten years or more Mr. Chase had been collecting and arranging the materials for it. He had been indefatigable in the search for everything that could throw light upon its subject. Every known source of information was diligently explored, and every clew that suggested the possibility of anything new was carefully followed up. In many cases his diligence was rewarded by the discovery of valuable papers which had never been published; and so thorough was his search that it is doubtful if anything will ever be found materially to modify his statement of facts, or the conclusions based upon them.

Mr. Chase loved the College and the Town. He had also had the zeal and the enthusiasm of the local antiquary. The preparation of this History was an absorbing delight, and out of the mass of details which he had gathered he selected those which he believed would most truthfully present the story of the College

and the Town to the interest of his readers. In his earnestness he overtasked his strength, and falling suddenly under the hand of disease, he left this work as his memorial.

The materials for the second volume were almost entirely collected. Some progress was made in their arrangement, but the time when that volume will appear cannot now be determined.

This volume is almost wholly as it came from the author's hand. A few expressions have been changed, some parts have been slightly rearranged; but these changes are only such as the author himself would doubtless have made in a final revision. A few passages have been slightly enlarged, but mainly from the author's memoranda, and the Index has been prepared. To him belongs the credit of the whole. For me to prepare it for the press and to attend to its publication has been but a willing service to the memory of a loved and honored friend.

JOHN K. LORD.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, August, 1891.

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supported by a legacy left for his education by his grandfather (whose name he bore), and graduated with high honors in 1733. He and Pomeroy were classmates and the first recipients of Bishop Berkeley's prize, being the best classical scholars in their class. Wheelock began at once preparation for the ministry. He was licensed to preach by the New Haven Association in 1734, and in February, 1735, after declining an invitation to settle on Long Island, received and accepted a call from the Second, or North, Society in that part of Lebanon, Conn., called Lebanon Crank, which is now incorporated into the town of Columbia. He was ordained and settled in June following. By the terms of his settlement he received about twenty acres of land that had been reserved from the settlements of former pastors, and £200 in bills of public credit. His salary was to be £140, payable in the like currency or in provisions at stated prices.

The same year, 1735, Wheelock married Mrs. Sarah Maltby, widow of Capt. William Maltby, of New Haven, and daughter of Rev. John Davenport, of Stamford, Conn. This lady was a sister of Rev. James Davenport, of Southold, L. I., and of the wife of Rev. Stephen Williams, of Longmeadow. She had at that time, besides two daughters, one son, John Maltby, whom Wheelock came afterwards to love as his own. She bore to Wheelock six children, of whom three died in infancy. She herself died, Nov. 13, 1746, in the forty-fourth year of her age; and about 1749 Wheelock married Mary Brinsmead, of Milford, Conn., by whom he had five children, all born in Lebanon.¹

¹ Wheelock's children were —

By the first wife: 1. *Theodora*, who married (1), January, 1751/2, Alexander Phelps, of Hebron; (2) April 27, 1777, Capt. John Young, of Gunthwaite (Lisbon), N. H. About 1780 they removed to Hanover, where Captain Young died, 1786, aged seventy. She survived him some twenty-five years. 2. *Ruth*, born 1740, married, 1758, Rev. Wm. Patten, of Hartford, Conn., who became one of the first trustees of Dartmouth College, and died, 1775, aged thirty-seven. Mrs. Patten survived her husband fifty-six years, and died in 1831. Two small volumes of her memoirs and family correspondence were published in 1834 and 1845 at Hartford. 3. *Ralph*, or *Radulphus*, graduated from Yale College, 1765, and died unmarried at Hanover, 1817, aged seventy. His youth was promising, but hereditary epilepsy ruined his life.

By the second wife, Wheelock had five children: namely (1) *Mary*, who married Prof. Bezaleel Woodward, 1772, and died at Hanover, 1807; (2) *Abigail*, who married Rev. Prof. Silvanus Ripley, and died at Fryeburg, Me., 1818 [Gen. E. W. Ripley was her son]; (3) *John*, the second president of the College; (4) *Eleazar*;

Wheelock was connected by ties of blood, through his mother, with some of the most eminent of Connecticut statesmen and divines, and associated, by residence, with many others.¹

Extraordinary religious interest began to appear in the parish and colony immediately after Wheelock's settlement at Lebanon; and he took at once a prominent place among the preachers, which he continued to hold throughout the "Great Awakening" that followed, under the lead of Edwards and Whitefield. During the year 1741 he is said to have preached about five hundred sermons.²

In November, 1741, Wheelock went to Boston by way of Providence and Taunton, and on the 9th makes this entry in his Diary, —

"Refused to preach, because I designed to go out of town. Just as I was going [from Boston], came Mr. Webb, and told me the people were meeting together to hear another sermon. I consented to preach again. A scholar from Cambridge being present, hastened to Cambridge, and by a little after six a great part of the scholars had got to Boston. Preached to a very thronged assembly with very great freedom and enlargement. I believe the children of God were very much refreshed. They told me afterward that Mather Byles was never so lashed in his life. This morning Mr. Cooper came to me, in the name of the Hon. Jacob Wendell, Esq., and earnestly desired a copy of my sermon, preached in the forenoon of the Lord's day, for the Press. Oh that God would make and keep me humble!"

Wheelock was now about thirty years of age. "He was of middle stature and size, well proportioned, erect, and dignified. His features were prominent, his eyes a light blue and animated. His complexion was fair, and the general expression of his countenance pleasing and handsome. His voice was remarkably full, harmonious, and commanding."³ The historian Trumbull, who was his friend, characterizes him in similar terms as —

"A gentleman of a comely figure, of a mild and winning aspect; his voice smooth and harmonious, — *the best by far I ever heard*. His movements

and (5) *James*. These three sons graduated from Dartmouth, and remained and reared families at Hanover. Eleazar removed to Ohio about 1805, and James to Burlington, Vt., about 1830.

¹ See Connecticut Reminiscences, by Rev. Dr. Increase N. Tarbox, New Englander, November, 1883 (vol. xlii., No. 177, p. 719).

² See his Diary, printed in part in American Quarterly Register, x. 12, and in full in the Historical Magazine, 1869.

³ Memoirs of Wheelock, p. 131.

while in the desk were natural and impressive, and his eloquence irresistible. His preaching and addresses were close and pungent, and yet winning beyond almost all comparison, so that his audience would be melted even into tears before they were aware of it."¹

Rev. Joseph Tracy, the historian of the movement, says of him —

"That Wheelock played a most prominent part in the 'Great Awakening' is undeniable. There is scarce another man of equal eminence in that age of the peculiarities of whose character and style of promoting religion we have so little satisfactory information; and yet there is reason to suspect that those peculiarities exerted an important influence."²

Wheelock's personal acquaintance with Whitefield began as early certainly as May, 1740. At that time he, and Pomeroy, and James Davenport visited New York together, and heard Whitefield preach, and conversed with him. Whitefield speaks of meeting Wheelock and Pomeroy again at Wethersfield, Conn., in October of the same year.³ In 1754 and (as appears) in 1764 and at other times he visited Wheelock at Lebanon. We shall see that this connection has an important relation to the history we are about to narrate. Without the active assistance of Whitefield and his friends it would not have been possible for Wheelock to develop and carry out his extensive plans. Nothing, therefore, is truer than that Dartmouth College is peculiarly a child of the Great Revival. The relationship is plain; and Whitefield himself, though far from intending it, was actually the most important agent in establishing the College.

With the rest of the revivalists Wheelock suffered indignity and persecution, though he was not actually punished by the civil authorities, like his brother-in-law, Pomeroy.⁴ In June, 1742, though "he understood that the authorities had been con-

¹ History of Connecticut, ii. 158.

² The Great Awakening, Tracy, 1842, p. vii. Much has been published of Wheelock in a fragmentary way. The following authorities, among others, may be specially noted: a long and authentic article by Rev. Dr. William Allen, son-in-law and executor of the second president, American Quarterly Register, x. 9-31; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xiv. 376; Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit, i. 397-403; Memoirs of Wheelock, by Rev. David McClure and Rev. Elijah Parish (Newburyport, 1811); The One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Congregational Church in Columbia, Conn. (pamphlet), 1867; Yale Biographies, Dexter, i. 493-99, and references there cited.

³ Amer. Presbyterian Review (3d Ser., 1869), i. 281; Great Awakening, p. 102.

⁴ Pomeroy was arrested in 1744, and fined, and put under bonds, the effect of which

sulting how to take him, and that Colonel Whiting had given out great words, and said that he should not preach but once in town," Wheelock went to New Haven and preached about three weeks to the "Separate," or "New Light," church, in Rev. Mr. Noyes's parish. While there he breakfasted by invitation with President Clap, but was not permitted to preach in the College, and the students were prohibited from going to hear him elsewhere. The support that Wheelock thus gave to the Separate movement led to denunciation of him as a "Separatist" when that word had become a term of special reproach, in consequence of the erratic course of Wheelock's brother-in-law, James Davenport, of Southold, L. I. But the truth was that Wheelock gave no countenance to Davenport's extravagances, and was chiefly instrumental in turning him away from his delusions. The unsavory charge was nevertheless kept alive by those who cherished hostility from other causes, and continued to plague Wheelock even after his removal to New Hampshire. But his prominence in the revival gave him, on the other hand, a host of warm friends, a wide and favorable acquaintance, and high reputation among the clergy at home and abroad, from all of which he derived inestimable advantage in his subsequent labors and perplexities.

The most influential as well as the most bitter of Wheelock's revilers was the Rev. Dr. Charles Chauncey, of Boston, who attacked him with virulence by name in his book as having, with Davenport, Pomeroy, Allen, and Bliss ("all of them of *one soul*"), "the chief hand in raising the commotions in Connecticut, where sudden impulses and extraordinary pretences to the Spirit have been more general in proportion and extravagant than in any of the other governments." Dr. Chauncey ascribed their behavior to the influence of one Davis Ferris, who, he says, was in College with them, coming —

"from a nest of Quakers at New Milford, and made a great show of sanctity, by means whereof he was under advantage to propagate his Quakerish notions, and did do it among a number of the students. [Wheelock and the others] were familiar with Ferris, and led astray by him. They made a club, and often met together. They did not open their principles to all, but to those whom they imagined they could work upon. They laid great stress

was to deprive him of any legal claim to salary from his parish; so that he worked in it seven years without stated compensation. *Great Awakening*, p. 308; *Dexter's Yale Biographies*, i. 486.

upon impressions and impulses. . . . They were strangely uncharitable, expressing themselves censoriously of most others. They had no opinion of any but themselves on a religious account."¹

Wheelock seems to have taken no immediate notice of this savage attack; but when, sixteen years later, the influence of Dr. Chauncey and the charges in his book came up to threaten the success of the school, Wheelock was impelled to take notice of it. He writes accordingly to Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton (Oct. 24, 1759) to let Dr. Chauncey know what injury is likely to arise from these old slanders, which, he says, "contain no less than a dozen palpable falsehoods." He denies any knowledge of most of the circumstances that Dr. Chauncey mentioned.

"I challenge all the world² [says he] truthfully to mention one principle which I vented in my belief contrary to Calvinism. . . . I was upon the same road to New Haven when that Doctor passed through this government (as I understand), to fill his crop with material for that piece, and I came several times within scent of him (for he left a savor of what he fed upon where he lit), and should have freely given him a full and true account of that whole affair, had he desired to know the truth."³

No accommodation was reached; and we shall fall many times upon the traces of the quarrel, which it is but fair to say was wholly of Dr. Chauncey's making, without, so far as we know, any personal provocation whatever.

Wheelock is said by his biographers to have had, by patrimony and by marriage, a competency at the time of his removal to Hanover.³ But in the early years of his pastorate

¹ Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England, 1743, pp. 201, 212. See also Dr. Chauncey's sermon at the ordination of Joseph Bowman, 1762.

² American Presbyterian Review (1871), iii. 474.

³ A will executed by Wheelock at Lebanon in 1768, superseded afterwards but still preserved, mentions landed and other property as follows: 1. The lot of twenty acres on which he dwelt, bounded west on the common or meeting-house green, and south and east on Coventry road. 2. The "Spinning-mill Pasture," of thirty-one acres, bounded east on the Hartford road, and north and west on Pine Swamp road. 3. A farm bought of Benoni Wright, bounded west by Hartford road, north by Jabez Wright, and south by John Fowler and Preserved Wright. 4. A farm in Windham, west of the Shattucket River, which was to furnish portions for his five younger children. 5. A farm in Lebanon, bought for his wife of John English; and other lands adjoining it. 6. A farm belonging to his wife in Milford. Of personal property besides furniture, books, sheep, and swine, he disposes of two yoke of oxen, four cows, four horses, and five negro slaves, whom he afterwards brought to Hanover; namely, Brister, Exeter, Chloe, a boy Archelaus, and a girl Peggy. For lack of another negro girl he bequeathed to one of his daughters £20.

his resources seem to have been quite inadequate to the demands of an increasing family. His salary, small at the best, was by no means promptly paid, and even then often in grain at high prices; so that at times he received no more than a third of its value during the entire year. He was thus driven to eke it out by devoting a part of his time to the private instruction of youth in preparation for college, according to the custom till of late quite usual with clergymen in New England. This business of teaching grew shortly to be an important and permanent part of his regular occupation, and was continued without interruption, excepting for about a year, in 1744-45, when the school was conducted for Wheelock at Hebron by Alexander Phelps (afterwards his son-in-law), then just graduated from Yale College.

There is no reason to suppose that Wheelock's thoughts in this work were at first in any way directed to the Indians, though the remnants of the local tribes settled at various points in that region were the object of much attention from the pastors in their vicinity, and of greater interest to many from the current belief in their identity with the lost Israelites. To this opinion Wheelock himself subscribed. "When I get leisure for it," he wrote to Dr. Erskine in July, 1763, "I will endeavor to hint to you some of the reasons why I think the Indians of this land are the Ten tribes of the House of Israel."

The Indians nearest to Wheelock were the Mohegans, at their town between Norwich and New London. The other tribes most accessible to him were at Montauk, Narragansett, and Stonington. Apparently the first to present himself for instruction was a Mohegan named Samson Occom (or Occum). He had become a Christian through the influence of Rev. John Davenport in the revival of 1741-42, and was now about nineteen years of age. His mother came to Wheelock in his behalf; and at her solicitation, but with some hesitancy, it would seem, he was received Dec. 6, 1743. He was aided by the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and remained with Wheelock until March 14, 1748, excluding, of course, the year when he was at Hebron with the rest of Wheelock's scholars under Phelps.

Six years elapsed, after Occom left, before Wheelock shaped his plans for taking other Indian boys, though he continued

to devote himself as before to the work of fitting English boys for college. But in 1754 Wheelock's thoughts took a new and decided turn towards the Indians, in connection apparently with a radical enlargement of his plan, when, in consequence probably of growing numbers, it took for the first time the shape of a regular school, with a hired assistant, or "master."

Devotion to the Indian was even then not the only occasion of the change. His earliest biographer and zealous friend tells us expressly that "other considerations had their influence with him, particularly his want of such extensive fields for industry and success in his ministry as he wished. Although his ministrations had been divinely blessed to many souls, yet the bounds of a small parish were too confined, and ordinary labors too limited, for his ardent and active mind."¹

The improvement and conversion of the Indian tribes was of course no new object of desire; it had long occupied the attention of philanthropists on both sides of the Atlantic, and missionaries of English blood had been sent among them in various directions by the great societies of London and Edinburgh, entitled respectively "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," and "The Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge." The first, founded in 1701, was controlled by the English Church; the second, founded in 1709, by the Scotch Presbyterians. The London society had for a long time maintained a Board of Commissioners in Boston. A similar board had been established in that town by the Scotch society in 1730, which ceased in 1737, and was revived in 1756. The Scotch society had also a "Board of Correspondents" in New York city, which (established in 1741, and afterwards removed to Princeton, N. J.) had since 1744 supported the two Brainerds successively as missionaries among the Delawares of New Jersey. There had been recent brief missions among the Mohawks and the Oneidas, but none to any other tribes of the Six Nations. Rev. John Sergeant, missionary of the London board among the Stockbridge Indians, had already a flourishing boarding-school, supported by charitable contributions, which had been established by his father (of the same name) at Housatonic in 1748 (the year

¹ Memoirs of Wheelock, p. 18.

before his death), six years in advance of Wheelock's school, and on a plan substantially like it.

But Mr. Sergeant's school was situated in the midst of the Indians themselves, and devoted exclusively to them. Wheelock conceived the idea that better success might be attained by removing the children for a term of years entirely from their native influences, and bringing them in contact with English youth in a mixed school. He designed also to educate his Indian pupils especially for missionaries, believing that they would accomplish much more among the Indians than missionaries of English blood. His plan contemplated the reception of Indians of both sexes, and also of English youth consecrated to Indian missions, who would there enjoy excellent facilities for learning the native language and customs. For all these Wheelock counted on finding support from charity. Other students were to be received, as before, who would pay their own charges.¹

In pursuance of this plan Wheelock in May, 1754, wrote to Rev. John Brainerd at Bethel, N. J., to send him, by way of trial, two likely boys of the Delaware tribe. On the 18th of December, 1754, there arrived accordingly at his house in Lebanon, John Pumpshire, in the fourteenth year of his age, and Jacob Woolley, not yet eleven. These came about two hundred miles on foot and alone through a country which they had never passed before, and with no guide but the paper given them by Mr. Brainerd. They excited a deep interest among the good people of Lebanon, who took pleasure in providing them from time to time with the various necessities of life, and "they behaved as well as could be reasonably expected."

In the meantime Wheelock's plan was canvassed among his friends, and found favor. Stimulated by the arrival of Pumpshire and Woolley, subscriptions were obtained, with Pomeroy's assistance, in the following year, to the amount of about five hundred pounds, proclamation money, to stand as a permanent fund for the school, each subscriber promising for the present, until the school should be incorporated, to pay the annual interest upon his subscription at six per cent.

While making up this fund, Wheelock visited Col. Joshua More, — a wealthy farmer of Mansfield, residing near the river,

¹ See Wheelock's Narrative, 1763.

four miles north of the present village of Willimantic, — and, as he says, proposed to him to devote to this object a part of his large estate. Colonel More was pleased with the idea, and at Wheelock's suggestion purchased for the school, June 28, 1755, at a cost of five hundred pounds (old tenor), a parcel of land, containing about two acres of pasturage, contiguous to Wheelock's mansion in Lebanon, having on it a "small dwelling-house and a shop or school-house," capable all together of affording a rental of about four pounds lawful money net annual income. The land lay southeasterly of the meeting-house and on the west side of the Hartford road, extending seventeen and one half rods on the road, and running back twenty-two rods to "Dam Brook." It was bought of Moses Barrett, "late school-master in Lebanon;" and as one Moses Barrett figures from 1754 as the first "master," or "preceptor," of the new school, we are led to conjecture that Wheelock's school was at the time of the new departure consolidated with a pre-existing school of the Barretts.¹

Matters being in this shape, in order to inspire confidence in the stability of the enterprise and encourage subscriptions, it was thought best to organize, if possible, something like a body corporate. Wheelock accordingly "represented the affair to Col. Elisha Williams, Esq., late rector of Yale College," to Rev. Samuel Moseley, of Windham, and to his brother-in-law, Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy, of Hebron, "and invited them to join him; and they readily accepted the invitation, the affair appearing with an agreeable aspect, and it being a time of profound peace. And a gentleman learned in the law supposed there might be such an incorporation among themselves as might fully answer to the purpose." These three gentlemen, therefore, with Wheelock and More, joined in the execution of a deed of indenture, dated July 17, 1755, whereby More conveyed the parcel of land to them and their successors in trust "for the founding and supporting of a charity school in said Lebanon

¹ Of Barrett, Wheelock writes Whitefield, 1756, "Mr. Moses Barrett, who was schoolmaster in this place, has, since you were here, become a preacher of the Gospel at New Fairfield, where you advised that people to invite him; and there is a very wonderful revival of religion under his ministry, like to what was in this country fourteen years ago." We suppose him to be the same who graduated at Princeton, 1754. He preached as stated supply in New Fairfield, 1756-57, and died in England, 1762.

for the educating of natives of any or all the Indian tribes in North America, or other poor persons." This being the first considerable single gift, and in fact the immediate occasion of the school taking shape as it did in a permanent form, More was declared to be the *founder*; and it was styled in his honor, "More's¹ Indian Charity School."

The first serious discouragement was met in the death of Colonel Williams on the very day on which he executed the deed of trust. Very soon the war commenced, "and the reports from day to day of the ravages made and inhumanities and butcheries committed by the savages on all quarters raised in the breasts of great numbers a temper so warm and so contrary to charity that," says Wheelock, "I seldom thought it prudent so much as to mention the affair. Many advised me to drop it; but it appeared to others so probable to be the very method which God would own that I thought better to scrabble along with it as well as I could till Divine Providence should change the scene."

The terms of the subscription were as follows:—

"Whereas Mr. Joshua More, of Mansfield, in the County of Windham and Colony of Connecticut, in New England, has by his Deed to Coll. Elisha Williams, Esq^r., of Wethersfield, the Rev^d Messrs. Samuel Moseley, of Windham, Eleazar Wheelock, of Lebanon, & Benjamin Pomeroy, of Hebron, all of the Colony afores^d, & to their Successors in Trust, sequestered a certain lott of Land in Lebanon, with a Manton House thereon, for the foundation, use, & support of a Charity School forever, for the instruction of Indians of any or all the Tribes in North America, or other poor persons, in the knowledge & practise of the Protestant Christian Religion and all liberal arts and sciences as the s^d Trustees shall think proper; and the said Williams, Moseley, Wheelock, & Pomeroy have, by a writing under their hands well executed, covenanted for themselves & their Successors in s^d Trust with the s^d More & his Heirs forever to use & improve s^d Land & all other grants & Donations made to said School for the only use & purpose aforesaid; And we the Subscribers, falling in with & willing to Encourage & promote s^d Design, do for ourselves, our heirs, &c., promise to pay to s^d Trustees in lawful money of y^e Colony of Connecticut as a fund for the only use, benefit, & Support of s^d School the several sums, and at the several times hereafter by us affixed to each of our names, or at or by the Time when s^d Trustees shall by an Act of the Legislature be made a body incorporate, or be enabled by the General Assembly in the Colony of Connecticut, under any name or title, to receive or pay money for the use & support of said School.

¹ The name was later spelled "Moore," and finally "Moor." The donor himself wrote it "More."

And we further promise to pay the lawful interest arising on s^d sums by us subscribed from the time of subscribing, annually on the first day of September, for the use of s^d School."

Hopes of further assistance from More were blighted by his death, Oct. 2, 1756, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

Immediately after the execution of the deed, doubts arose as to its sufficiency and validity; and on the 25th of July, Wheelock, by the advice of Governor Woolcott and others, submitted the questions by letter to the Hon. William Smith, Sr., the distinguished lawyer of New York city.¹ Mr. Smith in reply entered at length into the matter, declaring his opinion that the deed was defective as a conveyance for lack of a pecuniary consideration and words of inheritance, and the declaration of trust imperfect and of doubtful validity. He recommended obtaining a new deed from More, and also an application to the Provincial Assembly for some kind of authority; though denying the power of that body, itself a corporation, to create a trust with corporate power. This difficulty he thought might be avoided "by making the executive power dependent upon and accountable to the governor and company of the colony, not in the method of an incorporation, but by the delegation of the exercise of part of its original power." Failing in this, he recommended a complicated system of private conveyances, by which the trustees should receive a plain conveyance from Mr. More for a consideration, in fee simple, and should immediately declare the

¹ As the two Smiths were long among Wheelock's most intimate counsellors, it is proper here to introduce them, —

William Smith, Sr., born in England in 1697, was brought by his father in 1715 to New York, and graduating at Yale College in 1719, became probably the foremost lawyer of that city, adding to great legal talent an eloquence superior to that of any other person in the province. He practised extensively also in Connecticut, and was counsel for that colony in its dispute with the Mohegan Indians about their lands. He was attorney-general of New York in 1751, and member of the governor's council 1753-67. From 1763 to his death in 1769 he was an associate-justice of the highest court, having declined to be made chief-justice. He was "a zealous and inflexible friend to the cause of religion and liberty." He died Nov. 22, 1769, aged seventy-two.

William Smith, Jr., his son, born 1728, graduated at Yale College 1745, quickly became eminent in the law, and was appointed chief-justice of New York in 1763. In the Revolution, after much hesitation, he adhered to the Crown, and retired to England in 1783. He was made chief-justice of Canada in 1786, and died at Quebec Nov. 3, 1793. He was "an eloquent speaker and an upright and just judge." He was also distinguished as a historian. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, v. 590; Dexter's *Yale Biographies*, i. 207.

trust by deed, under their hands and seals, in which should be inserted in several distinct articles all the parts of the plan for the accomplishment of the design, and covenants with some other persons and their heirs, binding the trustees to execute the trust according to the articles, and to convey all their rights to any others when required so to do by the covenantees.

"It may here be observed [he says] that this method will contain a double trust: some will have the legal estate, and the duty of executing the trust incumbent on them; the others will be directors of the trust and persons to whom the accounts should be given. One set of trustees will be a perpetual check upon the others, and the descent may be conveyed down from age to age with very few conveyances and declarations of trust. In this way everything amiss may be remedied, and new provisions made by methods which will fall immediately under the cognizance of the common law."

The whole was to be done in their proper individual names, so as to keep the matter strictly within the common principles of law respecting property "until a particular grant of incorporation can be obtained from the Crown." This method of private trustees proposed by Mr. Smith was quite too cumbersome and unsatisfactory. A Connecticut charter, on the other hand, aside from the doubt of its validity, was objectionable as inoperative beyond the limits of the colony; the idea of a removal to some point nearer the Indians being even then entertained as a future possibility. It was determined therefore to apply directly to the king.

Whitefield had been duly informed of the proceedings. He was at Wheelock's house in December, 1754, where Pumpshire and Woolley were daily expected; and they passed him a few days after at Stamford, but without seeing him. He entered heartily into the plan. In March, 1756, Wheelock—evidently by arrangement—addressed to him an elaborate communication on the subject (signing himself "your brother in the strongest and dearest bonds"), designed to be used in introducing the affair abroad.

"Brother Pomeroy and I [he writes] have already procured subscriptions for about £500, proclamation money (silver at 6s. 8d. per oz.), as a fund for the master's support; and we have such encouragements as we rely upon that if our suit for a charter be successful, the subscription will be soon filled up to £1,000, which, with the improvement of Mr. More's grant, will make a fund sufficient for the support of a master forever; and then we can, of course, by the master's labor, *i. e.*, by the tuition of English boys upon pay, sup-

port at least four Indian boys, depending upon the charities of gentlemen round about for their clothing, till we have gained a fund sufficient for our purpose, which we doubt not will soon be done. We have also encouragement that lands will be given as soon as we are capable of holding them and making the donors safe. We also hope for help from the neighboring governments; and we have been not a little encouraged in this undertaking by the charitable disposition which has appeared in the good people in England and Scotland, especially of late years, towards the great design of christianizing the heathen in North America. And we believe, dear brother, you will not be wanting to use your extensive influence towards the furthering of this great design."

Upon this, through Whitefield's introduction, Wheelock was brought immediately into friendly correspondence with two large-hearted residents of London, — Mr. Dennis De Berdt and Dr. Benjamin Avery.¹ By them, at the joint request of Wheelock and Whitefield, the matter of a charter was presented in a memorial to Lord Halifax early in 1757. Halifax "approved of the design," but advised, instead of a charter from His Majesty, which would be attended with large expense, to get a law in Connecticut for the establishment of such a school; and this, when forwarded to the Home Government, he promised should be ratified in council, "which would make it as authentic as any Act passed in England." This information reached Wheelock in October; and he applied to the Connecticut Legislature at its next session, in May, 1758, in a memorial giving a comprehensive view of the enterprise as it then appeared.

We have his account of the result in a letter to Mr. De Berdt, dated July 22, 1758, announcing failure, and urging again the intervention of the Crown, —

"You will see by the copies herewith sent you what has been done pursuant to Lord Halifax's advice, and you will there see the dissent of the Upper House. And Colonel Trumbull, who was committee from that board, as you will see, has assured me there were no objections offered there against the thing itself, but so far as he knows it was universally approved, agreeable to the return of the committee from both Houses; but all the objection made was against the propriety and expediency of their doing it. You well know our government is a charter government, and our charter privileges are next

¹ Mr. De Berdt was a merchant. His daughter was afterwards distinguished in America as the wife of Joseph Reed, of Philadelphia; she died in 1780, aged thirty. Dr. Avery, formerly a minister, now a physician, and treasurer of Guy's Hospital, was secretary of the deputies organized to "take care of the civil affairs of the Protestant Dissenters" in England. He died in 1764. Macmillan's Dictionary of National Biography, ii. 274; N. H. Hist. Soc. Colls., ix. 18.

to our bibles, dear to us; and our sending an act home may perhaps be understood to be a giving up something which our charter grants us, and which will be such a precedent as they don't chuse. And besides, no act of this Government, though ratified at home, can enable us to act without our own bounds, and on that account can't well answer the purpose proposed. We are also a small government and have comparatively few Indians among us, and they are not willing to do anything that looks assuming or may provoke the envy of our neighbors, or that looks so immodest as to speak that of ourselves, which perhaps all friends to the enlargement of Christ's kingdom who know the state of North America will readily own, viz., that this is the most suitable place for such a school, especially on account of the moral and religious character of the inhabitants; and also, considering the greatness as well as extensive influence of the undertaking, they were of opinion it had much better be done by the Crown. And gentlemen of understanding here can't but think that, considering the nature of the thing, and that we are not men of plentiful fortunes, nor in this seeking any personal gain or advantage to ourselves, but only to serve the public, the favor may be obtained without expense."

"Mr. Moor [he adds], who made a grant of a tenement in this place for the foundation of this school, is now dead, and our hopes of anything further from that quarter are buried with him, so that the school may bear any name which may be thought proper; perhaps *The Indian Charity School in America*. We would not have the number of trustees exceed seven. We are advised by gentlemen of the law that any addition to our numbers before our incorporation will vacate the subscriptions already taken, they being only to us three, and payable when we shall become a body corporate." Deputy-Gov. William Pitkin also thought it best to get the charter from England, on account of the reputation it would give the school among the Indians themselves.

Reply was made by both De Berdt and Whitefield that not a step could be taken to procure a charter in England unless the affair should first have the approval of the Connecticut Assembly. Whitefield reported, "My Lord Dartmouth (a truly noble Christian) told me he would go through with it if put into a proper channel; but as it was refused abroad, he was persuaded it would be rejected at home for that very reason." Such being the obstacles on both sides of the water, the subject of a charter was of necessity for the present dropped.

This failure, added to the death of More, led to a change of

plan. As above intimated, the school ceased to bear More's name. The tenement in Lebanon was made sure by a new deed, dated 1758, from More's widow, Dorothy, running to Wheelock personally; and the school was known thenceforth only by Wheelock's name, until, for reasons that will hereafter appear, the name of More was again assumed after the removal to Hanover.

While this was going on, Wheelock, in the summer of 1756, through Daniel Henchman, a friend and benefactor in Boston, was brought into correspondence anew with the London society's Boston board, of which Hon. Andrew Oliver was treasurer. Being informed that they desired information regarding his school, and that if they liked it they would do something for it, Wheelock wrote to Mr. Oliver, and on Dec. 13, 1756, was advised by him of a grant of £12 for the support of the Indian boys at the school, at the same time with one of £20 for Mr. Occom. Wheelock had a second grant from the same society in 1758, and a third in November, 1760, each of £20, which became from that time a permanent annual allowance.

In communicating this final arrangement, Nov. 4, 1760, Mr. Oliver suggested that "if this be insufficient, I would advise to represent the case to Mr. William Hyslop, who is treasurer in Boston to a Scotch society for the same purpose as our commission." Wheelock lost no time in conforming to this advice, and received in reply from the Scotch board promises of encouragement and support.

Meanwhile the school had prospered well. For the first two years there had been no Indian pupils other than Pumpshire and Woolley. The latter was by that time nearly fitted for college. Pumpshire had made uncommon proficiency in writing, and considerable progress in Latin and Greek; but his health began to decline, and by advice of physicians he was sent back to his friends, Nov. 14, 1756, with orders, if his health would allow, to return with two more of the same nation, whom Mr. Brainerd, at Wheelock's request, had provided. Pumpshire reached home, but soon died; and on April 9, 1757, the two new pupils, Joseph Woolley and Hezekiah Calvin, "came on the horse which Pumpshire rode." Of these Mr. Brainerd described the first as "of middling capacity, naturally modest and something bashful;" and the second as "a smart little fellow, who

loves to play, and will have his hat in one place and his mittens in another." Wheelock attributed Pumpshire's sickness to want of exercise, with change of diet and over-eating, as the boy was not used to an abundant table. He was convinced by this experience that Indians required more care in these particulars than English boys. He found that, if unrestrained, an Indian boy would eat as much as two men, and would soon grow dull and plethoric, and fall into disease.

By July, 1758, these three boys had "almost wholly shaken off the Indian," and the elder Woolley could "read Virgil and Tully and the Greek Testament very handsomely." Woolley was sent in 1759 to complete his education at Princeton College, but was returned in disgrace by President Finley in his senior year, 1762. What sort of a person he was, as well as a glimpse at Wheelock's trials, may be derived from a "confession" that he signed in July, 1763, acknowledging himself to have been — "scandalously guilty of drinking strong drink to excess, and of being in a very sinful passion of anger, which I showed by a very boisterous behavior, doubling and swinging my fists, stamping with my feet, attempting to throw the bed and bed-clothes out of the chamber window, and also by very vile and profane language. All which was aggravated by this circumstance, that it was on Saturday evening, — time observed as holy by Mr. Wheelock and his family, who were kept in a ruffle till late at night."

Woolley returned after a time to Princeton, but ran away in December, 1763, to the Indian town near Stonington.

The number of Indians gradually increased so that Wheelock had upon his hands, as he says, four from April, 1757, five from April, 1759, and seven from November, 1760. Among these it is interesting to note, in 1761-62, a little delicate boy of ten years, supported by the London society with an allowance of twelve pounds a year, named Isaiah Uncas, eldest son and heir of old Benjamin Uncas, "a poor, drunken creature," sachem of the Mohegan tribe. As yet Wheelock's only charity scholar not of Indian blood was one Samuel Kirtland, or Kirkland, whose name will often appear in the following pages.

By this time Occom's career began to add credit to the scheme, and stimulus to its enlargement. After leaving Wheelock in 1748, he had studied theology for a while with Rev. Mr. Pomeroy at Hebron. Though quite well advanced in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, he was prevented from taking a college course

by delicate health and by weakness of the eyes. He next taught school a few months in New London; and then, at the pressing importunity of Rev. Mr. Horton, missionary to the Indians at Montauk, removed to Long Island, where he spent ten or eleven years as a schoolmaster and religious teacher (and as a preacher in Mr. Horton's absence) among the Montauk and Skenecock Indians, to whom he was able to minister in their native tongues. He was supported in part by the London commissioners' annual allowance, but chiefly by manual labor. His home was in general at Montauk, at the eastern end of the island. "He lived in a house covered with mats, and changed his abode twice a year, to be near the planting grounds in the summer, and the wood in the winter. Amongst his various toils for subsistence he was expert with his fish-hook and gun; he bound old books for East Hampton people, stocked guns, and made wooden spoons, cedar pails, piggins, and churns."¹ But he grew into high repute as a sincere and faithful Christian, an efficient teacher, and a preacher of remarkable power. He had been licensed to preach by the Windham County Association, and was regularly ordained, Aug. 29, 1759, by the Suffolk Presbytery, at East Hampton, L. I., Rev. Samuel Buel preaching the ordination sermon. After this he returned to his tribe at Mohegan.

Wheelock's attention had not hitherto effectually extended beyond the Mohegans and the Delawares. But the Scotch commissioners having expressed a decided preference to direct their aid towards the Six Nations, he put forth in 1761 determined efforts to obtain a number of boys out of those tribes from Sir William Johnson. He had, a year or two before, some negotiations for the same object with Rev. Mr. Ogilvie, of Albany, who held a commission from the English Church Society as nominal missionary to the Indians. He now applied, through Capt. A. J. Lawson, of Albany, to Sir William himself. Receiving soon after from the Indians at Onohoquaga, on the Susquehanna river, an urgent request for a missionary, written by the hand of Elisha Gunn, a worthy white resident there, he went to Boston in May, and obtained from the London commissioners an allowance for that purpose, and from the Scotch correspondents means with which to send a special messenger to Sir

¹ Allen's Biographical Dictionary; Memoirs of Wheelock, p. 16.

William, and promises of support for three boys, which it was hoped to secure by his favor. Occom had been invited by the Scotch board in New York to undertake, under Wheelock's direction, a mission to the Oneidas; and with the permission of the London board, he consented. He needed a companion, and the allowance of the Boston correspondents was applied in sending out David Fowler (a Montauk Indian, Occom's brother-in-law, then at the school), bearing a letter from Gen. Phineas Lyman, a friend of Wheelock's boyhood, commending Wheelock to Sir William as "a very worthy, honest gentleman," and speaking well of his school. They were also furnished with credentials from Wheelock explaining the object of the visit.

The mission to Onohoquaga failed at this time by reason of the sickness of Amos Thompson (a graduate of New Jersey College of 1760), who was engaged for it with Mr. Gunn as interpreter. But Occom and Fowler were more successful. Starting June 10th, they went first to New York, where they remained a week. Occom preached on the Sabbath in Rev. Mr. Bostwick's meeting-house to a "vast assembly," which contributed on the spot £70 New York money, and the next day the Baptist congregation took up £13 for them. They met with a flattering reception at Albany from General Amherst (who gave them a pass in the broadest terms), and arrived at Sir William's seat on the 3d of July. He received them kindly, promised them help, and four days later introduced them to the Oneida chiefs in council at German Flats.

GERMAN FLATTS, July 7, 1761.

REV. SIR, — As I am so far on my way to Detroit, I have only time to acknowledge the receipt of yours, and to acquaint you that in compliance therewith, have got two Mohawk lads to go to you in order to be instructed; and doubt not but in my way through the other nations I shall be able to send you three or four more, so as to complete the number you desire.

Mr. Occom is now here, and proceeds with me to-morrow to the Oneida nation, to whom I shall introduce him, and advise them cheerfully and thankfully to embrace this favorable opportunity, which I doubt not will prove greatly to their temporal as well as eternal felicity. I wish you all the success which your pious undertaking deserves, & am, [etc.],

WILLIAM JOHNSON.¹

REV. MR. WHELOCK.

¹ His friendship had been secured by Pomeroy, who was a chaplain with him in 1760.

Sir William Johnson was a figure unique in American history. Born in Ireland, he was at the age of twenty-three called by his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren

Occom and Fowler being thus welcomed, settled down to missionary work at Oneida. Occom encountered some disfavor by insisting that the Indians should let their hair grow, and give up feasting and ornaments; but he was on the whole very successful. He returned in the autumn, and was sent out again the following spring; but was forced to leave before the end of that season, on account of a failure of crops, which drove the Indians to wandering in search of subsistence. This was the first resident Protestant mission among the Oneidas.¹ Wheelock also, in 1762, renewed the attempt to establish relations on the Susquehanna, by sending one Samuel Ashpo, an Indian preacher, to Onohoquaga and Jeningo, the Indians at the latter place refusing to tolerate a white missionary.²

Fowler returned to Lebanon the 1st of August, 1761 (having brother-in-law of James De Lancey, Chief Justice of New York), to superintend the settlement of a large tract of land owned by Sir Peter in the Mohawk valley. Johnson made his home there, learned to speak the language of the Indians, and acquired, by tact and honorable dealing, an influence over the Six Nations greater than any other man ever enjoyed. By trade and acquisition of land he gained great wealth. The Government made him Superintendent of Indian Affairs, colonel of the militia, and a baronet. He was at this time the most influential man in America. He died in July, 1774. See Stone's *Life of Johnson*; also *Centennial Celebrations in New York*, 1879, p. 368.

¹ For an account, by Prof. A. G. Hopkins, of the early efforts of the Episcopalians for the Six Nations, see *Oneida Historical Society's Transactions*, 1886, pp. 5-28.

² Onohoquaga (the name is spelled in numberless ways) was the principal town of the Six Nations on the Susquehanna river, situated near what is now Onaquaga, in the township of Colesville, Broome County, N. Y. It was composed of several distinct villages, each devoted to one of the tribes, and all under the supreme control of King Thomas. In 1762 it was said to have three hundred inhabitants. Rev. Gideon Hawley, of Stockbridge, occupied it as a missionary out-station of the London Society from 1752 to 1756, when the war drove him away. Religious interests there were after that for a series of years cared for by the converted Oneida, Gwedelhes Agwirondongwas, better known to the whites as "Good Peter." His portrait was preserved in Mr. Steward's museum at Hartford. After the return of peace, constant appeals were made to the societies and to Wheelock for a missionary and for a translation of the Bible. After the failure of Mr. Thompson, a young man named Toppa was sent out by the society with Mr. Hawley in September, 1761; but both returned in November. In 1762 Rev. Eli Forbes was sent by the Boston Society; he remained from June to September, and organized schools and, for the first time, a church. Contemporaneous with a later attempt of Wheelock's, in 1765, the post was occupied anew by a missionary of the Scotch society, — Rev. Ebenezer Moseley, — who in 1771 reported a church of twenty-five members, the whole town was under religious influence, and (most wonderful of all) not *two* drunkards among them. He was succeeded in 1771 by Rev. Aaron Crosby, who remained until 1776. See *Mass. Gazette*, Oct. 7, 1771; *Amer. Archives*, Series V., vol. i. p. 903. Brant had his headquarters here in 1778, and in October the town was

ing ridden above a thousand miles), bringing with him three Mohawk boys sent by Sir William, named Joseph, Center, and Negyes. "Two of them," says Wheelock, "were little better than naked, and could not speak a word of English; but the other, being of a family of distinction among them, was considerably clothed, Indian fashion, and could speak a few words of English." This was Joseph (Thayendanagea), brother of Sir William Johnson's Indian companion, Mary Brant, and then about nineteen years old. He was probably possessed of greater acquirements than Wheelock's language would imply, since, aside from his family relations with Sir William, he had been already engaged in several campaigns with him,¹ and was competent to serve as Kirkland's instructor in the Mohawk language, and three months later, to accompany him as interpreter in a brief mission to that tribe. Joseph's two companions went home in October. Center, who was in failing health, soon after died; and Negyes, who went to care for him on the journey, was "captivated by a young female," and did not return. On November 4, Joseph and Kirkland set out on the trial mission above mentioned, and returned again on the 27th with two new scholars and a kind letter from Sir William promising more. These last were both "direct from the wigwams," and neither of them could speak a word of English. "All their clothing," Wheelock tells us, "excepting two old Indian blankets and Indian stockings, was not worth sixpence, and they were very lousy." Within six weeks they made surprising proficiency in reading, and could write a little. They were distinguished as Moses and Johannes.

Joseph Brant remained with Wheelock until July, 1763. He learned very rapidly, and was highly esteemed. In March, 1763, Wheelock reports him as having been converted during the previous winter; and on July 4 he set out as interpreter with Rev. Charles J. Smith on a mission, under Wheelock's patronage, to

destroyed by Colonel Butler's expedition, which found it a flourishing farming community, with abundance of domestic animals. Stone's *Life of Brant*, i. 367; Hardenberg's *Journal*, Cayuga Collection, No. 1, p. 63.

Jenango is now Chenango. The Indian town was about four miles north of Binghampton, N. Y. See, as to both places, Wheelock's *Narrative* (1763), p. 19.

¹ Stone's *Life of Brant*, i. 21. See, for Brant's portrait in advanced life, *Hist. of the Indian Tribes*, McKinney and Hall, ii. 117.

the Six Nations.¹ The mission was cut short by reason of the Pontiac war, and Mr. Smith returned; but Joseph remained, his sister not wishing to have him longer at the school, — she had, indeed, written to recall him early in May. He settled at first in Canajoharie, and as long as he lived, stood a firm friend to Wheelock and his school, and to his early companion, Kirkland. He rendered many valuable services for their sake to the missionaries, and forty years later sent his two sons from Canada to the school at Hanover, with a letter full of kind expressions. Wheelock said of him in a letter to Sir William (Jan. 20, 1763): “Joseph is indeed an excellent youth. He has much endeared himself to me and to everybody else by his good behavior.” Wheelock had early formed a plan to send him to Princeton College with Kirkland. It is to this that reference is made in the following letter of Sir William’s: —

FORT JOHNSON, July 21, 1762.

SIR, — This day, on my return from Easton, I was favored with yours of the 27th ultimo, and am glad to find the progress which the boys have made under your care.

As I should have nothing more at heart than to promote so good and useful an undertaking, I strongly recommended it to the several nations of Indians at a meeting some time ago, when they seemed much pleased thereat, and determined to encourage the same; but my being for two months absent from home has prevented me doing anything therein during that period.

I shall inquire of Joseph’s friends whether they approve of your proposal, and shall at all times give you my assistance towards promoting a scheme so well calculated for the instruction of the Indians, by which they may become useful members of society. I am, sir, . . .

WM. JOHNSON.

THE REV. MR. WHELOCK.

Excuse my brevity, being greatly hurried. Please to remember me to Joseph and the others, and tell them I hope that they will mind their learning closely. His sister, etc., are well, and will be glad to hear often from him.

¹ Charles Jeffrey Smith, of Brookhaven, L. I., a young man of brilliant gifts but fragile body, graduated at Yale College in 1757. Having an ample estate of six or seven thousand pounds, he declined an election as tutor, and devoted himself to the life of an Indian missionary, intending to bear the expense for himself and an interpreter. He served without pay as master of Wheelock’s school from April to July, 1763. Before setting out with Joseph he was, June 30, ordained at Lebanon as a missionary. In March, 1764, he was preaching from place to place in the vicinity of Egg Harbor, N. Y. On account of his health his father opposed his going among the Indians. He went, however, after a time to Virginia to labor among the slaves, and bought an estate, intending to settle there. He was subject to a disease that affected his head. While on a visit to Long Island (Aug. 10, 1770) he went out with his gun, and was found dead, under the appearance of

Mr. Oliver, the treasurer of the London board in Boston, was secretary likewise of the Massachusetts Provincial Assembly. He was at this time much interested for the school, and rendered Wheelock valuable aid. In October, 1761, Wheelock, being again in Boston, learned from him of a legacy of £750, given by Sir Peter Warren to the province as a fund for the education of children of the Six Nations. This had been lying unimproved since the death of Sir Peter in 1752. Wheelock prepared a memorial and intrusted it to Mr. Oliver; and soon after, through his good offices, obtained from the Assembly, Nov. 23, 1761, a grant out of the income of the fund of £12 each for the support for one year of six children, to be obtained from the Six Nations. Upon this, Wheelock in December applied once more to Sir William for the desired number. Of these he wished two to be girls, since they could be more cheaply supported, and the allowance he thought was too small to cover the expense of six boys. Getting no reply to this, nor to a second request in April, he renewed his solicitations a third time, June 27, by the hand of David Fowler, his successful envoy of the previous year. David was again fortunate, and returned in August, 1762, bringing from Sir William three more Mohawk boys, who were dubbed Abraham Primus (or major), Abraham Secundus (or minor), and Peter, together with a Farmington Indian who stayed but a little while. Others were added from the tribes about home; so that in December, 1762, the school had twenty-five charity scholars, of whom three were of English blood, and four were Indian girls who attended school one day in the week, and lived in neighboring families to learn the arts of housekeeping.

Up to this time Wheelock had spent in the whole business during eight years £566 sterling, and had received in donations £509 sterling. He at no time charged the charity funds anything for his own services, nor at first for many incidental expenses. The first six years he charged for each Indian £16 a year. After the number increased, he was obliged to be more exact. Tuition was included at rates similar to those charged the white paying pupils, with something additional for such

having purposely shot himself. He appears to have been a most amiable man, of great intellectual and social promise. He was certainly a most disinterested, ardent, and valuable friend of Wheelock. Sprague's *Annals of Amer. Pulpit*, i. 402.

as needed more care and instruction. This amounted to two shillings a week, or £4 10s. a year. For the girls was charged fourpence a week for one day's schooling and dinner. The whole school on the average, he tells us, had not hitherto quite cleared the expense of the masters. The allowance to the master was £3 per month, besides board and all other accommodations, and a horse when needed. Wheelock enjoyed at several times, for limited periods, the services of masters who declined compensation.¹

"The Indian boys were accommodated in a part of the house given by Mr. Moor, and furnished with proper lodging, diet, and other necessities by persons employed for that purpose. Nigh Mr. Wheelock's dwelling was the school-house, in the hall of which the students and their instructors attended morning and evening prayers." The school-house is said to have stood on the south side of the Willimantic road, opposite Wheelock's house, and on the corner east of the Hartford road. It is also said that its frame is still extant in the public school-house in Columbia.² The method of conducting the school was this:

"The scholars are obliged to be clean and decently dressed, and be ready to attend prayers before sunrise in the fall and winter, and at six o'clock in the summer. A portion of Scripture is read by several of the seniors of them, and those who are able answer a question in the Assembly's Catechism, and have some questions asked them upon it and an answer expounded to them. After prayers and a short time for their diversion, the school begins with prayer about 9 and ends at 12, and again at 2 and ends at 5 o'clock with prayer, before daylight is gone. Afterwards they apply to their studies. They attend the public worship, and have a pew devoted to their use in the house of God.³ On Lord's day morning, between and after the meetings, the master, or some one whom they will submit to, is with them, inspects their behavior, hears them read, catechises them, discourses to them, etc. And once or twice a week they hear a discourse, calculated to their capacities, upon the most important and interesting subjects. In general they are orderly and governable. They appear to be as perfectly easy and contented with their situation and employment as any at

¹ These were James Lesley and Charles J. Smith, and another who "chose to be nameless." Narrative, 1765, p. 4.

² One Hundred and Fiftieth Celebration of the Church in Columbia, p. 58.

³ The parish voted, Nov. 18, 1755, "that in order to their regular, comfortable, and orderly attendance upon the public worship of God, the boys in said school shall have for their use the pew in the gallery over the west stairs in the meeting-house, and further provision suitable for them if there shall be occasion." In 1761 it was "voted to allow Mr. Wheelock's Indian girls liberty to sit in the hind seat on the woman's side below." See One Hundred and Fiftieth Celebration, p. 51.

a father's house. I scarcely hear a word of their going home, so much as for a visit, for years together, except it be when they first come."¹

As its reputation grew, many visitors came to the school to witness the exercises. So much was it the fashion that Wheelock was advised to place a charity box at the door; but we do not learn that he did so. The following pleasing description is from John Smith, a merchant of Boston and fast friend of the school: —

BOSTON, May 18, 1764.

SIR, — In riding last week to New London, I turned some miles out of my way to see Mr. Wheelock's Indian School; nor do I repent my trouble. I had heard in general that it consisted of Twenty or more Indian Boys and Girls of the Mohawks and other Tribes of Indians, and that a number of the ministers of that province had spoken well of Mr. Wheelock and of this undertaking of his; but this I thought was seeing with the eyes of others, and therefore chose to use my own.

My first observation in travelling through the towns was the different acception of both Mr. Wheelock and his enterprise there from what some in Boston had entertained. Here, because of his lively adhering to the doctrines of grace, he was not accepted by *some*; and when this is the case, you are sensible both enterprise and execution of it are too apt to be viewed by an eye of surmise, and sometimes of carping. But in Connecticut I found charity and candor; and everywhere in passing, Mr. Wheelock had the reverence of a man of God, and his school was had in high esteem.

I reached his house a little before the evening sacrifice, and was movingly touched on giving out the psalm to hear an Indian youth set the time, and the others following him and singing the tenor and bass with remarkable gravity and seriousness; and though Mr. Wheelock, the schoolmaster, and a minister from our Province (called, as I was, by curiosity) joined in Praise, yet they, unmoved, seemed to have nothing to do but to sing to the Glory of God.

I omit Mr. Wheelock's prayer, and pass to the Indians; in the morning when on ringing the school-house bell, they assemble at Mr. Wheelock's house about five o'clock with their master, who named the chapter in course for the day, and called upon the near Indian, who read three or four verses, till the master said "Proximus," and then the next Indian read some verses, and so on till all the Indians had read the whole chapter. After this Mr. Wheelock prays, and then each Indian parses a verse or two of the chapter they had read. After this they entered successively on Prosodia, and then on Disputations on some questions propounded by themselves in some of the arts and sciences. And it is really charming to see Indian youths of different tribes and languages in pure English reading the word of God and speaking with exactness and accuracy on points (either chosen by themselves or given out to them) in the several arts and sciences; and especially to see this done with at least a seeming mixture of obedience to God, a filial love and

¹ Narrative, 1763, p. 36; Memoirs, p. 32.

reverence to Mr. Wheelock, and yet with great ambition to excel each other. And indeed in this morning's exercises I saw a youth degraded one lower in the class who before the exercises were finished not only recovered his own place, but was advanced two higher.

I learnt that my surprise was common to ministers and other persons of literature who before me had been to visit this school, or rather College, for I doubt whether in colleges in general a better education is to be expected; and in mentioning this to a gentleman in this town who had visited this Seminary, he acquainted me that he intended at his own charge to send his son to obtain his education in mixture with these Indians. There were 4 or 5 of these Indians, from 21 to 24 years of age, who did not mix with the youth in these exercises; these I learnt were perfected in their literature, and stand ready to be sent among the Indians to keep schools and occasionally to preach as doors open.

On my return, Mr. Wheelock accompanied me a few miles; and on passing by one house, he said, here lives one of my Indian girls, who was, I hope, converted last week; and calling to the farmer, he, unperceived, brought the young girl into our sight; and the pleasure was exquisite to see the savageness of an Indian moulded into the sweetness of a follower of the Lamb.

In passing some days after that through the Mohegan country, I saw an Indian man on horseback whom I challenged as Mr. Occom, and found it so. There was something in his mien and deportment both amiable & venerable; and though I had never before seen him, I must have been sure it was he. . . .

Independent paying pupils continued to attend the school, probably in increasing numbers, though we have no complete record of their names; but its new character after a few years overshadowed that feature, and the income by no means kept pace with the expense. The funded subscription was not enlarged, and could produce at best no more than £30 a year; even that was not promptly paid, and brought in fact but £11 on the average for a series of years. Wheelock was therefore compelled to seek help from every likely source. On the other side of the water, Whitefield nobly fulfilled every expectation, securing for him generous patrons both in England and Scotland. Among other gifts so derived, there came from the Marquis of Lothian £50 sterling in December, 1760, a like sum in May, 1761, and again in July, 1762; from Mr. Charles Hardy £25 sterling in November, 1761; and in 1762, £20 sterling from Mr. Samuel Savage, and £10 sterling from Rev. Dr. Andrew Gifford. Both of these last gentlemen continued to be generous contributors.

Whitefield himself, besides money on several occasions, sent

a bell of about eighty pounds weight, which was received and "decently hung" on the school-house in September, 1762. Within two years it was unfortunately broken. It was sent to Elizabethtown, N. J., to be recast, but returned broken as it went. There were also, at various times, text-books in considerable numbers, and other books as well, with apparatus from England and Scotland. In 1764 Dr. Gifford sent "a neat pair of globes," and also a valuable collection of books, contributed in part by himself, and in part by Rev. John Erskine and Mr. William Dickson, of Edinburgh, and by the Scotch Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor. Some of these books are still preserved. There was another large invoice in 1769. In 1765, Mr. Dickson sent £20 sterling; and through Whitefield, an unknown lady, afterwards found to be the Countess of Huntingdon, £100 sterling. There was also a donation of £5 from Walter Scott, of Edinburgh,—the father, we suppose, of the novelist.

Whitefield had taken from the start especial pains to interest the Erskines and others of the Scotch society. Mr. De Berdt also, besides being very active in London, made a journey to Scotland, where he obtained in 1761 a direct appropriation from the Scotch society of £20 for Occom. To assist in these efforts, twenty-five prominent ministers in Connecticut joined, July, 1762, in a formal recommendation of the school, which was forwarded to Mr. De Berdt, and printed and circulated as widely as possible on both sides of the water. This document served an important purpose for a number of years.

Among the gifts at home, in the very infancy of the school, was a contribution from Benedict Arnold of a "large proportion of the profits of a venture which he sent to sea." The good people of Lebanon and vicinity contributed generously in work and in clothing and other necessities for the boys. The girls were of course cared for in the families where they lived.

In December, 1761, Wheelock opened a correspondence with Henry Sherburne, Speaker of the New Hampshire Assembly, and with others at Portsmouth. Here, as elsewhere, Whitefield furnished also the bond of sympathy. Mr. Sherburne was a disciple of his, and repeatedly entertained him at his house. He now stood, for Whitefield's sake, a firm friend to Wheelock.

At the same time Rev. Ebenezer Cleaveland, a former pupil of Wheelock, then minister at Gloucester, Mass., was sent to Portsmouth and neighboring places to make known the school and its objects.¹

In June, 1762, Wheelock himself visited Portsmouth, and through Sherburne presented to the Assembly a memorial which was referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Sherburne himself, with Meshech Weare, Peter Gilman, Clement Monck, Capt. John Wentworth, and Capt. Thomas Waldron. This committee reported at some length strongly in favor of the enterprise, and recommended an annual allowance to Wheelock of £50 sterling for five years, to be accounted for by him each year to the satisfaction of the General Assembly. This was voted June 18, and concurred in by the Council June 26; but failed of approval by the Governor, Benning Wentworth, through prejudice, growing probably out of denominational jealousy. Governor Wentworth was an ardent supporter of the Church of England, and had already defeated, two years before, a plan for a college devised by the Congregational convention, by insisting on putting it under the control of the Bishop of London.²

But Wheelock's friends did not yet despair. At the annual meeting of the convention of Congregational ministers of New Hampshire, held at Portsmouth, Sept. 28, 1762, a copy of the recommendation by the Connecticut pastors was laid before them and heartily indorsed. Their report, however, wound up with a clause commending contributions "either toward the execution of the plan which the Rev. Mr. Wheelock is pursu-

¹ Rev. Ebenezer Cleaveland was several times employed by Wheelock in important emergencies. He was born in Canterbury, Conn., 1726, and with his brother John (afterwards minister at Ipswich, Mass.) was a student at Yale College in 1744, when they were both *expelled* for attending a Separatist meeting while at home in vacation. Both afterwards received their degree, Ebenezer's being dated 1749. He had an honorary A. M. at Dartmouth in 1775. He was the first settled minister in Sandy Bay, near Rockport, then a part of Gloucester, Mass., where he labored more than twenty years. He was three years a chaplain in the Revolutionary army. A little prior to 1780 he removed to Landaff, N. H., with a number of families, under arrangement with President John Wheelock; but on the failure of the college title he returned in 1785 to Gloucester, where he died, July 4, 1805, aged seventy-nine. While at Landaff, in 1778, he established the First Church at Bath, N. H. He suffered all his life with extreme poverty. His daughter Mary was the first wife of Prof. John Smith, of Hanover.

² Annals of Portsmouth, p. 230; Farmer's Collections, i. 266; N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., ix. 36-39.

ing, or that of the corporation erected in the Province of Mass. Bay, or any other which may be thought of here or elsewhere for the same laudable purpose.”¹ This equivocal commendation, in Mr. Sherburne’s view, “spoiled all.” He nevertheless laid the whole before the Assembly at their October session. Wheelock being urged by Sherburne to write to the governor, or to furnish an account of his school for publication, did at this time address to the governor a long and able letter, but apparently to little purpose, as the appropriation, again voted (changed so as to last but three years), still failed of approval. But the governor relented so far that in January, 1763, Wheelock mentions him as offering a tract of land for the placing of the school in western New Hampshire, which he was at that time settling; and in June, 1763, Wheelock being again in attendance at Portsmouth with a new petition, the appropriation of £50 was renewed, and allowed by the governor, — limited, however, to a single payment.

As a result of these visits considerable sums were afterwards at various times obtained through church collections and otherwise. There were public collections taken between 1762 and 1765 in many of the eastern towns. At Newbury, under the lead of Rev. Jonathan Parsons, £60² was taken at one time, and £80 at another; and several other collections of less amount, besides clothing, — £40 worth at one time.

With the Scotch board in Boston, Wheelock’s relations did not long continue satisfactory. The commissioners, inspired, it would seem, by a jealousy of Wheelock’s having an appropriation from the Warren fund, found fault, in December, 1761, with the manner in which their allowance to him had been expended for the mission of Occom and Fowler to the Oneidas, and wholly disowned the three boys. There was, among other things, “talk far and near of an overcharge of four shillings sixpence for making a shirt” for Joseph Brant. The commissioners expressed a decided opposition to any increase of the Indian pupils beyond the number of six as “superfluous and unnecessary;” and these they required to be “improved” only as interpreters. They gave Wheelock indirectly to know “that

¹ N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., iv. 147; ix. 45-49.

² All sums expressed in £ are of “Lawful Money,” — \$3.33 to the £, — unless otherwise noted.

they had no notion about promoting his scheme." They wished that the boys whom they patronized should be so far advanced when admitted as to be speedily fitted for active service. The three Mohawks procured upon their engagement, whom they renounced as too ignorant, were accordingly, in May, 1762, transferred to the Warren foundation.

The responsibility for this was laid by Mr. Hyslop upon Dr. Chauncey, then at the head of the board, who still cherished in all their bitterness the animosities conceived at the period of the Great Revival, and now seized every opportunity to thwart and oppose. To this end there was formed at Boston in 1762, under his leadership, a new society for "Promoting Christian Knowledge," of about eighty members, including "all the Scotch commissioners and many more."¹ Their idea was to set up English schools in the Indian country; and in June they sent out Rev. Eli Forbes, of Brookfield, Mass., with a Mr. Rice, who, with the aid of Elisha Gunn, the resident interpreter, established at Onohoquaga four schools, and gathered a church with several members.² In September Mr. Forbes returned home, bringing three or four Indian boys, to be educated at his home in Brookfield, somewhat on Wheelock's plan.³ With them he had also a white youth, one James Dean, who had been long among the Indians, and who will come more prominently to our attention a little later.

When Wheelock came, the same autumn, to apply to the Massachusetts Legislature for a renewal of his grant from the Warren fund, Dr. Chauncey, with Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton and Messrs. Cooper and Elliot, appeared before the legislative committee with numerous objections and vehement opposition. Rev. Charles J. Smith, being in Boston, was by vote of the committee admitted to the floor on Wheelock's behalf *ut amicus*, and maintained his cause with so good effect that Dr. Chauncey and his friends proposed, by way of compromise, that *their* society should receive the appropriation, and should

¹ See letters of Wheelock to Sir William Johnson and others. The writer has been able to obtain no information about this society, excepting what is afforded by Wheelock's correspondence, beyond a passing allusion in a recent memorial sketch by Mr. J. F. Hunnewell of the Boston "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians," 1889.

² Wheelock says twelve or fourteen (Narrative, 1765, p. 13); others say seven.

³ Sprague's Annals of American Pulpit, i. 493-94.

employ Wheelock to expend it under their direction.¹ Mr. Smith, thinking these the most favorable terms likely to be got, rather imprudently assented. But it being suggested by some others of Wheelock's friends that light might be obtained from his "Narrative," then in press, the matter was adjourned to the next session (June, 1763), at which time, Wheelock's opponents having become discouraged, he obtained a renewal of the allowance. The result was partly due to the fact that Dr. Chauncey's new society had perished in its infancy because of failure to obtain the requisite incorporation.

But the hostility to Wheelock was not abated; and his third application for the legislative allowance — made in November, 1763 — was in March 1764, *rejected*, under the influence of a rumor that Joseph Brant had joined the enemy and put himself at the head of a party of Indians to fight the English. The vote was, however, afterwards reconsidered, and put over to the next session to give opportunity for inquiry. This report was so damaging that Wheelock wrote at once to Sir William Johnson to learn the facts; and not hearing, after renewed appeals, sent out a special messenger, by whom it was ascertained that Brant, so far from being hostile to the whites, had taken the field in their behalf.² Upon this showing, the allowance was continued until June 27, 1765, when a final grant was made for the seven months preceding, and £30 additional to prepare the boys to go home; and it was declared that the appropriation of the Warren income "to maintain Indian boys in Connecticut shall cease." Wheelock nevertheless made application for it once more in 1766 by a petition intrusted again to Hon. Andrew Oliver, which was laid over to the next year. Mr. Oliver being now estranged, Wheelock invoked the aid of Samuel Adams; but nothing favorable was effected, and the money was given to Mr. Forbes.

By this time Wheelock's growing numbers, and the disadvantages of his situation in respect to convenient access to distant

¹ Manuscript letter of John Smith.

² Sir William wrote, April 25, 1764: "I assure you I did not get a letter from you for several months, though I am informed you wrote me several times. Joseph is just returned from an expedition against the enemy, who have abandoned their towns, of which three were burned, with four villages. . . . I shall be very glad, when these troubles are over, to promote your pious undertaking by procuring you more scholars; but at present it is not in my power, as all those fit to travel will accompany the rest upon service."

tribes, gave prominence to that feature of his plan which contemplated a removal of the school, and some of the New England Indians with it, into the Indian country. Relying upon the interest that Sir William Johnson had so freely expressed, Wheelock, in April, 1762, applied to him "to make way for the setting up of this school and the settlement of three or four towns of the better sort of our people around it, somewhere near the *Susquehanna River*, or in some other place convenient for it," — a plan which he had had already in mind more than a year. Receiving no answer, he renewed the suggestion in the following September, and again in January, 1763. "We must," said he, "in a little time determine where to fix it, in order to build conveniently for it. Governor Wentworth has offered a tract of land in the western part of the Province of New Hampshire, which he is now settling, for the use of it if we will settle it there; and there has been some talk of fixing it in one of the new townships in the Province of Massachusetts, upon New York line near Albany, but not yet determined." To all these appeals Sir William made no reply. Though friendly to the school where it was, he had no wish to have it brought into his jurisdiction.

In March and July, 1763, Wheelock sent to his English friends an elaborate plan for the settlement of the proposed townships and for the *erecting of a college*, which he desired them to lay before the Privy Council, in hopes to obtain a charter and a grant of the necessary lands. At the same time he communicated the plan to Gen. Jeffrey Amherst, asking for a tract on the west side of the *Susquehanna*, and, by his advice, also to the Marquis of Lothian. The scheme, as perfected in July, was as follows: —

A Proposal for Introducing Religion, Learning, Agriculture, and Manufacture among the Pagans in America.

That a Tract of the late conquered land 30 or 35 miles square, conveniently situate in the Heart of the Indian country, be granted in favor of this design; that every Third Township be given and so secured to the Indians and their heirs that it may not be in their power to sell it to the English. That a large farm of several thousand acres of and within said grant be given to this Indian school.

That the school be an academy for all parts of useful learning: part of it a College for the Education of Missionaries, Schoolmasters, Interpreters, etc., and part of it a School for reading and writing, etc. And that there be

manufactories both for males and females for all needful trades, and they so situate that all may attend the worship of God in the same place; and the whole be supplied with proper officers, Tutors, Masters, and Mistresses. That there be a sufficient number of laborers upon the lands belonging to the school, and that the students be obliged to labor with them and under their direction and conduct so much as shall be necessary for their health and to give them an understanding of husbandry; and also those designed for trades to be instructed in husbandry, and those designed for farmers, after they have got a sufficient degree of school learning, to labor constantly upon sd lands till they come to an age and ability sufficient to set up for themselves, and introduce agriculture among their brethren; and the school to have all the benefit of these labors.

That the two thirds of said tract belonging to the English be peopled with a chosen number of Inhabitants of known honesty, integrity, and such as love and will be kind to, and honest in their dealings with the Indians. That the several towns be furnished with Ministers of the best character and such as shall be of ability when incorporated with a number of the most learned and judicious of the inhabitants to conduct the affairs of the school and of such missions as they shall have occasion and ability for from time to time; and that so fast as Indians appear willing to come into such a way of living, they be assisted by the English on both sides them in setting up husbandry and settling the Gospel and schools among them; and that there be a Fund in the hands of Trustees for the support of the whole Design.

That the whole Granted Tract be a borough endowed with such privileges and immunities as may be necessary and beneficial to the success and progress of the whole undertaking; and that in order to obtain a fund, the corporation be speedily existing of such as live so near to one another that they may conveniently meet as there shall be occasion on the affair; and when all matters are prepared, such as don't design to remove with the school may resign their places to those who do.

LEBANON, IN CONNT, July 27, 1763.

This movement was reinforced by a printed pamphlet "Narrative," issued by Wheelock in March, 1763.¹ This comprised fifty-five small-quarto pages, containing, besides the simple narrative, a number of letters and testimonials, and was dedicated to the Marquis of Lothian. It should rightfully have been inscribed to Whitefield, whose name, however, was not so

¹ It was thus entitled: "A plain and faithful | NARRATIVE | of the | Original Design, Rise, Progress, | and present State | of the | *Indian* Charity-School | at Lebanon, in Connecticut || By Eleazar Wheelock, A. M., | pastor of a Church in LEBANON. || BOSTON: | printed by RICHARD and SAMUEL DRAPER in Newbury-Street | MDCCCLXIII. |" This served so valuable a purpose that it was followed by a series of similar publications, entitled in general "continuations of the narrative," at intervals of about two years until 1775, containing besides accounts of the operations of the school and its missionaries, detailed statements of receipts and expenditures. These bore date as follows: October, 1765, pp. 25, from the press of the

much as mentioned in it. Wheelock was sensible of the injustice of this omission, and took pains to apologize to Whitefield for it.

"I herewith enclose [he wrote, March 5, 1763] a narrative of this Indian school, in which I have, by advice and upon design, omitted the mention of your name. Forgive me this wrong. It was not through want of gratitude or affection, nor because I am insensible of the friendship you have shown and how much the progress and support of the design is, under God, owing to you, but because I am sensible of the malevolence of a certain sect of men on both sides of the water, and I would willingly avoid everything which may give occasion to the old leaven, which has been now for some time latent, to ferment again. God knows your works and labors of love, and will not be unrighteous to forget them. Doctor Chauncey and his adherents have made a great noise and bustle of late, and seem as though they designed to discredit and tread down every attempt for the furtherance of the great designs of gospelizing the heathen, that is not under their direction. But the Doctor has been so unhappy as to betray a great degree of ignorance in the affair in his first setting out, — see the Doctor's sermon last summer at the ordination of Mr. Bowman, — yet seems to think himself sufficient to plan and direct for the whole."

In July of this year Wheelock's friend and former school-mate, Gen. Phineas Lyman, went to England in order to obtain for himself and other officers of the American army in the late French war a large grant of lands on the Mississippi. He took letters from Wheelock to his English friends commending him as "a soldier, a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian;" and he promised to make provision for the school in his government when he should get it. Col. Eliphalet Dyer was also at this time in London for a confirmation of the Susquehanna purchase, and Wheelock had strong hopes that between them they could procure for him the desired charter, as well as the concession of lands which they were in search of. Neither of them was successful so far as Wheelock was concerned. Lyman danced attendance *eleven years*¹ in London before obtaining the grant he sought, — long after Wheelock had been settled in New Hampshire. Not, however, till Lyman had been six years away did Wheelock give up hope in that plan.

Drapers; 1766, pp. 48, and a second edition of the same with an appendix of 16 pages, in 1767, all printed in London by J. & W. Oliver, Bartholomew Close, near West Smithfield; 1769, pp. 145, compiled in London and issued from the same printers; 1771, pp. 61, printed at Hartford; September, 1772, pp. 40, printed early in 1773, by D. Fowle at Portsmouth; September, 1773, pp. 68, printed at Hartford; and 1775, pp. 54, also printed at Hartford, "by Ebenezer Watson, near the great bridge."

¹ The whole sad story, with its tragic end, is vividly told by President Dwight in his *Travels*, i. 307-16.

LEICESTER FIELDS, LONDON, 2d April, 1764.

DEAR SIR, — I delivered your letter to Mr. De Berdt, who has shown me great respect ever since I have been here. He has moved nothing publicly about your school, the ministry being much crowded with business, but expect he will before long; and you may depend on my giving all the assistance in my power to so good an intention. I have never failed tacking your school with my affair as a thing of great consequence; but some agree with me in its importance, others do not. Sir Geoffrey Amherst is clear it will be much for his Majesty's interest to fix a strong settlement between the Alleganee Mountains and the Mississippi, and will give me all the assistance in his power, as he tells me. Of the same opinion is the Earl of Albemarle and Mr. Jackson, and many more. I hope I shall gain it all. Shall tack your school to it, and God grant we may both be happy together. My proper compliments to your family and friends. I am, with great respect,

Your Very humble Servt.,

P. LYMAN.

REV. ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.¹

Wheelock never lost sight of the importance, so early impressed upon him by Mr. Smith, of having a charter of some kind. Much of the difficulty that he experienced arose from the private and unofficial character of his enterprise; so that he became exceedingly desirous to put the school under the patronage of some established organization of good standing until such time as an incorporation could be obtained. Accordingly, after the rupture with the Scotch correspondents in Boston (the London society, though for the time giving him support, being out of the question for his purpose, on account of its connection with the Established Church), he applied directly to the parent society in Scotland, where he was already favorably known through the good offices of Whitefield and De Berdt; and on March 24, 1762, armed with credentials from Governor Fitch, General Lyman, and other public characters in the province, and with the clerical recommendation already mentioned, he solicited the establishment of a board of correspondents in Connecticut, according to nominations which he suggested.

Owing in part to loss of papers in transmission, and in part, as he supposed, to opposition and slanders from his enemies in

¹ The original of this letter came to the archives of the College in February, 1874, in a curious way. In 1843 Samuel Houston, President of the Republic of Texas, sent Gen. G. W. Terrell with others to make treaties with the Indians on their frontier. Going up the Brazos River, they camped near the dwelling of one Colonel Wheelock, a grandson of Dr. Wheelock, who at parting gave the letter to General Terrell as a keepsake. Thirty years later it was brought to light by a son of the latter, and being published in the "Galveston News," was itself begged for the College by an alumnus living at Galveston.

Boston, more than a year elapsed without results. After further correspondence he sent to Dr. Erskine, in September, 1763, a duplicate of his memorial, which was favorably acted on at a general meeting of the Society, Nov. 23, 1763; and on March 13, 1764, a commission issued to thirteen persons,¹ nominated by Wheelock, as correspondents in the colony of Connecticut "to receive donations from well-disposed persons, and to employ the same in promoting Christian knowledge in such manner as shall be directed by the donors; otherwise in promoting the great and good design of propagating our holy religion among the Indians." These gentlemen met at Wheelock's house, July 4, 1764. All were present but Fish and Gaylord; they accepted the commission, and were organized, with Mr. Williams as president, Mr. Jonathan Huntington as treasurer, Mr. Wheelock as secretary, Mr. Whitaker as accountant (afterwards replaced by Mr. Samuel Huntington), and Mr. Salter as clerk (afterwards replaced by Mr. Whitaker). The result proved the wisdom of this step, as for a time "all opposition, far and near, seemed to subside;" and in the following September Wheelock reported that no missionaries were preparing to go among the Indians, except at his school.

While this was depending, in May, 1763, it was intimated to Wheelock from Governor Fitch and others that the Connecticut authorities were more favorably inclined to grant him a charter. But he answered, that having applied to the Scotch society for recognition as its correspondent, he preferred to await the result. The principal reason, however, of his reluctance to accept this offer was the hope of favorable action by the king upon the plan before mentioned, in regard to which he observed strict secrecy on this side the water. Feeling, nevertheless, the urgent need of present official countenance of some kind in obtaining donations, he did at that session

¹ These were Jonathan Huntington, Esq., of Windham; Elisha Sheldon, Esq., of Litchfield; Mr. Samuel Huntington, attorney of law, at Norwich; Rev. Messrs. Solomon Williams, of Lebanon; Nathaniel Eells, of Stonington; Joseph Fish, of Stonington; Samuel Moseley, of Windham; William Gaylord, of Norwalk; Eleazar Wheelock, of Lebanon; Benjamin Pomeroy, of Hebron; David Jewett, of New London; Richard Salter, of Mansfield; Nathaniel Whitaker, of Norwich. The Scotch society proposed to add Dr. Joseph Bellamy and President Clapp; but Wheelock objected to them as too far away and as too much occupied to be likely to attend to the business.

(May, 1763) apply to the Connecticut Legislature for a "brief" of authority to solicit contributions under supervision of the provincial authorities. The following is the substance of the application: —

"The greatest objection made by gentlemen abroad against contributing further to the support of it is, that it has never had the public countenance of the Government where they reasonably suppose it is best known.

"Your memorialist, therefore, humbly prays this Honorable Assembly will take it into their Consideration and Grant him the liberty of a Brief to ask the Charitable contribution of Good people, through this Government for the incouragement & Support of sd School, & that the money so collected may be put into such hands as the Hon^{ble} Assembly shall see fit to appoint to be improved for that purpose; or that in their Great Wisdom they will propose some other method to shew the publick countenance of this Government, whereby the aforesaid objection may be effectually obviated."

The brief was granted, and printed and circulated throughout the province. Six persons of character—one in each county—were named to receive the gifts and pay them over to the provincial treasurer, and three others as a committee to order and regulate disbursements to Wheelock for the use of his school. An outbreak of hostilities among the Indians prevented any decided success from this measure,—so much so that at a collection taken in Windsor nothing was received but a bullet and a flint. The matter fared little better in other places, though hopes were still cherished of better success at Thanksgiving, when Governor Fitch consented to mention it in his proclamation; but very little seems ever to have come from it.¹

The charity scholars now numbered twenty-five, and Wheelock was much straitened for means. In December of the same year (1763) Whitefield wrote from New York to Dr. Erskine to send £200 or £300 to Wheelock's school, "or the fat is all in the fire." Early in January, 1764, he preached a sermon for the school in New York and took up a collection. He enlisted also the sympathy of the Earl of Stirling, who volunteered to head a subscription. By these means Whitefield gathered for the school £120, New York money. In February, 1764, he met Wheelock at Norwich, and, it is supposed, again visited the school. In April Wheelock reported himself to him as being £200 in debt. Later in the year, Whitefield made several other

¹ There is credited in the accounts for 1765 £33 L. M. from this source.

collections for him, and in September sent him £100, given by a rich merchant of Philadelphia, Israel Pemberton by name, who undertook also to send out a number of narratives, in hope of tapping new sources of supply.

In May, 1764, hearing nothing favorable from his friends in England, and the commission from the Scotch society not having yet reached him, Wheelock applied to the Connecticut Assembly for the Act of Incorporation which he had been given to understand they were disposed to grant the previous year.¹ But the favorable disposition of the Legislature apparently passed away, and no progress was made. A quarrel between Occom and Rev. David Jewett, of New London, who held an appointment as missionary under the London society, seems to have been improved to prevent it.

In November, 1764, the school had in all about thirty scholars, of whom twenty-two were on charity, including fifteen Indians. Of these, ten were now ready to be returned as schoolmasters. Anticipating this, and not willing that the school should dwindle, Wheelock, in addition to his ordinary cares, had some time before begun to cast about for recruits.

In February of the same year he had written to General Gage (to whom he had been favorably introduced by his cousin, Anthony Wheelock, of New York), desiring him "in his next expedition against the Indians to *spare from the sword* fifteen or twenty likely Indian children," and send them to him. In August he took Occom and Fowler from Mohegan and sent them on a new mission to Sir William, who was reported to have just returned from a tour on the shores of Lake Erie, bringing parties of Indians from the remote tribes. The purpose of the mission was to arrange for the reception of the schoolmasters and obtain new pupils. But on reaching New York, Occom and Fowler were detained by Whitefield, to whom they had been accredited, and turned back. He wrote that he could "by no means forward" them, that it was the hunting season and the Indians by this time dispersed, and that it was besides quite wrong to take Occom from Mohegan. He characterized it as an

¹ The corporators proposed by Wheelock were: Rev. Messrs. Benjamin Pomroy, of Hebron; Timothy Pitkin, of Farmington; Nathaniel Whitaker, of Norwich; Charles Jeffrey Smith, missionary; and himself.

"imprudent scheme," and likely to injure Wheelock and make it impossible for him to obtain help for him in future. Wheelock was greatly disappointed, and thought very hard of Whitefield; it nearly caused an estrangement between them.

Towards the last of October the attempt was renewed by sending out Kirkland, then in his senior year in college, and Joseph Woolley. They were commended to Sir William¹ as desirous to acquire the language of the Mohawks and Senecas, and in the mean time to teach among them and, if possible, to procure ten or fifteen likely youth for the school. Sir William received them handsomely. Woolley was settled by Kirkland in a school at Onohoquaga, where he spent the winter; and Kirkland, after remaining six weeks at Johnson Hall, pushed on in January alone with two Seneca Indians to Canadasega, a town of the Senecas, twenty-three days' journey—upwards of two hundred miles—beyond Johnson Hall. The snow was four feet deep and very dry, and he travelled on snow-shoes with his pack on his back. He there remained a year and a half alone among the savages, and endured terrible sufferings and dangers.²

On Nov. 30, 1764, three more Mohawks arrived at the school, who were named William (major), William (minor), and Elias; in March, 1765, Peter and David, Oneidas; and in June three

¹ See the letter in Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv. 217.

² See a thrilling account of them in Sparks' Biographies.

Samuel Kirtland (or Kirkland, as he later spelled it) was the son of Rev. Daniel Kirtland, pastor of the Third Congregational Church of Norwich, parish of Newert, now in the town of Lisbon, Conn. He was born Dec. 1, 1741, and joined the school Oct. 31, 1760, when nearly nineteen. In 1762 Wheelock sent him to Princeton, where he was supported in part—to the extent of £10 a year—by a club of gentlemen in Boston, headed by one William Davis. Though absent in the Indian country, he received his degree as of his own class in 1765. Beginning in 1761 with the short trial mission to the Mohawks, followed by the arduous experience of a year among the Senecas, he settled finally with the Oneidas, and devoted his life to the Six Nations. He labored under Wheelock's patronage, supported mainly by funds passing through the latter's hands, until 1770, when, Wheelock's removal to New Hampshire rendering that arrangement inconvenient, he came under the immediate patronage of the Boston boards of the London and Scotch societies, from which, with the help for a time of Harvard College and of a handsome annuity from John Thornton, he long derived his support. He spent his life among the Indians, exercising great influence over them for good,—greater than any other missionary, and greater, probably, than any other white person ever did, except Sir William Johnson. During the Revolution the societies' remittances of course stopped, and for a while he was driven from his post. The Boston correspondents

Mohawk girls. William major was a half-breed, reputed a natural son of Sir William Johnson himself, and nephew of Joseph Brant. Soon after his arrival Wheelock wrote to Sir William commending the youth, and enclosing a specimen of his penmanship. In June, 1766, he wrote, "William *major* (as we call him for distinction) is of a very good genius, and capable of making a very likely man; but his pride and the violence of his temper have sometimes rendered him troublesome, and obliged me to use severity with him, of which my son can inform you. Perhaps a line or message from you might be of special service to him."¹

Brant himself is responsible for the following anecdote, which, it may be, relates to the occasion referred to. William was one day ordered by Wheelock's son Ralph to saddle his horse. The lad refused, alleging that as he was a gentleman's son, the performance of such a menial office would be out of character.

"Do you know what a gentleman is?" inquired young Wheelock.

"I do," replied William. "A gentleman is a person who keeps race-horses and drinks Madeira wine; and that is what neither you nor your father do. Therefore saddle the horse yourself."²

William was eventually sent home to his father, Feb. 16, 1767, as being "too proud and litigious."

About the 1st of Dec., 1764, Wheelock despatched his son Ralph and Mr. Whitaker to Boston with a memorial to Governor Bernard. Receiving the allowance from the Warren fund, they

of the London society appealed to Congress in 1776 to assume his support for the time, with that of Mr. Crosby at Onohoquaga, and of Mr. Sergeant at Stockbridge.

Kirkland was employed by Congress in various important negotiations, and rendered most valuable services, which were recognized in many ways by both State and Continental authority. Besides other services he acted in 1779 as brigade chaplain with General Sullivan on his expedition to the Susquehanna. In 1788 the State of New York and the Indians gave him a large tract of land near Oneida, on which, in 1793, he founded and endowed the academy which became Hamilton College. In 1797 the Scotch society finally withdrew its support. Kirkland died Feb. 28, 1808, aged sixty-six. He married, in 1769, Wheelock's niece, Jerusha Bingham. Their eldest son—named after their English benefactor, John Thornton—graduated at Harvard College in 1789, and was president of that institution from 1810 to 1828. The second son, George Whitefield, graduated at Dartmouth in 1792. [See Sprague's *Annals*, Amer. Pulpit, i. 623; *Life of Kirkland* by his grandson, Rev. S. K. Lothrop, Sparks' Series; Amer. Archives, Series V., vol. i. pp. 902-903; *Ibid.*, iii. 1583, etc.]

¹ Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv. 332.

² Stone's *Life of Brant*, i. 23, 183; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv. 223.

proceeded to Concord and Newbury, Mass., and to Portsmouth, where they took up public collections with considerable success. In May and June, 1765, Wheelock himself, with Whitaker and Occom, made a journey to Boston and Portsmouth, and obtained nearly £300 sterling by public and private collections on the road, at Salem, Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, York, Stratham, etc. It was on this journey that he first took up a public collection at Exeter, where he attracted the favorable notice of John Phillips, from whom he received at this time \$100. He again addressed the General Assembly of New Hampshire, then in session, and obtained from the governor himself the promise of five hundred acres of land, to encourage the settlement of the school in New Hampshire. He had some months before (October, 1764) prepared a memorial to the Assembly and one to the governor, soliciting him to undertake the support of some Indian boys, to be known as Governor Wentworth's scholars; but as Mr. Sherburne deemed the time not favorable to present either of the documents, they were withheld.

The relations into which the school had come to the Scotch society, by the erection of the special board of correspondents, made it necessary to give new prominence to the missionary features. Something more was expected by the home society than the mere support of the school. Kirkland's mission was no doubt hastened by this consideration; and in the early part of 1765 plans were matured for more extensive operations in the Indian country.

Until now, Wheelock's distant missions had been generally sent out for special objects and for brief periods. Occom indeed was regularly maintained at Mohegan with the aid of the societies; and Samuel Ashpo, of the same tribe, who had been in the past a Separatist minister among the Indians, but who had reformed, was in 1762 taken under patronage and sent out, as before stated, to preach for a time at Onohoquaga and Jeningo. He bore a license signed by Wheelock and Whitaker jointly with Rev. Messrs. David Jewett, of New London, and Peter Powers, of Norwich. He went again in May, 1763, with similar credentials, to the same region, and remained until September. In the spring of 1764 preparations were made (probably not carried out) to send him still farther west, to the Onondagas. He was again in Jeningo in the summer of 1766 and also in 1767.

On the 12th of March, 1765 (Kirkland being still among the Indians), the new board of correspondents met at Lebanon to arrange for sending out their first regular mission; and on the same day, while they were in session, there arrived, without concert, by the hand of "Good Peter" (who had travelled three hundred miles for the purpose on foot, part of the way through deep snow), an urgent call from Onohoquaga for a missionary. At the same instant there happened in, wholly unexpected, from a distant point in another direction, an interpreter capable of explaining his message. The coincidence was accepted by all as the very finger of God.¹

The board examined and approved as missionaries Titus Smith, a graduate of Yale College of the previous year, and Theophilus Chamberlain, a senior at Yale, classmate of Ralph Wheelock. Both had been some months at the school to learn from the boys something of the Indian language. Chamberlain had also the advantage of having been a captive among the Indians in the late war. Eight of the Indians were at the same time examined and approved, to bear them company; three (Joseph Woolley, David Fowler, and Hezekiah Calvin) as school-masters, and five, esteemed too young for that, to be employed during the summer as assistants. Smith and Chamberlain were regularly ordained April 24, and on the 29th Fowler set off in advance as bearer of despatches to Sir William, and on the 3d of June established himself in a school at Canojoharie, in Oneida, with twenty-six scholars; from which village, however, he was in a few weeks driven out, for the time, by impending famine.

The others were detained until June. When all was ready, funds were found to be lacking, but these were supplied, the day before they were to set out, in a manner that Wheelock regarded in the light of a special providence, — by the unexpected receipt of £88, New York currency, from the Dutch Reformed Church in New York city. The missionaries received from the board formal commissions, engrossed upon parchment, and special credentials to General Gage, praying his countenance and favor.

They arrived at their destination early in June. Sir William

¹ Good Peter came under a pass from Sir William Johnson (which is still preserved), commending him as "a faithful and pious Indian who has been of much service for some years among his countrymen and others, giving them all the insight he could into the principles of religion." He had been converted under Mr. Hawley's ministry.

received them cordially, and expressed himself much pleased with them all. General Gage ordered them supplies from the king's stores, and all requisite assistance. They were distributed somewhat as follows: Mr. Chamberlain took station in the Mohawk valley at Butlersburg, whence he travelled in circuit to the various towns. A school was gathered for Calvin among the Mohawks at Fort Hunter, and another in the same tribe for Abraham. Woolley, after lying sick a while at Cherry Valley, was sent back to his school at Onohoquaga. To that town Mr. Smith was also destined; but finding the Indians scattered for lack of food, he stopped for about six weeks with a large party of them in camp at "Utsaga," near the outlet of Otsego Lake. Here he set up Moses with a school of twelve, which he reported as "daily engaged to all appearance with as much seriousness and attention as you will see in almost any worshipping assembly, and Moses at the head of them with the gravity of a divine of fifty or threescore."

The departure of this large missionary party was a great event for the school. According to expectation, it was to be the opening for it of a great and useful career as a mother of missions. But these ambitious hopes were not destined to be realized. In Oneida, indeed, where Wheelock's missionaries were the first to establish themselves, a lodgment was secured that acquired some degree of permanence. But Wheelock's old adversaries were not disposed to see the Susquehanna country pass out from their control under his influence. They attempted at the start to draw away Mr. Smith to their service. Going on his way out to Brookfield to confer with Mr. Forbes, Smith received a pressing invitation to transfer his connection to the London society. This being declined, Mr. Ebenezer Moseley was sent out to supplant him soon after his arrival at Onohoquaga, late in August. Mr. Moseley was accompanied by young Dean and by Mr. Hawley, who went to introduce Moseley to the Indians. Smith's interpreter, Elisha Gunn, being under obligations to the society, was taken away, and Smith, to avoid any appearance of conflict, wisely left the field and returned home.¹ Sickness prevented his renewing the

¹ Mr. Hawley, on becoming acquainted with the circumstances, was mortified at the position in which he found himself. He assured Smith that if he had understood the case, he would have stayed at home.

Titus Smith was born in Granby, Mass., June 4, 1734, and graduated at Yale

attempt; and this ended Wheelock's occupation of the Susquehanna country. The Boston commissioners took good care thereafter to retain continuous possession of the field. Woolley, having a flourishing school of twenty children, and knowing the Indians and their language, was able to stay; but he died, Nov. 27, 1765, of consumption.

The schools kept by Wheelock's boys were for a time very prosperous. The total attendance in all of them was reported in October, 1765, at one hundred and twenty-seven. Mr. Chamberlain,¹ with occasional visits home, continued in service in the Mohawk valley until the summer of 1767. In the fall of 1765 he made a tour into the Onondaga country. He boarded generally in white families. After leaving *B. . . .*, he was for a time in the family of Nicholas Herkimer, and during a period of illness was hospitably cared for at the house of Joseph Brant. The following descriptions, from letters of David Fowler, are too characteristic to be lost: —

CANAVAROHAE IN ONEIDA, June 15, 1765.

This is the twelfth day since I began to keep my school, and I have put eight of my scholars into the third page of the spelling book. . . . I never saw children exceed these in learning. The number of my scholars is twenty-six, when they are all present, but it is difficult to keep them together; they are often roving about from place to place to get something to live on. Provisions are very scarce with them. I am also teaching a singing-school. They take great pleasure in learning to sing; we can already carry three parts of several tunes. . . . I have been treated very kindly since I came to this place. . . . My cooks are as nasty as hogs, — their clothes are black and greasy as my shoes, their hands are as dirty as my feet; but they cleanse them by kneading bread. Their hands will be very clean after kneading three or four loaves of bread. I am obliged to eat whatsoever they give me, for fear they will be displeased with me. After this month I shall try to clean some of them, for I must move along by degrees. If I once get out with them, it is all over with me.

College, in 1764. After his brief missionary service he lived at South Hadley, Mass., and New Haven and Danby, Conn. He became a Sandemanian and a Tory, and took refuge after the war in Nova Scotia, where he died in 1807.

¹ Theophilus Chamberlain (son of Ephraim) was born in Northfield, Mass., Oct. 20, 1737. In August, 1757, he, with fifty-five other Northfield men, was a member of Capt. John Burke's company of rangers defending Fort William Henry, and in the treacherous massacre permitted by General Montcalm upon the surrender of the fort was captured and carried off by the Indians. Upon his release he entered Yale College, and graduated in 1765. After obtaining his discharge from Wheelock, he lived at New Haven and Danby, Conn. He also was a Tory refugee, and died at Preston, near Halifax, N. S., July 20, 1824.

CANAVAROHATIE, Jan. 21, 1766.

After much worry and fatigue about my house and journey, — after also hungry belly, — I began to keep my school steadily some time in November. My scholars learn very well. I find it impossible to keep the children steadily to school till men labor and work as English do. They are lazy and inhuman pack of creatures as I ever seed in the world. They have seen me working and tugging day after day, and never offered to help me in the least thing I had to do in my house, — only finished covering it, and left me. I was obliged to eat with dogs near two months. I say 'with dogs' because they are always licking water out of the pails and kettles we use. *Now*, I live like a gentleman. I have a plenty of corn, flour, meat, and rotten fish. I applied to Sir William for provision. Accordingly, he order the commanding officer at the royal blockhouse to give me out provision as long as I should want.¹

Of the Connecticut board of correspondents, organized, at his request, with members of his own selection, Wheelock was of course the central figure. At the meeting of March 12, 1765, he proposed to them "whether they will take the patronage of the school, in case of his removal or being incapable to conduct the affairs of it, and it be destitute of one to do it in his stead." It was voted "that this board will comply with his desire;" and Messrs. Williams, Jonathan Huntington (replaced in July by Pomeroy), Wheelock, Salter, and Whitaker were named a standing committee for that and other purposes. Wheelock representing that the affairs of the board and school required the assistance of a writer, he was advised to employ Samuel Gray, a member of the school, as scribe.²

The new arrangements did not prove as satisfactory as Wheelock expected. Within a week he wrote to a friend in Boston that he was "quite sick of the thoughts of conducting a charity school by a body. They won't attend so as to understand it. They are diffident; too sudden and peremptory in their conclusions before they have well weighed matters." "Whatever I do," he adds, "I am exposed to envy, censure, jealousies, and evil surmisings." There being at present no prospect of an

¹ Fowler made his home permanently on a farm in Oneida. In 1766 he came down and took for a wife a young woman of his tribe, a former pupil of Wheelock's school. He died in the Oneida country in 1812, a highly respected citizen. *Memoirs of Wheelock*, p. 40; *Narrative*, 1767, p. 38; *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iv. 225; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xix. 415; *Dwight's Travels*, ii.

² Gray accompanied him to Hanover, graduated in the first class in 1771, and in 1827 revisited the place as the oldest living alumnus.

incorporation, he was obliged to make the best of it. But before a great while the scheme fell into practical neglect so far as related to the management of the school.

At the meeting of March 12, 1765, the board considered the question of a removal of the school, induced by the present insufficiency of the buildings and the prospect of an increase of numbers. The subject came up at that time with special reference to a proposal of the first parish in Hebron to subscribe £1,000 L. M. in case the new school-house should be built there. Wheelock's own parish in Lebanon offered to give about £600, on condition that the location should not be changed. The board advised that Wheelock accommodate the school for the present as best he could where it was, in view of the probability of its being fixed at some future time nearer the Indian country. On July 2 the board instructed Messrs. Wheelock and Whitaker to advise with Sir William Johnson, among other things, about a place for the school, "as it has increased to such a degree that it will be necessary soon to determine upon a place to fix it;" and appointed Messrs. Williams, Pomeroy, and Salter a special committee to solicit Sir William's influence towards procuring a suitable settlement and an incorporation.

But the vital point had more than ever come to be an enlargement of resources. Besides the support of the school at home, and of several of its scholars at the College of New Jersey, and at New Haven, Wheelock had now on his hands missionary enterprises of considerable magnitude; and it was doubly necessary to devise some plan to put the affair on a better financial basis. The hope of any very large donations from this side the water had proved delusive. The allowance from the Warren fund was precarious, and finally ceased in June. The annual allowance of £20 from the London society's Boston board still remained. It was not, indeed, discontinued till expressly so ordered by Governor Munduit in June, 1767, on the ground that it was no longer needed, as Wheelock was getting so much in England.

As early as 1760 Whitefield had suggested that much might be done to the purpose there by the help of some converted Indian scholar who could preach and pray in English. He talked seriously of taking Occom home with him, and when in America in 1764, he partially completed arrangements to that

end. Encouraged by Whitefield's enthusiasm, and driven by necessity, Wheelock at last took up the matter in earnest. In December, 1764, and January, 1765, he applied to the Scotch boards in New York and New Jersey for aid in sending a mission to England, and for leave to employ Rev. John Brainerd on that errand with Occom. The Connecticut board at their meeting in March, 1765, joined in the application. But Mr. Brainerd could not be spared, and some of Wheelock's friends were doubtful of the expediency of sending a settled missionary. The name of Rev. John Rodgers, of New York, was then suggested. It being understood that he declined going, the choice fell, in May, upon Rev. Charles Jeffrey Smith. He also being unable to go, the board was left in much perplexity; and for a while the only resource seemed to be to rely upon the services of their good friend John Smith, merchant, of Boston, who was about to make the voyage for the sake of his health. Among other plans Wheelock's son Ralph was talked of, while Whitefield urged that Wheelock himself should go with Occom. This was at one time nearly determined on. Wheelock was inclined to acquiesce, in the hope of making some progress in the petitions to the Crown; and born diplomat that he was, it is not unlikely that he might have achieved some flattering success. But the evident necessity of his presence at home caused that plan to be speedily abandoned; and in July it was in effect determined to intrust the matter to Messrs. Occom and Whitaker.

Occom had a genuine talent for preaching. He was dignified and attractive in person, and the matter of his discourses was creditable. In later years two at least of his sermons were published,¹ and also a well-approved collection of devotional hymns. One of these, "Awaked by Sinai's Awful Sound," written by him, was long retained in the current selections of church music. "Occom's features and complexion bore every characteristic mark of an American Indian, but his deportment in the pulpit commanded attention and respect. His compositions were easy, figurative, and impressive. He usually wrote his sermons, but could extemporize with readiness. He was devout and solemn in prayer; in private life agreeable and exemplary; easy and

¹ One of these was delivered at the execution of Moses Paul, an Indian, in 1772. *Memoirs of Wheelock*, pp. 43, 45, 176; *Sprague's Annals*, iii. 192.

unassuming in conversation, his thoughts being expressed in pertinent and laconic language." He was expressly gifted in preaching to the Indians, being then "vastly more natural and free, clear, and eloquent than when preaching to others." So attractive was he that trouble arose, in 1764, by reason of his drawing the hearers away from the congregation of Rev. David Jewett, of New London, who was also acting as missionary to the Mohegans. Wheelock had all the time retained over Occom a sort of patronage and supervision, and Occom's stated allowances from the London and Scotch societies were long paid through him.

For some reasons personal to Mr. Whitaker the arrangement as to him did not meet with the entire approval of the Connecticut board, and they delayed confirming it. They evidently preferred Rev. C. J. Smith, and hoped to the last that he would be able to go, either as Whitaker's colleague or in his stead. Wheelock himself, though a warm friend of Whitaker, had doubts of his fitness for the mission. Whitaker's wife, too, who had some decided eccentricities of temper, exhibited at first the most determined opposition, but at last consented. Respecting Occom there were also serious misgivings. Wheelock wrote to Whitefield, in deference to whose wishes Occom went, that though he would do well among the Indians, he doubted what a figure he would cut in London. Not until October was it finally settled who should form the party.

The board agreed, besides paying Whitaker's expenses, to supply his pulpit and support his family in his absence; and one of his sons was taken into Wheelock's family. Similar terms were accorded to Occom and his family of wife and seven children. Neither of them received any compensation for services, excepting £100 given to each at the close of their labors by the London trust.

It was important for many reasons that the mission should proceed as speedily as possible, but still more necessary that it should be provided with ample credentials. For this purpose Whitaker in August journeyed to New York, New Jersey, and Philadelphia, and returned in about a month fully armed in that particular. He afterwards went on the same errand to the eastward. A circular letter (prepared, as certain peculiarities of style inform us, by Wheelock himself), headed by General Gage, was

signed by the officials and chief men of all the provinces, from Pennsylvania to New Hampshire. And Occom, being sent to Sir William, brought from him a very satisfactory indorsement.

"I now send you [he wrote, Aug. 8, 1765] the enclosed [certificate], heartily wishing it may be of use to you. I make no doubt but that his Majesty will think favorably of your plan. At the same time it is uncertain whether it may expect to partake of the royal bounty whilst the established societies have so slender a provision that they are not able to maintain a proper number of missionaries, which doubtless they would do in the Indian country if their fund would enable them. But doubtless you might obtain many large contributions in England, &c., and probably obtain a brief for collecting sums at several churches."¹

In addition to these documents a continuation of the narrative was prepared and printed, bringing it down to September, 1765. A memorial was drafted by Wheelock, addressed to the people of God in Great Britain, and a recommendation to the churches of Holland was solicited from the Dutch Conference in New York.

Wheelock's enemies in the mean time were not idle. To forestall Occom, an Indian was procured and sent over under the auspices of the Established Church, and ordained in Bristol, though not able to preach in English. Information of this scheme was communicated by Mr. John Smith, who had arrived in London in August, and wrote urgently to hasten the arrangements.

Finally, towards the last of November Whitaker and Occom reached Boston to embark. They called there upon the officers of the London board, and received anything but encouragement. The secretary, Mr. Hubbard, denounced Wheelock's

¹ The certificate was as follows : —

An application having been made to me by the Rev. Mr. Wheelock, of Lebanon, in Connecticut, respecting his intention of establishing an Indian School, and enlarging the plan thereof so as to enable a number of missionaries to be employed in the Indian country for the instruction of the Indians in the Christian religion, — to which end application is intended to be made in Great Britain, etc., to all well-disposed persons, — I do therefore offer it as my opinion that the school is highly necessary, and may be productive of good consequences if properly conducted, by civilizing the Indians and reducing them to peace and good order; that Mr. Wheelock has taken much pains with some Mohawk youths, who through his care and diligence have made good proficiency in their religious and other studies. From all which I am of opinion that the proposed plan deserves encouragement, and I could not do less than to give it this favorable recommendation.

WM. JOHNSON.

Given under my hand at Johnson Hall, this 8th day of August, 1765.

scheme as a bad one, saying "that all the money in England would not suffice to carry it out." At the same time there came substantial evidences of sympathy from other quarters. John Phillips, of Exeter, gave, for a second time, \$100; £117 came from Dr. Gifford, of London; and what was perhaps in the sequel of still greater value, Mark Hunking Wentworth, of Portsmouth, favorably introduced the party to his son John, then in England, and desired him to do them all the service he could.

But a ship for England could not be immediately found; and when it had been, its clearance was delayed by the closing of the custom-house and by the public difficulties with the stamp-officer, Wheelock's former friend Andrew Oliver. The party got off at last on Dec. 23, 1765, in a Boston packet commanded by Capt. John Marshall, with two Boston gentlemen, John Williams and Thomas Bromfield, as fellow-passengers. After being delayed by easterly gales twenty days within two hundred leagues of Land's End, the party were landed in a fishing-boat, Monday evening, February 3d, at Brixham, on Torbay, about two hundred miles southwest from London.¹ Early next morning they set out on horseback and rode thirty miles, to Exeter, arriving at four o'clock in the afternoon. Setting forward the same night at eleven, they rode twenty-four hours in a six-horse coach to Salisbury, — a hundred miles. Starting again at two o'clock in the morning, they reached London at seven, Thursday evening, February 6th, and were hospitably entertained at the house of Mr. De Berdt. The next morning their friend Mr. John Smith, of Boston, conducted them to Whitefield's house, where they stayed about two weeks, and then removed into a furnished house near the Temple, provided for them by Whitefield, which continued to be their home as long as they remained in London.

They found Whitefield's "whole heart engaged in the business." By his advice they kept quiet a few days until he should introduce them to the Earl of Dartmouth, which he did on the 10th of February, as well as to Lady Hotham, and many others. On the 16th Occom preached in Whitefield's Tabernacle "to a great multitude of people," and on the 23d in Dr. Gifford's pulpit. On the 19th, after going to see the king robe for

¹ These particulars are derived from Occom's manuscript diary.

Parliament, they dined with the Earl of Dartmouth and his lady, "the most singular couple amongst nobility in England." Whitefield thus announced their arrival: —

LONDON, Feb. 27, 1766.

MY DEAR MR. WHEELOCK,— This day three weeks I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Occom. On their account I have deferred my intended journey into the country all next week. They have been introduced to and dined with the Daniel of the age; namely, the truly noble Lord Dartmouth.

Mr. Occom is also to be introduced by him to his Majesty, who intends to favor the design with his bounty. A short memorial for the public is drawn, which is to be followed with a small pamphlet. All denominations are to be applied to, and therefore no mention is made of any particular commissioners or corresponding committees whatsoever; it would damp the thing entirely. Cashiers are to be named, and the moneys collected are to be deposited with them, till drawn for by myself. Mr. Occom hath preached for me with acceptance, and also Mr. Whitaker. They are to go round the other denominations in a proper rotation. As yet everything looks with a promising aspect. I have procured them suitable lodgings. I shall continue to do everything that lies in my power. Mr. S[mith] is providentially here, — a fast friend to your plan and his dear country.

I wish you joy of the long-wished-for, long-prayed-for repeal, and am, my dear Mr. Wheelock,

Yours, etc., in our glorious Head,

GEORGE WHITEFIELD.¹

The king himself expressed a wish to see Occom, and intimated that he would give a hundred pounds. The amount of his gift, after considerable delay and some talk of making it four hundred, was finally settled in April at two hundred pounds; but it does not positively appear that either Whitaker or Occom was ever personally presented. Dartmouth had already, in March, opened the subscription with fifty pounds; but active canvassing was delayed until the king's donation should be announced. Occom in the mean time took the small-pox, very lightly, by inoculation at Mr. Whitaker's hands, and on his recovery in about three weeks, began his systematic labors with a sermon in the church of Dr. Chandler, April 13th. During the next two years he preached between three and four hundred sermons, to the entire acceptance of large assemblies in many of the most important pulpits in London and its vicinity, and throughout England and Scotland. He came into intimate relations with all the most eminent preachers, and uniformly

¹ *Memoirs of Wheelock*, p. 267.

excited the deepest interest. To him entirely Thornton ascribed the success of the mission, though Mr. Whitaker preached much with great ability, and was indefatigable in his labors. It has been stated that Occom preached before the king,—which is indeed very likely, though I am unable to find confirmation of the tradition.

On the 30th of April (1766) Occom and Whitaker were introduced to the Archbishop of Canterbury (who appeared at first quite agreeable and friendly), and on the next day by Mr. Sterret to the Archbishop of York, who expressed an interest in the cause and promised to do something for it. On June 9th Mr. Newton, of Olney, took them home with him, and on the 19th Occom preached in John Wesley's Foundery to a crowded house. On July 7th Occom visited Mr. Thornton, and lodged at the house of Mrs. Wilberforce, Thornton's sister. The next day Mr. Wilberforce took him back in a coach to London, and he called on Mr. Jay and Governor Wentworth.

The magnitude of the sensation which Occom occasioned in London is evidenced by the fact that the actors at this time were making him the subject of mimicry on the stage. "I little thought [says he] I should ever come to that honor." On the other hand, a new hymn-tune, current among all denominations, was named "Lebanon," out of respect for Wheelock.

Though the affair opened well, indeed far beyond all expectation, opposition, more or less concealed, was encountered, as had been predicted. Though drowned at first by the unexpected enthusiasm which Occom inspired, the hostile spirit, after the tide had a little subsided, showed itself in a diligent propagation of sneers and slanders. Some gentlemen on this side the water were especially active in this way. Among the disparaging letters written from Boston to the London society, one by Mr. Oliver, sent in advance, coming by accident to their knowledge, gave great offence to Wheelock and his friends. The point of it was an insinuation clearly made that a false account of Occom as a suddenly and recently converted Mohawk would be foisted upon the English public, to guard against which, Mr. Oliver volunteered to protect the home society by himself giving an account of Occom's life. This turned out indeed to be in the main correct, and conformable to what Wheelock had stated; the sting lay in the unworthy accusa-

tion that accompanied it. The timely discovery of the letter prevented its doing much harm, but gave occasion for a sharp correspondence and lasting enmities. Occom, to meet the case, put forth while in Boston the following authentic account of his life: —

Since there is great misrepresentation by some concerning my life and education, I take this opportunity to give the world, in few words, the true account of my education. I was born a heathen in Mmoyankeenmuck, *alias* Mohegan, in New London, North America. My parents were altogether heathens, and I was educated by them in their heathenish notions, though there was a sermon preached to our Mohegan tribe sometimes; but our Indians regarded not the Christian religion. They would persist in their heathenish ways, and my parents in particular were strong in the customs of their forefathers, and they led a wandering life up and down the wilderness, for my father was a great hunter. Thus I lived with them till I was sixteen years old; and then there was a great stir of religion in these parts of the world, both amongst the Indians as well as the English; and about this time I began to think about the Christian religion, and was under great trouble of mind for some time. I thought the religion which I heard at this time was a new thing among mankind, such as they never heard the like before, so ignorant was I; and when I was seventeen years of age I received a hope. And as I began to think about religion, so I began to learn to read, though I went to no school till I was in my nineteenth year, and then I went to the Rev. Mr. Wheelock's to learning, and spent four years there, and was very weakly most of the time. This is the true account of my education.

SAMSON OCCOM.

BOSTON, Nov. 28, 1765.

In the autumn of 1768, after his return, Occom undertook the preparation of a more extended autobiography; but if written, it was never published. His diary of his early experiences in England is still preserved.

The lack of sympathy for the enterprise among the dignitaries of the Established Church became more evident as time passed. Two weeks after Occom's arrival in London Dr. Burton "would fain have persuaded" him to accept orders in the Church of England; but he modestly declined, adding that he "had been ordained six years in a Dissenting way." As we have seen, both the archbishops as late as the 1st of May spoke in a very friendly manner. But soon afterwards Whitaker was told by the Archbishop of Canterbury that "as the Dissenters did not help us, neither will we help them;" and by Dr. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, he was taunted with being a Presbyterian, and with going about "influencing the people and making

divisions, and collecting money without authority, and that he was liable to be taken up, and many other unmannerly and ill-natured things." Whitaker in giving account of it adds, "Because we were Dissenters he would do nothing; though he pillaged my narrative to fill up his sermon (which I told him of), yet he would not give us a penny, nor ask us to sit down." Occom's reports of the attitude of the bishops were hardly more flattering.¹

Jealousies nearly as inveterate were encountered likewise among the Dissenters themselves. Dr. Chandler advised them "not to own Mr. Whitefield as a friend either to Dissenters or to the old standards of the Church of England." But the connection of the school with the Scotch society was a circumstance of still greater danger. Whitaker and Occom were acting, in fact, under a formal commission from the Connecticut board of correspondents of that society; but they found it necessary while in England wholly to disown the connection. None there would give to the Scotch society. Even the Earl of Dartmouth "would by no means lift for it." And Wheelock was cautioned by both Whitaker and Whitefield on no account in his letters to mention their relation to the Scotch board. It was for that reason determined that the English subscriptions should be taken in the name of Wheelock himself; and he was called on for a power of attorney to that end, which was duly prepared (running to Whitaker), and forwarded near the last of May, 1766.

The plan of operations did not at first contemplate the appointment of trustees. Both Dartmouth and Whitefield were opposed to any such feature, being of opinion that no board ever succeeded in making benefactions secure, but served only to embarrass action. They had, indeed, no better opinion of a charter, but thought the money should be lodged with Wheelock, — he making immediate provision by will for its proper application in case of his death, and for a successor. Dartmouth was willing, however, to act as a member of a board of correspondents to receive the funds and assist in the application of them. The other gentlemen, though of the same mind as to a charter, thought favorably of the establishment of a board of trustees. Whitaker suggested to Wheelock to appoint

¹ See a quotation from him in Sprague's *Annals*, iii. 193.

trustees to take charge in case of his death, and added, that if he himself, as Wheelock's attorney, should find it necessary to name such a board, he would name Wheelock, Pomeroy, Eells, Whitaker, and perhaps Fish, — all of them, it will be noticed, residents of Connecticut. Wheelock, in reply, acquiesced in that selection; and in his gratification with the flattering prospects of the mission, declared Mr. Whitaker himself to be his first choice for a successor.

About the 1st of August Whitaker and Occom left London for a tour through the western counties of England, and were absent about four months. They had good success, as proved by the list of subscriptions, though the people of the Established Church had been publicly advised to withhold their contributions, and turn them to the furtherance of similar schemes to be put on foot by the London society.

On returning to London they found that, in deference to a general demand of the patrons, a local English board of trust had been determined on and its members selected. On the 28th of November, 1766, Whitaker transferred to that board all his authority under Wheelock's power, and took from them a commission to make further collections. (The fund at that time amounted to £5,000.) Whitaker, indeed, was summoned from Exeter to London for that express purpose. He was immediately called back to Bath to meet Gov. John Wentworth (December 16), then on the point of departure for New Hampshire. Wentworth subscribed £21, gave a handsome testimonial for publication, and promised to grant a township for the school and its people if it should be located in his province. The testimonial certified —

That the said Indian school appears to me to be formed upon principles of extensive benevolence and unfeigned piety; that the moneys already collected have been justly applied to this and no other use. From repeated information of many principal gentlemen in America, and from my own particular knowledge of local circumstances, I am well convinced that the charitable contributions afforded to this design will be honestly and successfully applied to civilize and recover the savages of America from their present barbarous paganism.

J. WENTWORTH, *Governor of New Hampshire.*

Dec. 16, 1766.

On the 26th of January, 1767, the trustees met in London and were organized, with Lord Dartmouth as president, John Thorn-

ton as treasurer, and Robert Keen (a woollen-draper in the Minories) as secretary. A declaration and appeal to the public was penned by Dartmouth himself, and signed by all the trustees; and Whitaker confirmed his transfer of authority by a formal assignment, on the back of which the trustees signed an acceptance. This arrangement was very distasteful to Wheelock; but he confirmed it, though after considerable delay and with great reluctance, by a power of attorney dated Sept. 24, 1767. And the trustees, on May 14, 1768, executed a very formal declaration of trust, with lengthy recitals, the substance of which was that —

“They do hereby declare and agree that they will apply the same three pounds per cent Bank Annuities and the interest thereof and the said cash, and all other sums of money and benefactions whatsoever which shall be received by them, for the purpose of promoting and extending the said charity, to the best of their judgment and discretion, for the advancement, support, and promotion of the said charity so laudably begun by the said Eleazar Wheelock.”

Agreeably to the wish of his English friends, as communicated by Whitaker, Wheelock also made a will (March 4, 1767), whereby he named Whitaker as his successor in the school (with Rev. Charles J. Smith as substitute, in case Whitaker should decline), and devised the land received from More to them, with Eells, Fish, Pomeroy, and Salter. His dislike of the English scheme — though carefully concealed from the trustees — appears in many ways. Early in 1768 a proposition was made to him from Edinburgh to give up the English trust and let the Scotch society take the entire patronage of the school, with a suggestion of a Scotch charter and additional subscriptions. Communicated to a friend, he thought it “worth considering.” “Perhaps,” he adds, “can control both, and so have two strings to the bow.”

A pamphlet of forty-eight pages (similar to the former narratives) was at the outset printed in London in 1766, containing Wheelock’s memorial — somewhat altered, to suit the change of plan — and the several testimonials, with some accounts of the school and missionaries. The whole was prefaced by an address designed to appeal to the sympathy of all classes. The school was styled the “Indian Charity School, founded and carried on by that faithful servant of God, the Rev. Eleazar

Wheelock." The various testimonials were also printed and circulated upon a large broadside sheet. A second edition of the pamphlet was issued in 1767, with an appendix containing an announcement of the establishment of the trust, with additional testimonials,—one of them signed by ninety-four prominent persons in London and other towns, comprising, with others, many ministers of the Established Church. Included among the documents was the letter of Governor Wentworth and the statements by the London trustees; and it was announced that subscription books were opened at twelve places in London.¹

"The books at all the Bankers to be opened in the name of John Thornton, Esq., Treasurer to the Trustees for Mr. Wheelock's Indians' Charity School, to be by the said Trustees laid out in stocks (as hath been done by the monies already collected), to be by them and the said Mr. Wheelock and their successors employed for the use of the said charity as they shall judge will best answer the great end proposed, and Mr. Wheelock to be accountable to the said Trustees for the monies remitted.

"The Trustees, in order of precedence, were: The Rt. Hon. William, Earl of Dartmouth,² *President*; Sir Charles Hotham, Baronet, who, dying,

¹ Messrs. Roffey & Co., Lombard Street; Pewtress & Roberts, Lombard Street; Hoare & Co., Fleet Street; Childs & Co., Temple Bar; Drummonds, Charing Cross; Sir Jos. Hankey & Co., Fenchurch Street; Welch & Rogers, Cornhill; Fuller & Son, Lombard Street; Gines, Lombard Street; Mr. Samuel Savage, Gun Street, Spitalfields; Denis De Berdt, Esq., Chiswell Street; Mr. Robert Keen, in the Minories.

² William Legge, second Earl of Dartmouth, was descended from Thomas Legge, of the Company of Skinners, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1346 and 1353. William Legge's great-grandfather, George, was a distinguished admiral and Master of Ordnance under Charles II., and was raised to the peerage in 1682 as Baron of Dartmouth, in the county of Devon. George's son William, the second Baron, being high in the confidence of Queen Anne, and one of her principal Secretaries of State, was advanced to the dignities of Viscount Lewisham and Earl of Dartmouth in 1711. The first Earl's son, George, Viscount Lewisham, died before his father, leaving a son, William, the subject of this notice, who succeeded his grandfather in the earldom, Dec. 15, 1750. He was born June 20, 1731. He married Frances K. G., only daughter of Sir Charles G. Nicoll, K. B., Jan. 11, 1775, by whom he had eight sons and a daughter. In 1765 he was for a short time First Lord of Trade and Plantations, and in 1772 was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies. From November, 1775, till 1782 he was Lord Privy Seal, and during a part of 1783 Lord Steward of the Household to King George III. He then retired in the main from public life. He died July 24, 1801.—See a sketch by the Earl, his grandson, in "The Dartmouth," 1847, vol. ii. p. 3.

The following curious anecdote is given as illustrating his piety and his manners with royalty,—not, it is to be hoped, his habits of punctuality or his politeness. "The king and some noblemen had agreed to take an early morning ride. Dartmouth was of the party, but kept the others waiting a few minutes. On being

was replaced, in December, 1767, by the Hon. Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, Kt., one of the Barons of His Majesty's court of the Exchequer; John Thornton, Esq.,¹ of Clapham, Surrey, *Treasurer*; Samuel Roffey, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn Fields; Charles Hardy, Esq., of the Parish of St. Mary le-bonne; Daniel West, Esq., of Christ Church, Spitalfields; Samuel Savage, Gentleman, of the same place; Josiah Robarts, Gentleman, of the Parish of St. Edmund the King, Lombard St.; and Robert Keen, Gentleman, of St. Botolph, Aldgate, *Secretary*. The most influential members of this body were, of course, the President (Dartmouth) and the Treasurer (Mr. John Thornton)."

In March, 1767, the spirit of giving in London having subsided, as the novelty of the matter wore off, Whitaker and Occom, accompanied, at the desire of the trustees, by John Smith, set out for Scotland, going by the western road and stopping along the way, so as to arrive in Edinburgh at the meeting of the General Assembly, about the middle of May. They met with a favorable reception. The commission from the Con-

gently reminded of his tardiness by one of the company, his Lordship replied, 'I have learned to wait on the King of kings before I wait on my earthly sovereign.'"
— *Memoirs of Wheelock*, p. 50.

¹ John Thornton was born in an old house hard by Clapham Common (a tract of 220 acres, about four miles from London, lately made into a park) April 1, 1720. His father, Robert Thornton, was a successful London merchant in the Russian trade. John, when he grew to manhood, continued the traditions of the house, and raised the family fortunes. He was active and shrewd, keen in watching opportunities, and skilful in using them, and acquired great wealth. He was one of those rare men in whom the desire to relieve distress becomes a master passion, which he indulged with a disdain, alternately ludicrous and sublime, of the good advice which the eccentric have to undergo from the judicious. Yielding to every honest impulse, relishing a frolic when it fell in his way, choosing his associates in scorn of mere worldly precepts, and worshipping with any fellow-Christian whose heart beat in unison with his own, no matter what his creed, he was equally liberal to Churchmen and Dissenters. Though he was frugal and exact in his personal expenses, the stories of his princely benevolence read like a fairy-tale. Once he offered a struggling young merchant £10,000 without security. Again, by the stroke of a pen he placed the humble proprietor of a small property in Ireland in affluence. He devoted large sums annually to charitable purposes, — especially to the cause of religion in his own and other countries. One of his methods was to buy livings and present them to worthy clergymen. He steadily gave Rev. John Newton £200 a year during his residence in Olney, besides additional drafts; so that the whole sum exceeded £3,000. He printed at his own expense large editions of religious books, which, with Bibles and prayer-books, he sent out, in connection with his extensive commerce, to all parts of the world. He had withal a devout personal piety, and was a father among that remarkable company distinguished by Sir James Stephen as the "Clapham Sect." Thornton died, away from home, at Bath, Nov. 7, 1790, in the 71st year of his age, and was buried in the family vault, St. Paul's Church, Clapham. Cowper immortalized his virtues in an elegy. — *Memoirs of Wheelock*, p. 69; *Old Clapham*, by J. W. Grover, pp. 18, 63, 71.



JOHN THORNTON.

necticut board of correspondents was here produced, and the Scotch society, believing Wheelock's school "to be the best and the only means of evangelizing Indians at the time," at its quarterly meeting (June 4) received Whitaker's memorial, which it caused to be printed and circulated, with an official indorsement by the Marquis of Lothian, its president, to all the ministers in Scotland, entreating them to take the most proper methods of obtaining contributions, to be lodged in the hands of the society, "for carrying on this great and godlike design." The moneys, according to the terms upon which Whitaker solicited them, were to be applied "towards building and endowing an Indian academy for clothing, boarding, maintaining, and educating such Indians as are designed for missionaries and schoolmasters, and for maintaining those who are, or hereafter shall be, employed on this glorious errand." Important results depended in later years upon a critical construction of this phraseology.

The University of Edinburgh conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon Wheelock, June 29, 1767, and Whitaker received a like distinction from St. Andrews.

On the 15th of July Whitaker and Occom went over into Ireland, expecting to be absent about two months, and to meet the synod in session. On landing (July 19), they learned that the synod had adjourned in June; and finding a Mr. Edwards there collecting for a Baptist college to be set up in Rhode Island, they thought it best to leave that field till another time, and to return to the canvass in England, of which country two thirds remained as yet unvisited.

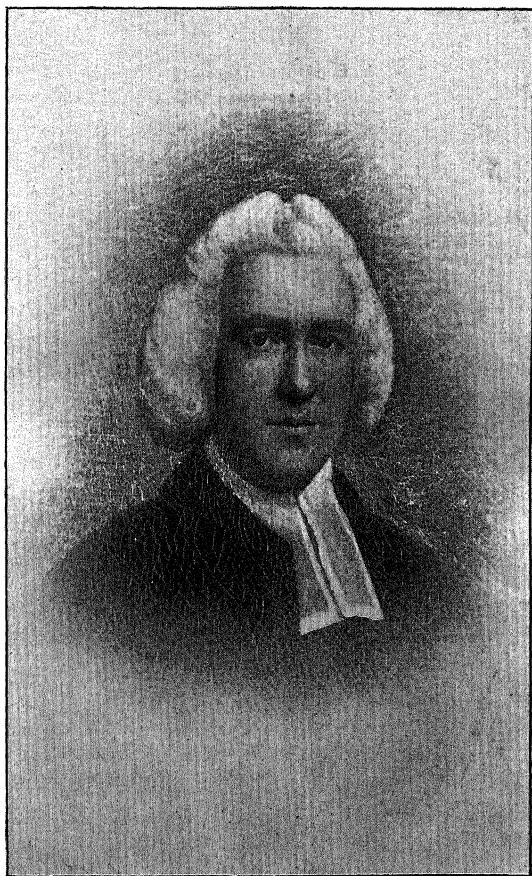
By the last of December they were again in London, having secured in all over eleven thousand pounds, — nearly £9,000 in England, and £2,529 in Scotland, — and began to arrange for a homeward journey in the spring. They sailed in April, 1768, and arrived home June 6, after a voyage of eight weeks and an absence from home of two years and a half.¹ Before their departure the Earl of Dartmouth caused Mr. Whitaker's portrait to be painted (probably by Chamberlain) and presented to him. This fine portrait, by the courtesy of Mr.

¹ Miss Caulkins, in her *History of Norwich* (p. 296), asserts that in consequence of the disagreement between Whitaker and Occom, they did not return together, though both returned in 1768.

Whitaker's grandchildren, adorns the College gallery.¹ Prints now in existence indicate that Ocom's portrait was also painted; but the original is not preserved, so far as we know.

¹ Nathaniel Whitaker was born on Long Island, Feb. 22, 1732, and graduated at Princeton College, 1752. After studying for the ministry, he was first settled as pastor of the Presbyterian church at Woodbridge, N. J., until 1759. From April, 1760, to 1769 he was pastor of the Chelsea parish in Norwich, Conn., and then, until February, 1784, was settled over the Tabernacle Church at Salem, Mass. During all this time he was certainly one of the most eminent and influential of the New England clergy. He was a bold and uncompromising champion of the rights of the Colonies. Some of his scathing pulpit utterances against Toryism were published in pamphlet. In the winter of 1777—gentlemen of Salem having subscribed for the purpose £500—he erected works and engaged in the manufacture of saltpetre for the good of the State. He removed, in August, 1784, to a pastorate in the Plantation of Canaan (now Skowhegan), Maine, where, in January, 1785, he formed a church of twenty-two members,—the first in Somerset County. Here he exercised for a time large influence as the most learned and ablest Presbyterian clergyman in the county. His salary was £80 a year in produce, and twenty cords of wood. From Canaan he was dismissed in 1790, and removed to Taunton, Mass.; his church at the same time withdrawing from the Presbyterian order. He died Jan. 21, 1795, Miss Caulkins says, at the South and in poverty. He was a handsome man, of gentlemanly manners, six feet in height. All accounts agree that he had an attractive presence and great versatility. At Skowhegan, in 1788, he personally directed the framing of the most difficult parts of the meeting-house, and with his own hands made several articles of household furniture, which were carefully preserved in the parish for several generations. During his pastorate in Norwich he engaged also in trade, and was charged with an attempt to monopolize the vending of wines, raisins, etc., in his society. He had the misfortune in all his pastorates to be involved in contentions, and to leave an unfavorable reputation behind. Miss Caulkins calls him "a worldly man, and frequently irregular;" and the historian of Skowhegan paints his character in still darker hues,—as "void of principle," etc. He was unfortunate in his family, all his sons but one dying young. His daughter married in Norridgewock. (See History of Norwich, by Miss F. M. Caulkins, 1845, p. 296; Felt's Annals of Salem; History of Skowhegan, by J. W. Hanson, 1849. See also Sprague's Annals, i. 299, note,—which is, however, strangely in error as to his college connection and some other points.) Whitefield, notwithstanding his criticisms above quoted, maintained a friendly correspondence with him, which is said to be still in existence, and visited him familiarly at his house in Salem, to confer about Wheelock's affairs, only a few days before his (Whitefield's) death, in September, 1770.

Ocom, after returning from England, went back to his work among the Indians, having his home at Mohegan. In 1786 he removed with a part of the tribe to Brotherton, N. Y., where the Oneidas gave them a tract of land. He died at New Stockbridge July 14, 1792. Ocom never visited Hanover. Indeed, he cherished the same jealousy of the new College that afflicted the English trustees. He was supported in large part for some years by the generosity of Mr. Thornton. "I have to thank you," writes Thornton to Wheelock, June, 1770, "for the care you have taken of Mr. Ocom. I own I have a sincere value for him, and think it very hard that he should suffer for the great service he has been of to the trust. who, I hope, will encourage him to go on in the work with cheerfulness, as there may be occa-



NATHANIEL WHITAKER.

The bulk of the English funds was invested by the trustees in Three per Cent Annuities. Those in Scotland were placed at four per cent. A full list of the donations was published in London in the "Narrative" for 1769, and has lately been reprinted in an appendix to Mr. Smith's "History of Dartmouth College." Besides other things sent over from England were, in 1769, a clock, which Wheelock by his will gave to his successor as an official heirloom (but which has since passed out of knowledge), and a coach which, on a hint of his infirmities conveyed through Whitefield, was generously given to Wheelock by Thornton. Whitefield wrote (April 20, 1769): "As I find your old bones, like mine, demand an easy carriage, good Mr. Thornton, on the bare mentioning it, hath also further commissioned me to furnish you with one. This will be done with all expedition. Ere long, chariots and horsemen will come to carry us where 'the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.' Till then may we work to the very stumps."

The expedition certainly resulted in a remarkable success; but we are forced to infer, from certain hints to be found in the correspondence, that with greater prudence on the part of Dr. Whitaker even more might have been done. Whitefield wrote (Feb. 9, 1767): "Mr. Whitaker is unpolished and forward; but as he hath a set of good counsellors, he will get through very well. He is somewhat improved since his arrival. He is certainly very indefatigable. Occom attracts the approbation of all. He really behaves well; only I wish his continuance in England may not spoil him for the wilderness." Mr. Keen also commended Occom as a "plain, honest-hearted man, who is well received wherever he goes." Thornton's letters give us hints of friction between the envoys, in which his sympathies were with Occom, as being hardly used. "Pray look to his case and Mr. Whitaker's," he writes some years later, "and see who was benefited; and yet Mr. Occom was the instrument under God that was the means of collecting all the money. Had the Doctor come without him, the disgrace would have all fell to his share, whereas poor Occom proved the scapegoat." Dr. Whitaker, though often cautioned, alienated many friends by

sion; and I think you may rely on there appearing whatever you see fitting to advance him, in whatever shape you think most eligible." (See *Memoirs of Wheelock*; *Dwight's Travels*, ii. 168-174; *Sprague's Annals*, iii. 194.)

talking much about affairs of State, so that Occom was once asked by gentlemen of the trust publicly at table, "What made them send over Dr. Whitaker; whether Dr. Wheelock and the board on this side the water were all such men as the Doctor; that if they knew them to be such, they would either return the money collected to its donors, or put it into the Court of Chancery."

But that which injured Whitaker above all in the estimation of the trustees arose out of circumstances which we are now to relate. Before Whitaker and Occom left home it was planned informally by the board, as a good method of bringing home the moneys they might obtain, to remit in goods, which would at the same time afford a profit to the fund. In pursuance of this idea, Wheelock, understanding of course that the collections were entirely at his disposal, wrote to Whitaker (May 16, 1766): —

"You are hereby empowered to remit in goods, to the amount of two or three thousand pounds lawful money, for the supply of the Indian Charity School under my care and the missionaries, from time to time, upon the credit of the donations given in Europe for that purpose, and to assure the merchants of whom you have said goods, that upon your advice of them I will draw orders upon persons in whose hands the donations are for the payment of the same."

But his enlarged scheme of operations compelled Wheelock to draw quite heavily upon Whitaker for cash, without awaiting the slow course of mercantile transactions. After the trustees superseded Whitaker in the custody of the funds, these drafts were still honored until, in March, 1767, they aggregated over £800. Their large amount had already occasioned some comment among the trustees, when it chanced, during Whitaker's absence in Scotland, that certain letters written by Mr. Eells arrived, and were opened by the trustees under general authority from Whitaker, wherein were references to the plans for remitting in goods (of which they were ignorant), coupled with suggestions for private advancement in that connection, which gave them reason to suspect that an improper use was to be made of the money, by employing it in trade. One of Wheelock's drafts for a considerable sum coming in at that juncture, they refused to pay, and notified him of the facts. The following is in Thornton's handwriting: —

MR. ELEAZAR WHELOCK.

LONDON, 25th March, 1767.

REV. SIR, — We must acknowledge we have been very much alarmed at finding some clandestine dealings betwixt the Rev. Mr. Eells, of Stonington, and Mr. Whitaker, which had we been apprised of, we should have declined accepting the trust; and we consider it in such an iniquitous light that if it is not put a stop to, we shall decline acting any further as trustees for your school; which we desire therefore you would see immediately done, and then we shall rejoice to give you all the assistance we can.¹

Whitefield wrote: "I think the scheme concocted with Mr. Eells very iniquitous and exceedingly imprudent. . . . How came you," he adds, "to draw so many hundreds this last year, and why no account of the disbursements? I hope no money is lodged in traders' hands. If it is, it must be drawn out, expended, and accounted for, before any more will be transmitted." Wheelock admitted the "shocking" appearance of the letters, in the absence of explanation; but was able to convince the trustees that he, at least, was privy to no doubtful schemes. He assured them at the same time of his own undiminished confidence in the other gentlemen. The trustees expressed themselves satisfied as to Wheelock himself, but retained very decided doubts as to the others,² especially as it turned out that Mr. Eells had the benefit in this manner of £100 sterling which had been paid by Whitaker upon a draft of Eells's in May, 1766, and which Eells was unable now at once to replace. However, they paid the suspended draft, and continued to honor Wheelock's requisitions. But they insisted that he should change his will and nominate Kirkland, or some other person than Whitaker, to succeed him, and desired that the school might be bequeathed to the Earl of Dartmouth and the English trust,—excluding both Eells and Whitaker. At the same time they demanded a formal deed of trust from Wheelock himself in confirmation of the steps that had been taken.

This deed, as sketched by Mr. Keen, would put into their hands the absolute control of the fund and its expenditure, with power to honor Wheelock's drafts or not, as they should choose,

¹ Signed by Dartmouth, Thornton, Hardy, West, Savage, and Keen.

² Occom seems to have been the only one in whom at the moment their confidence was unabated. It came, a few years later, to Wheelock's knowledge that on Occom's departure "the Gentlemen of the Trust engaged him to write particularly of the school and the disposal of the moneys collected in England, that he tried to excuse himself, but they would not accept an excuse."

and to name his successor. The demand came to Wheelock's hands in November, 1767. He replied with decided objections, citing his recent experience with a dishonored draft, of which he bitterly complained, and avowing his unwillingness to put himself at the mercy of an arbitrary power so far away. He tried to avoid a strict compliance by sending over a letter of attorney similar to the former; and beginning now to harbor distrust in his turn, cast about for some way wholly to escape from the supervision of the trustees. In this frame of mind he appealed once more to the Connecticut Assembly, desiring it to receive and administer the English funds; but was again refused. The occasion of the adverse result was thus explained by Mr. Dyer:

WINDHAM, Nov. 12, 1767.

REV. SIR,—This in the greatest haste,—the bearer impatiently waiting,—just to let you know I would not have you discouraged or any way disappointed that the Assembly did not immediately comply with your proposal as to receiving the money piously and generously given in England for promoting the Indian school. The Lower House, it is true, rejected the proposal, but the Council entertained favorable thoughts of it. It happened to come in just at the close of the session of the Assembly. The Lower House passed upon it in haste. The Council had no time to consider upon it, therefore continued the consideration of it to the May session, and doubt not that the Lower House by that time may be convinced of the expediency of it. In the mean time you will have opportunity to know whether, if the Assembly should agree, it would be agreeable to our brethren in England concerned, which hope you may know by the spring of the year, and no time lost. I shall be glad, when I have the pleasure to see you, to converse more fully on the subject. Am, sir, with sincere respect, etc.,

ELIPHALET DYER.

Like his other friends, Samuel Huntington in particular advised caution, thinking the matter very delicate, and likely to be a turning point in the whole affair. To his friend William Smith the younger Wheelock wrote (Nov. 5, 1767):—

“A few days ago I received a letter from Mr. Keen, of which the enclosed is an abstract, which has much exercised my mind. I have not dared to publish it, nor do I think it best that it should get abroad at present either from you or me. But, dear sir, don't it look as though they designed to exclude any trust on this side the water, and engross the whole affair in their own hand, to be at their sovereign direction and control? Will it do for them to protest bills as they please, and perhaps by it expose painful missionaries to suffer or quit their service amidst the greatest usefulness? Will it do to have the fund there, and the school have but half the profit which it might have if it were here? How shall I conduct so as to get matters right and

not offend my noble Lord Dartmouth and the other worthy gentlemen of the trust? Will it do to will the school to these worthy gentlemen, and run the venture of an agreeable succession; or shall I not betray the cause which God has hitherto so signally owned?"

Mr. Smith replied as follows: —

NEW YORK, 30 January, 1768.

Pardon me, My Dear Sir, for this long delay since the Receipt of yours of the 5th of November. Charge it to a load of private and public business which bears so heavily upon me that I have scarce time for necessary refreshments.

Mr. Keen's letter alarms me. Now we see why our English Friends opposed the Scheme of an Incorporation. We might have reasoned till Doomsday, it would have been all in vain; our arguments will never reach *their* principle. They have no confidence in us on this side of the water because we are Presbyterians; and they will not apply to the Government, lest power be given to persons not Methodists. Hence their new Plan, as you call it, — tho' I daresay it is an old one, — for throwing the Fund and School into the Hands of a pious Junto to whom we are heterodox in Discipline and Worship on the one hand, and the body of the Church of England clergy in doctrine on the other. I am therefore fearful that the whole Design will prove abortive. You have indeed a difficult part to act. The contracted views of the trustees will render the project short-lived. To oppose them will be to prevent *any good* from being done by the money they have raised. *You must join them till it is spent.* Their Piety will induce them to attempt something that may be of service to Religion. We have only to lament that their Project will not be catholic and permanent, as they have the money. Your power amounts to very little more than that of a mere petitioner; and however great as a man of piety, will be but trifling as a non-Episcopalian minister. However, exert what you have, make no surrender, execute no deed, nor consent to any submissions, but speak freely and decently, and act firmly, until things are fully explained; and if you succeed, it will be by alarming their pious fears that all will drop on account of your jealousies and disgusts, and themselves be brought into scandal for subverting a noble design from party views. Open your heart to some Dissenting friends in England who may give prudent hints that may lead them to conceive that the whole project will blow up, unless you are in a great degree obliged. . . .

Have you seen Chandler's Pamphlet in favor of the introduction of American Bishops? We are told that Prelacy is become quite generous and inoffensive; but a late instance should put our churches upon their guard. Ours at New York lately asked the King for a Charter to save our estate from falling into private hands, and the bones and sepulchres of our fathers from being sold, — a laudable end and reasonable request; and yet it was denied in Privy Council last August, the Arch Bishop of Canterbury being present, and the ghostly Father of London was an open Solicitor against us at the Board of Trade. In a word, the Decree says it is not expedient that we should have greater immunities than we enjoy by the Laws of Toleration. Will your churches admit that they hold their privileges by this base tenure? All

ranks of Dissenters here (tho' improperly so called) are in consternation at this unreasonable instance of prelatic partiality; and if this is the spirit of the hierarchy, how cogent the reason for our bearing the most public testimony against the introduction of a powerful order of men, who may drive us far to the westward from our present habitation, as they once drove our fathers. I wish you would make this anecdote known, concealing my name on account of my office, as one of the Council in this province. You may depend upon the Fact, for we have an authentic copy of the Royal dismission of our petition. Excuse this hasty scrawl from, Rev^d Sir, Your Most Obed^t Serv^t,

WM. SMITH, JUN.

These delays and questionings excited, as might be expected, corresponding doubts on the other side. Whitefield wrote, Jan. 27, 1768, that Wheelock might thank Eells and Whitaker for all the trouble that had arisen.

"I am sorry [says he] but unspeakably more so for what you have done and are now doing yourself. When you found the bill not protested but paid, why not bury all in oblivion? Why should it be repeated again and again? And why should you apply to the Connecticut Government to put the money out to interest? Why send over a copy of your letter of attorney, when a formal power for a trust was expected; or mention making a fresh will without telling the names of the persons nominated in that will? All these things cannot but give very great disgust before the most reputable and disinterested and prudent set of gentlemen that ever undertook a public trust. As I was, under God, a chief instrument in obtaining their assistance for you, I think myself obliged to inform you that you have been too precipitant, and in my opinion treated them very indelicately. A cry was continually made by Mr. Whitaker from the West of England, 'a trust! a trust!' no more collections (as was urged) could be made without one. Messrs. Whitaker and Occum were sent for on purpose to settle one. The former *in confidence* urged again and again that you did not like your board of correspondents. An agreement was made, after solemn prayer, that the moneys collected should be disposed of by the mutual consent of this set of Trustees, on this side the water, and you. Upon this basis all further collections and contributions were founded, and you have now acted as though you was determined to throw this most respectable body aside, in whom you ought to have the utmost confidence, and [have] not complied with any of their most reasonable requests.

"Besides, my dear friend, what can induce you to think this to be a providential season to Enlarge your Indian plan, when in all probability we are at the eve of an Indian war? What need of a journey to the Ohio? What fund can be sufficient for such chimerical, expensive schemes? A Thousand pounds sterling to be expended next year; double that sum expended very lately; and not enough done, in my opinion, to satisfy a hundred of the contributors. The chief thing to make them easy is neglected, — viz., a continuation of your narrative. Narrative and audit of such public charities should be annual. This would please on account of the present, and greatly

encourage future donations. But I fear now a final stop is put to any further proceedings as to the enlarging of the present sum. It is double to what I ever expected or designed. I have long since been engaged in public schemes, and know to my sorrow what it is to have too many irons in the fire at once.

“ ‘ *Experto crede,
Est modus in rebus; sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.*’

The best souls are liable sometimes to mistake fancy for faith, and imagination for revelation. My advice is to contract instead of enlarging your plan. One thing well done is better than twenty things but half done. Now God hath sent you money, do not embezzle it in needless projects. You have not near a sufficient number of missionaries now; where will you find enough for the Ohio, etc.? Kirkland, after being tried, I trust will come forth as gold. He is worthy of double honor.

“ Adieu. I am much indisposed by a violent cold & hoarseness. If this wounds you, pray remember that faithful are the wounds of a friend. I am sure I have been your friend. I have fettered myself to assist you. . . .

“ Your too, too frequently mistaken friend & ready Servant in our common Lord,

“W.”

In March Whitefield again cautioned him, “Be not hasty in enlarging your plan.” To satisfy the popular demand here spoken of for a continuation of the narrative, Wheelock requested Whitefield himself to compile what was required; and it was published by the trustees, in 1769, at London, in a pamphlet of one hundred and forty-five pages, constituting the fifth in the series of “Narratives.”

The trustees after a while relaxed a little the severity of their demands, and in December, 1767, Mr. Keen, renewing the importunity for a deed of trust, coupled it with further expressions of confidence and with promises of liberal treatment, so that Wheelock might have always on hand £500 for emergencies. At the same time, differing from Whitefield, he urged him to enlarge his missionary operations, even approving the Ohio scheme, which Whitefield had condemned. Whitaker also wrote in a similar tone, telling him that the only object of the trustees was to stop the mouths of enemies, who were saying that there was no responsibility, but that all would still be at Wheelock's personal disposal. Keeping this in mind as the main object, Whitaker assured him that he might safely shape the deed to suit himself. Seeing no alternative, Wheelock at length acquiesced. It was a matter of no small difficulty to prepare a document that would be satisfactory on both sides of the

water. No less than ten drafts were made before it was shaped to the minds of Wheelock and his friends at home. But it was finally completed, authenticated with the provincial seal, and forwarded about June 6, 1768, on the same day on which Wheelock had the pleasure of congratulating Whitaker and Occom on their safe return. Subsequently he received from Mr. Keen, in a letter of September 22, an engrossed copy of the declaration of trust, with instructions to draw at pleasure on Mr. Thornton as treasurer. Thornton assured him, October 11, that the trustees meant to strengthen his hands "even to spending the whole money collected as fast as it can properly be done."

A new will was executed by Wheelock, Aug. 23, 1768, wherein his son Ralph¹ was named successor, and trustees as follows; namely, the nine in England, headed by Dartmouth, and a distinct board of eight in America. All the property and the application of it was given to the American board, subject to a veto power in the English board.

The English trustees had justly conceived the most exalted opinion of Kirkland, and repeatedly urged his nomination to the succession. But Wheelock had put it off with various excuses, such as that Kirkland was too young, and that he could not be spared from his mission. The true reason lay deeper, in a settled distrust and jealousy of Kirkland, under the belief that he and his friends had designs to supplant Wheelock, even in his lifetime. The very urgency of the English trustees in Kirkland's behalf confirmed Wheelock in his suspicions. These were at length communicated to Thornton, who replied, June 19, 1770: —

"I don't wonder that the enemy endeavors to sow dissensions. It is best not to regard them, and turn a deaf ear to all the tales that are told you. If we would only keep a steady eye to our own conduct, and walk in simplicity

¹ Ralph had graduated at Yale in 1765, and served two years as preceptor of the school. Wheelock commended him at that time as being of great assistance to him, and "of a remarkable turn to manage Indians." Had he known the truth of Ralph's mission that year to the Onondagas, he would doubtless have modified this opinion. Ralph was irascible and domineering, and not a favorite with the Indians; but he possessed good abilities, and being the eldest son, would unquestionably have come in due time to the succession instead of his brother John, but for a constitutional taint of epilepsy, which, developing at an early age, wholly disabled him for work before the removal to Hanover, and eventually unsettled his mind to such a degree that he was put under guardianship, and sometimes under restraint. He died at Hanover, Feb. 7, 1817, aged 70.

from all art and cunning, it would ever be better with us. . . . Mr. Kirkland I have a great opinion of; and as far as I can judge, he is quite in the most suitable situation. I believe the same of you, and that if you were to change, it would be for the worse for you both. I daresay not a single person on this side the water could ever entertain a thought of such a nature. Indeed, my dear sir, they are not your friends that surmise such a thing. It would be strange, indeed, to think of taking the management from one who was the very being of the institution, and through whose indefatigable labors under God it has been so remarkably blessed; nor do I think we could do it, were we mad enough to make the attempt."

But Wheelock's prejudices were not so easily removed. They were fostered too by other causes. His son Ralph, by his arbitrary temper both at the school and in the wilderness, had given Kirkland deep offence, and feeling himself to be the heir apparent to the succession, could hardly be relied upon to allay his father's suspicions. There had come to be exhibited, as Kirkland thought, a suspicious and querulous disposition regarding the expenses and other matters of the mission, and a tardiness of remittance which left him often pinched with poverty. In one case a special appropriation made by the English trust for his use was a long time withheld, and he was not even apprised of its existence. Kirkland's condition coming, through his own correspondence and that of his friends, to the knowledge of the patrons abroad, the Scotch society, without consulting Wheelock or informing Kirkland of the fund it was drawn from, assigned to Kirkland, in November, 1768, £60 per annum out of the moneys collected by Whitaker and Occom. For this, when he found it out, Wheelock never quite forgave either the society or Kirkland. In this manner a degree of estrangement was developed that was very injurious to the cause. Wheelock and Whitaker (whose correspondence, to say the least, does not present him in the attitude of a peacemaker) on one side, and Kirkland and his friends on the other, kept the subject quite too much before the attention of the foreign trustees, until they plainly told both parties that the quarrel must be accommodated.¹ It is but right to say that the unanimous sentiment with them sustained Kirkland. We shall hear more of the quarrel later. Much mystery existed about the causes of it.

¹ "I presume you know [wrote Thornton] that Dr. Whitaker was thought a double-minded man and artful while on this side the water, and that his espousing your cause can by no means help it."

Until 1772 Wheelock himself was in the dark as to the behavior of Ralph, to which fact much of the misunderstanding may be fairly ascribed.

While these important events were taking place abroad, the school had flourished satisfactorily. Left in June, 1765, with but eighteen charity scholars on the ground (six being Indian boys, and seven Indian girls), the numbers were pretty well restored in the autumn, though the boys sent out in the spring did not all return as expected. Mr. Chamberlain, however, brought in October two from the Oneidas, who remained several years, and two Mohawks were added a few weeks later.

"It was generally thought [says Wheelock] before I had any boys from the Mohawk country, that neither the parents could be persuaded to send, nor their children to come, to this school at such a distance. And the first three who came appeared to come with great caution and fear,—brought each of them a horse, prepared to return in haste if there should be occasion. But so great is the alteration in this respect that the difficulty now is not in procuring what number I please, but in obtaining such as are promising, and such as are, on account of their families, of greatest importance among their tribes."

Late in 1765 Capt. John Butler visited the school; and being pleased with it, left there his son (Walter), "a pretty creature," who remained (not, of course, upon charity) through the winter. Butler also showed great kindness to Chamberlain and the other missionaries near his residence in the Indian country. In the fall of 1766 three more Indians were received, and earlier three English boys entered to prepare for missions.

But the demand for missionaries in the field was urgent. Kirkland and other advisers were of opinion that, to avoid jealousies, all the tribes should be supplied as fast as they were willing to receive them; and the donors in England were impatient for results in the field. Wheelock made, therefore, strenuous efforts to enlist in the service young men already in the ministry; and Kirkland was directed to get the tribes together and procure a categorical statement as to their wishes in the matter. He was reminded too that good accounts from the wilderness would be of service to the cause in the hands of Whitaker and Occom. In the course of the year 1766 Wheelock proposed missions to several others, as well as to Rev. Messrs. Elam Potter of Bethlehem, Ebenezer Rossiter of Stonington, Blackleach Smith, David Sherman Rowland of Provi-

dence, Jonathan Murdock of New Haven, and to Rev. Jeremy Belknap (who replied with high commendation of the school, adding that he had had, the last winter, serious thoughts of offering himself as its instructor), and with renewed urgency to Rev. Charles Jeffrey Smith. The school in fact was in danger of being overshadowed by its missionary features, but for checks that were soon experienced.

All this was done, so far as appears, by Wheelock in a personal capacity. His board of correspondents having no relations to the English trust, which now furnished the means, were practically set aside, excepting so far as concerned the missionaries already in the field under their commissions. During the year 1765 the board had been very active, and held several important meetings. In June, 1766, they had a meeting at Lebanon for the ordination of Kirkland, at which Ashpo was confirmed as missionary to Jeningo, and Messrs. C. J. Smith, Pomeroy, and Kinne were given general commissions. They met again at the town house in Norwich, July 1, 1767, to adjust the terms of Mr. Chamberlain's discharge, at which time they administered discipline to Ashpo for drunkenness and quarrelling, and suspended him from his functions; and again at the same place, Jan. 4, 1769, on matters concerning him and Ocom. Besides these we have no record of any official action by the board, nor evidence of their taking any part as a board in the management of the school, or in the direction of Wheelock's affairs.

On the 13th of May, 1766, Wheelock applied to the Connecticut Assembly for a renewal of the brief granted him three years before, and for permission to draw in advance from the Colonial Treasury sufficient to provide for three missionaries and eight schoolmasters about to go out; and it was granted, with directions "that printed copies of the Act should be seasonably delivered to the several ministers of the gospel in the Colony, and that they should read the same in their several congregations, and appoint a time for making contributions;" the moneys so collected to be paid over to Wheelock for the use of his school.

On May 24th, Wheelock being absent in Boston, Kirkland arrived from his nineteen months' sojourn among the Senecas. With him came his adopted brother Tekanada, a chief warrior of

that tribe. They were received with great ceremony at Hartford by the Governor and the Assembly, then in session, and handsomely entertained. On the 18th of June Kirkland was ordained in due form by the board of correspondents at Lebanon, and July 17 set out on his return to the Indian country with "General" Tekanada, who was clad in regimentals given him by the Assembly, and mounted on a sprightly horse procured for him by Wheelock. Owing to the hardships and dangers attending the Seneca mission, and the small prospect of immediate success, Kirkland was instructed to join Chamberlain in Oneida. In the party were also two of the English scholars, —David McClure,¹ a freshman in Yale College, to abide with Kirkland to learn the language; and Aaron Kinne,² who was put in charge, until fall, of a school at Cherry Valley. As schoolmasters went also Samuel Johnson, a classmate of McClure at Yale, and two of the Indians who had been long at the school; namely, Jacob Fowler, a Montauk, and Joseph Johnson, a Mohegan, both of whom will come to notice later. Chamberlain continued his circuit in the Mohawk valley. Canajoharie and Fort Hunter alone were said to contain, jointly, a hundred and forty families.

The party was preceded, on July 11, by Wheelock's son Ralph and Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy, who went for the purpose, besides other things, of arranging the details of the schools and making an attempt to penetrate the Indian country still farther. Sir William Johnson was absent, and Pomeroy returned after a

¹ David McClure, son of John, came to Wheelock from Master Lowell's school in Boston, June, 1764. He was born at Newport, R. I., Nov. 18, 1748. From October, 1765, he was at Yale College in the intervals of his missions, and graduated in 1769. He was then three years master of Wheelock's school, and removed with it to Hanover. He was at the same time Wheelock's confidential clerk. He was ordained at Hanover, May 20, 1772, and went on a mission to the Ohio. In 1774 he severed his connection with Wheelock and began preaching at Greenland, N. H. From 1776 to 1785 he was settled pastor at North Hampton, N. H., and then at East Windsor, Conn., till his death, June 25, 1820, aged 71. He was a close friend of Wheelock, a trustee of the College from 1777 to 1780, and principal author of the *Memoirs of Wheelock*, published in 1811.

² Aaron Kinne came to Wheelock from Voluntown (Newent, in Norwich), October, 1765, having graduated at Yale that year. Returning from this mission in October, 1766, he was sent to establish relations with the tribes about Georgetown, Me. He was sent again to the Six Nations in 1768. In October, 1770, he was ordained, and settled at Groton, Conn. He died in 1824. See Allen's *Biographical Dictionary*.

month, leaving Ralph to complete the work. The rest of the party came home in the autumn, leaving, during the winter of 1766-67, only Kirkland and Chamberlain and five Indian schoolmasters. By the ensuing May these had gathered into their schools about a hundred children, and all accounts agree that, saving an inveterate habit of irregular attendance, they were in general model scholars. In February, 1767, Chamberlain came down to Lebanon, bringing one of the Mohawk chiefs, with wife and two children, to visit a son at the school. They took the children four days later and returned home, and Wheelock sent with them "Great William," before mentioned, and another Mohawk youth named Seth, "who had been here but a few months, so fired with having been to the wars and killed some Indians that the house was scarcely good enough for him to live in." "I can't tell," says Wheelock, "what will be the effect of this step, but I thought it necessary they should know effectually that there is and shall be government in this school."

In June Mr. Chamberlain applied for his discharge, which was granted him, on condition of his repaying the cost of his outfit; and Kirkland was left alone, with the schoolmasters, in the field. In the fall another of the English pupils, Phineas Dodge, was sent out to stay with him through the winter.

The entry of Wheelock's missionaries into the country of the Six Nations had not, as we have seen, been gratifying to the partisans of the English Church. They had made several attempts to occupy the valley of the Mohawk from Albany as a centre, but without much success. The Prayer-book had been printed in the Indian language in 1712, and in 1763 a beginning was made towards printing a new edition, which was completed in 1768. Till now, however, the principal opposition to Wheelock came from the hostile element in Boston. But the presence of Whitaker and Occom in England, and the reports there published of Wheelock's operations, drew anew to this region the attention of the Church authorities at home; and they entered into fresh communication with Sir William Johnson, with a view to counteract the Presbyterian influence in the Indian country by occupying the field themselves.¹

Sir William belonged of course to their denomination, but he

¹ Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv. 206, 213, 217.

was by no means a religious partisan. He was sincerely devoted to the welfare of the Indians, and ready to countenance any honest plan for their improvement, no matter from what source. He gave hearty support and invaluable assistance to Wheelock's missionaries and schoolmasters. He protected their persons, and fed them, when necessary, from the public stores. He persuaded the Indians to listen to their instructions and to send the children to their schools. Without his help it would have been impossible to maintain their work, and his favor had never been clouded by any jealousy respecting their church connections, about which it is probable he cared very little. By what circumstances his confidence was shaken and his favor sacrificed, we are now to explain.

The first serious difficulty arose in December, 1766, from a controversy between Mr. Chamberlain and Rev. T. Brown, an itinerant minister of the English Church from Albany, who was, like the others, patronized by Sir William. The occasion of it was the christening by Brown of several children who had been previously baptized by Presbyterian missionaries.¹ Brown's ceremony was performed at Johnson Hall, and Sir William assisted as godfather. Under these circumstances Mr. Chamberlain's protest necessarily implied an attack upon Sir William himself. The dismissal of his natural son William from the school, and the random complaints of other malicious "graduates," had very likely some tendency further to estrange him. At all events, when the proposals reached his hands (made in February, 1767) with reference to sending into his country missionaries and catechists of the English Church, he welcomed them heartily, and signified his approval and his desire of seeing them carried into immediate execution. Wheelock received ample warning of the scheme from English friends, and in due time from others on this side the water. He wrote to Whitefield (June 8, 1767), —

"Plans for future operations are at present stopped by the daily expectation of Episcopalians from your side to supply all vacancies there, and (*inter nos*) it is supposed that Sir W. J. designs none but such shall settle among the parties of Indians in that vicinity, and that he has used his endeavors to prevent the introduction of others. It is Indian news that he has told the Onondagas 'to keep to their old religion and customs, that God is well

¹ Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv. 235-37; Stone's Life of Johnson, ii. 342.

pleased with them, and if ministers from New England come among them, to treat them with civility, but not to receive them nor mind what they say;’ that he is often telling the Indians ‘he expects true ministers, — proper ministers, — who will baptize them with the sign of the cross; that those they have from New England are but half ministers,’ etc. And I understand by two of my boys, who came home from Mr. Kirtland’s this day, that Mr. Kirtland suspects something of that nature has had some influence to cool the affections of some towards him and towards this school.”

This was “Indian news” indeed, with characteristic exaggeration. The wonder is that so improbable a story was thought worthy of transmission to England. Three weeks later Wheelock wrote to Mr. Keen (June 29, 1767), “that it was publicly known that a supply of missionaries for the vacancies in Sir William Johnson’s vicinity is daily expected from London, which fully justifies my not sending for the present. The Indians know why they are left destitute of preaching and schools, and the whole country knows why we stop.” But as nothing further transpired, he began after a while to doubt the accuracy of the reports; and about the 1st of September sent out his son Ralph a second time into the Indian country to visit Kirkland and Sir William, and see how the land lay, and penetrate, if possible, to the Onondagas. He sent by him a letter to Sir William, asking frankly about the truth of these last reports, and received a friendly reply (dated Sept. 29, 1767), confirming in substance the reports as to the purposes of the London society, but assuring Wheelock nevertheless of his continued friendship, in the persuasion that Wheelock’s pursuits would be dictated by a disinterested zeal and a becoming prudence towards the plans of the Established Church. He approved the establishing of a school among the Indians on the Ohio, but informed Wheelock that the English Church had also plans in that direction.¹ Notwithstanding the partial suspension of operations, Wheelock, during the year 1767, expended on his charity account about £1,000.

¹ Not until 1771 were Episcopal missions regularly established in the valley of the Mohawk, — Mr. Streat at Fort Hunter, and Mr. Hall at Canajoharie. It is a coincidence not a little curious that the general introduction of Episcopacy in western New York and Canada among Indians and whites was accomplished mainly by the efforts of Wheelock’s own grandson, Davenport Phelps, under the active and persistent instigation of Joseph Brant.

This Davenport Phelps was a son of Wheelock’s eldest daughter and Col. Alexander Phelps. He was born at Hebron, 1755; graduated at Dartmouth College,

The ensuing winter was a very hard one for Kirkland. Some of the Indian schoolmasters, falling into evil ways, caused much scandal, and he himself had a dangerous attack of pleurisy. On the 20th of February, 1768, Joseph Johnson came down as his messenger, — sent home, in fact, in disgrace, — to make known his condition and need of a physician. He desired that young Dr. Huntington might be sent to his relief. Joseph travelled the three hundred miles on foot in seven days. He reported the Onondagas now ready to receive a missionary; and Wheelock dispatched with the doctor his son Ralph, for the third time, accompanied by Allen Mather, an English pupil, to relieve Kirkland and penetrate, if he could, to the distant tribes. They set out March 7th. After going about forty miles Dr. Huntington was himself taken sick, and unable to proceed. He gave such

1775, his mother (then a widow) living at Hanover. His father, who was a member of the English Church, had removed to Orford in 1771, and died there in 1773. The young man was employed by Wheelock in some minor service in Canada, and afterwards served in various capacities in the Revolutionary army. He was quartermaster under Colonel Bedel by appointment of General Gates, and is supposed to have been at the siege of Quebec in 1776. In August, 1777, he was quartermaster of Colonel Hobart's regiment, hailing from Piermont. After the war he lived in Orford. In January, 1781, he was clerk of the court of Orange County, Vt., and in April represented Orford in the Vermont Assembly. In 1783 he was appointed justice of the peace by New Hampshire, and is said to have been in the practice of the law. In 1786-87 he was major of the Third Regiment of Light Horse in the New Hampshire Militia, and the next year its colonel. He was prominent in the border politics for both Orford and Piermont. In 1785 he married his cousin, Catherine Wheelock, daughter of the president's son James. He afterwards appears to have been engaged as a merchant in Hanover with his uncles. The business proved disastrous, and in 1792 he and his uncle James went to Upper Canada and obtained a joint grant of eighty-four thousand acres of land from Governor Simcoe. Soon after this he removed his family thither. He lived for a time at Niagara, practising law, and being also a printer and a merchant. In 1799 Brant, who lived near him, wished him to take orders in the English Church, and made urgent but unsuccessful applications for it to the Church authorities in England. He was at last, through Brant's influence, ordained as a deacon at Trinity Church, New York, Dec. 13, 1801, by Bishop Moore, and returned to Upper Canada as a missionary among the Indians, residing on his farm, about three miles from Burlington Bay. In 1803 he was admitted by Bishop Moore to priest's orders at St. Peter's Church, Albany, and from that time devoted himself to missionary work in western New York. He became the father of that denomination in that section. In 1805 he removed his family from Canada to Onondaga, and afterwards to Geneva. He died June 27, 1813. See Sprague's *Annals*, v. 543; Stone's *Life of Brant*, ii. 342, 344-348; also an account of "Early Protestant Missions among the Iroquois," by Prof. A. G. Hopkins, of Hamilton College, to the Oneida Historical Society, January, 1886, and of the Mohawk Prayer-book of 1712 and 1768 (*Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y.*, viii. 815).

directions as he thought necessary regarding Kirkland's medical treatment, and turned back. Young Wheelock and Mather went on. They found Kirkland still sick, but improving; and soon after their arrival he set out for New England to obtain medical treatment, taking Dodge with him. It was afterwards known that Kirkland felt injured by Ralph's proceedings on his former tour, and he was probably glad of an excuse to absent himself.

Ralph, though piqued and embarrassed by the departure of Kirkland, proceeded with his errand to the Onondagas and Tuscaroras, but found them in a different mood from what had been represented. He returned to Lebanon, April 29, and made a report tending to throw upon Kirkland the blame of the failure. The true history of the journey did not come to Wheelock's knowledge for several years. Hints of something unpleasant in that connection reached him from time to time, even from England; but he would believe nothing to Ralph's discredit. The facts, as he afterwards learned them from the Indians through David Avery, were these. After the departure of Kirkland, Ralph called together the Indians at Canajoharie, and spoke substantially as follows: —

"My brethren, I am come here on business of importance, sent by my father. I am surprised that your father [meaning Kirkland] has run away upon my coming. I depended upon his assistance, and so did my father, as he trained him up for this purpose. I am bound to Onondaga to know their minds respecting my father's school. You see, my brethren, my situation. I am left alone. I now ask your assistance. You see your father has run off in this manner and left me, and it seems that instead of helping, he is counteracting my father."

To this the Indians replied with explanations that Kirkland was sick, and that his departure had been arranged and expected beforehand; and they dissuaded Ralph from proceeding farther. He was told in private, among other things, that Kirkland, before his sickness, had proposed to go and confer with the Onondagas, but desired the Indians to make a first trial by themselves, and then he would go if they advised it; that some reports had since arisen and disaffected their minds, which with Kirkland's sickness prevented the journey, and the head men would rather wait till he could go with them, as he knew the Indian temper. To which Ralph replied, with an air of resentment and an

elevated voice, "Who do you think your father is? Do you think his power and authority are equal to mine? He is no more than my father's servant; and so are all those ministers and schoolmasters he sends here." The Indians, finding him resolute, yielded to his wishes, and furnished him companions to Onondaga. On his arrival there a council was summoned, and Ralph communicated his errand at some length, saying he was sent by "immediate order of his father, who is the head of the ministers in New England and known on the other side the water;" that he "acted in concert with [his] father, . . . and when he dies I shall succeed him and manage all the affairs of instructing the Indians." To this they replied, —

"Brother, we heartily thank you that we now understand the whole of your messages, as you are come with the word of God. You have spoke exceeding well, very sweet words indeed, as coming from the tongue, from whence we perceive you have spoke. But, brother, do you think we are altogether ignorant of your methods of instruction? [Then taking and shaking him by the shoulder,] Why, brother, you are deceiving yourself! We understand not only your speech, but your manner of teaching Indians. We understand affairs that are transacted at a great distance to the westward; they are all brought here: this is our centring council-house. Just so well am I acquainted with your deportment. I view all your conduct as just by — under my eyes. Take care, brother! In the first place, correct yourself. Learn yourself to understand the word of God before you undertake to teach and govern others; for when you have come to understand it yourself, perhaps some of our children will like to make trial of your instructions. For the present, brother, I shall watch your future conduct. You have spoke *exceeding well*, even to our surprise, that our children should become wise in all things by your instructions, and treated as *children* at your house, and not as *servants*. Brother, take care; you were too hasty and strong in your manner of speaking, before the children and boys have any knowledge of your language. Why, brother, if another hears my dog barking or having hold of a creature and bids him get out, and perhaps he don't obey him immediately, not understanding the voice. Upon which the stranger catches up a club and mauls my dog. I shall resent it, because he is my dog. Brother, I love my dog. What do you think of children, then, in like case?"

Here they spoke with a very elevated voice, and their answers back were loud shouts of contempt; "upon which I [that is, Indian Thomas, who related the story] desired them to speak more moderately, as Mr. Wheelock was ignorant of their language and in a strange country. I saw he was much affrighted, and feared he would go into one of his usual fits.

The sachem immediately turned to the speaker and desired him to lower and soften his voice. This he did, but soon broke off; when they whispered some time among themselves, and at length proceeded again, —

“ ‘ Brother, you must learn of the French ministers if you would understand and know how to treat Indians. They don’t speak roughly, nor do they for every little mistake take up a club and flog them. It seems to us that they teach the word of God. They are very charitable, and can’t see those they instruct naked or hungry.’ ”

They wound up by saying that they would take the message into consideration, and consult the Senecas and be guided by them. But with this and the recent scandal of the school-masters, it can be no matter of surprise that a favorable reply never came. Ralph on other accounts was already in bad odor with Sir William, and these things, coming of course to his knowledge, were not calculated to help the school with him. His friendship received its final blow from the following occurrences.

Towards the last of June, 1768, a party of Oneidas, ten in number, came down to Lebanon on a visit, and remained a month. While there, a boy of the party died, — the first of the race that had died at the school. This party set out on their return the 1st of August, in order to be present at a great congress soon to be held at Mount Johnson. Wheelock, learning from them of the expected gathering, determined to send an agent to attend it. It was postponed about a month, in order to gather all the tribes in Sir William’s jurisdiction. Kirkland was still absent from his post on account of his health. Wheelock first chose Rev. C. J. Smith to be his envoy; but most unfortunately he declined, though Wheelock urged it “ almost [as he said] upon his knees.” After several disappointments the choice fell at last upon Rev. Jacob W. Johnson, of Groton, who set out September 19, and in ten days arrived at Canajoharie. The congress, one of the most important ever held among the Indians, was already assembling at Fort Stanwix, where Sir William and a large number of gentlemen had been some three weeks waiting for the distant tribes. Johnson took with him from Canajoharie David Avery, who had been sent out from Lebanon in June to keep the school for the summer, and arrived at Fort Stanwix early in October.

They found there, in waiting with Sir William, Governor Franklin of New Jersey, Governor Penn of Pennsylvania, and a number more of great and wealthy gentlemen from those provinces and from Virginia, with a great sum of gold and silver, and numerous bateaux of blankets and other goods; their purpose being to obtain from the Indians the cession of a large tract of their lands, under cover of a settlement of boundaries. It was, as they soon found, a matter very near the heart of Sir William and the rest, who were acting under instructions from home. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Johnson took immediately an open stand in opposition to the scheme. He posed as counsel for the tribes, and made a written appeal to Sir William to prevent its consummation. He likewise used what influence he could among the Indians to the same end. At the same time, conformable indeed to secret instructions from Wheelock, who was now looking more anxiously than ever for a favorable location, but with strange indiscretion in their execution, he let it be known that Wheelock himself desired from the Indians a grant of lands for his school. Nothing could be more ill-timed or damaging. He also fell into further suspicion and disgrace at a public dinner by some eccentricity displayed in drinking the health of the king, and by airing his patriotism in a letter to Sir William defining his position. Altogether, he seriously injured the school with Sir William, who wrote to General Gage, November 24, a recital of the difficulties he had encountered in the affair.

“And to add to all this [says he], two New England missionaries came up, the one of whom was strongly recommended to me by Dr. Wheelock, of Conn., and did all in their power to prevent the Oneidas (whose property part of the Susquehanna is) from agreeing to any line that might be deemed reasonable. They had even the face, in opposition to his majesty’s commands and the desire of the colonies, to memorial me, praying that the Indians might not be allowed to give up far to the north or west, but to reserve it for the purposes of Religion; and publicly declared to several gentlemen there that they had taken infinite pains with the Indians to obstruct the line, and would continue to do so. The New Englanders have had missionaries for some time amongst the Oneidas and Oghquagaes, and I was not ignorant that their old pretensions to the Susquehanna lands was their real, though religion was their assumed, object; but knowing that any steps I could take with these Missionaries would, from the Indians’ conceptions, be deemed violent, I treated them with silent contempt, though I think you should know these circumstances, and the Government and public in general should see in what

manner their favors and indulgencies are made use of by these Gentry, of which I could give many instances, being possessed of their Secret instructions, and many other very extraordinary papers.”¹

Mr. Johnson had added to his folly by permitting his private instructions to be made known, thereby putting Wheelock in a very uncomfortable position. Avery, his companion, though he had joined in the protest, perceiving the course things were taking, sent a special messenger to convey the intelligence to Wheelock, who was naturally “filled with confusion,” and hurriedly despatched, October 16, Rev. Ebenezer Cleaveland (then just returned from viewing proposed locations in New Hampshire and elsewhere), with Allen Mather, to mend matters if possible; but all too late to prevent the mischief, as not less than eighteen days were consumed in the journey back and forth. They arrived, however, before the breaking up of the congress, were received very courteously by Sir William, and remained eleven days, until the end. They took the opportunity to confer with the Indians in regard to the school and the missions. They met an Indian from Caughnawaga, near Montreal, who manifested a great desire to send his son to the school; and on hearing that there was talk of its going to Coos, said that he believed many of his tribe would send their sons to it there.

Cleaveland reported 3,120 Indians present at the congress. While the business lasted, rum was withheld, and moderation, harmony, and decency prevailed. When all was over, before the rum was given out, Sir William with his family removed in the night, and advised all the English to leave as soon as possible. Cleaveland remained until about ten o'clock in the morning, it being the Sabbath. “Within two hours after the rum had been given out, the whole street and parade was filled with drunkenness, and nothing to be heard or seen but yelling and fighting, as though hell itself had broke loose.” Four were killed before Cleaveland left. The lands sold by the Indians were about eight hundred miles long and one hundred miles wide. Kirkland, as soon as he could get back to his station, hastened also to Fort Stanwix before the congress broke up, but was able to do nothing to retrieve the affair.

As would be expected, Wheelock was intensely mortified by

¹ Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv. 244-250.

what had occurred. The reports reached England in an indefinite and distorted shape, and did much harm. Whitefield wrote, April 20, 1769, of unfavorable reports concerning Wheelock himself "being at a certain congress and dissuading the Indians from the wishes of the Government." "It must [he adds] be a slander." Some nine months after the congress, Wheelock hearing of the strictures passed upon him by Sir William in reference to the matter, wrote to exculpate himself. He added in a postscript that Kirkland, having just arrived, assured him that "Johnson's conduct exceeded all I had ever heard," but that Sir William "was friendly and generous, even to risk his own character" to vindicate Wheelock's. No reply being given to this letter, Wheelock made another attempt at conciliation through his friend Hugh Wallace. From him he got the following report, dated Oct. 18, 1769:—

"Sir William seemed satisfied that you did not intend Mr. Johnson should have behaved in the manner he did, but thinks still *that you wanted some lands from the Indians for your school*. He showed me your instructions to Mr. Johnson, which strongly imply such a desire. . . . I was much surprised to see some memorials and letters from Mr. Johnson to Sir William, and to hear of the odd, silly behavior of the man, who seemed to want common understanding. I fancy, finding him a weak man, there were several gentlemen at the congress that took pains to make him ridiculous. They got your letters to him and some scraps of sermons he had been writing, and turned them and him into a jest. You were extremely unlucky in sending such a man there. Sir William is satisfied of your innocence, and will, on occasion, give you *personally* proofs of his regard; but has a poor opinion of missionaries and their labors. He says they do no service. The Indians they live amongst are far from being bettered by them, and he thinks they make them idle. He says those who have been with you and are returned are little improved either in learning or morality, and as to making husbandmen or farmers, he says it is hardly possible,—they are too lazy and indolent. In short, Sir William's notion about gospelizing Indians is the very reverse of yours, so there is little to be expected from him on that score. . . .

"I found Sir William somewhat offended at having some letters of his published that he says he wrote in friendship, and not to be laid before the public. This prevented his writing you a letter which I solicited him to do, to make you easy and acquit you of any hand in Mr. Johnson's idle conduct. But you may be assured of his being satisfied that you have disclaimed Mr. Johnson's proceedings, and of the uprightness of your intentions."

Notwithstanding his poor opinion of the missionaries in general, Sir William retained his liking for Kirkland, and uniformly sustained him in his position in Oneida. It is but fair to say

that as to the Indians, neither Kirkland's views nor those of Wheelock himself differed by this time essentially from Sir William's.¹

Long before the date of this correspondence the fruit of the various misadventures was manifested. About the 20th of January, 1769, three of the principal men of the Oneidas, headed by Deacon Thomas, a pious, worthy man, came down, ostensibly to fetch back a master for the school then vacant. They expressed a preference for Dodge or Avery, for both of whom the Indians had conceived great affection. Kirkland wrote that he hoped Wheelock would not think of sending an Indian, —

“For [says he] it won't be acceptable to the people; and for my own part, while I have any connection with the school, I must earnestly entreat you won't send an Indian in that capacity (though he may be transformed into an angel of light) until there is good evidence to believe the Indian Devil & evil Spirit is gone out of him.

“You was pleased to inform me of your sorrow for Joseph Johnson's desertion. I can't say I am not sorry too; but I think upon the whole it is better so than worse. He might have continued several years longer in your employ under pretence of regard to you & the cause, & at the same time actually in the Devil's service. Elder *Joseph* and the Prophet *Nathan* kept their strumpets here nigh two months last spring, drank up near three gallons of wine (sent up for me in my sickness) and between six and seven gallons of rum, disposed of some household furniture, & wasted no small quantity of provisions. The virtuous Elder, being given much to pride & vainglory, bought a number of trinkets to please his refined curiosity & adorn his strumpet, for obtaining which he very artfully procured an order from Captain Butler, and has took the value of 40s. on my account. It seems he is fond of changes. Weary with the form of that old-fashioned thing called puritanic religion, he turned pagan for about a week, — painted, sang, danced, drank, and whored it with some of the savage Indians he could find. His name stinks from Kanajohare to Fort Stanwix; even the very road smells strong of his pride, falsehood, & diabolical conduct. He has also said, for the vindication of his concubinage, that Mr. [Ralph] Wheelock did not forbid him during his residence here last Spring.”²

¹ See Memoirs of Wheelock, p. 53.

² Joseph Johnson, a Mohegan Indian, born about 1750, came to Wheelock's school Dec. 7, 1758. He had then been two years at the mission, and was about eighteen years of age. For some time after his dismissal he grovelled in all the vices of his race; but returning from a whaling voyage in 1771, he became a genuine Christian convert while sick at his home in Mohegan, and was restored to favor. He attended Commencement at Hanover in 1774, and was there examined and approved by a number of ministers as a preacher of the gospel. He then itinerated to get means and organize a removal of the New England tribes to Oneida. The execution of the plan being suspended by the war, Johnson was able to render

But the real object of Thomas's visit remained yet behind. It was nothing less than to carry back to their homes all the Oneida children then at school, — six in number. Thomas, whose daughter was among them, had a reasonable excuse for taking her home, — that his wife had recently died, and he needed her. He intimates that he also had another reason personal to the girl. But the reasons of the others were not so obvious. They professed, indeed, that only a visit was intended, and that the children should return in the spring. A religious revival which had begun in October was spreading through the parish and school, and Wheelock was very reluctant to give them up. He was, as he wrote Whitefield, deeply chagrined, and quite at a loss to understand the occasion for such a resolution, at that season, regarding children to whom so long a journey on foot in midwinter could not but be a great hardship. Kirkland wrote that one reason lay in certain slanders, spread by "an ugly fellow," that the children were not well treated at the school. The accounts brought also by Hannah and William, he said, "were ungrateful to the last degree, and very unfriendly to the design. They reported that the Indian boys and girls at the holy school were allowed to drink and frolic." Among the excuses were also fears of impending war, dreams of the chiefs, noises in the air, and other evil signs and omens. Wheelock very unjustly suspected Kirkland himself of having a hand in it. To his son John, then a student at Yale College, Wheelock writes, —

"The Indian boys begin to be concerned; but unhappily it is at this very juncture all the Mohawks and Oneidas are sent for home on a visit to their friends. Who were the instruments that have influenced to such a step I know not, but I am confident the Great Enemy is at the bottom. Dr. Thomas and Mundius' father are now here to attend them home. Hannah [Thomas's daughter] weeps heartily on account of her going away at such a time.

valuable assistance to the patriot cause. Several flattering testimonials from the authorities of New York and of New Hampshire are preserved. He exerted himself strenuously to attach the Six Nations to the Colonies. So distinguished was he in this connection that Washington himself, in 1776, wrote him a handsome commendation. In January, 1776, he was again in Hanover, and preached in Wheelock's pulpit. He is said to have been not inferior to Occom as a preacher. His manuscript letters and journal exhibit him as a person of good education and sincere piety. His father, of the same name, was a captain in the war of 1757 on Lake George, trusted and faithful. *Allen's Biographical Dictionary*; *American Archives*, Series IV. vol. iii. pp. 386, 436; vol. ii. pp. 1047, 1577; vol. i. pp. 386-87.

Nor is there any of them that seems fond of such a journey at such a season."

This was indeed a most critical point in the history of the school, and of substantial influence in hastening its removal and in determining its location. Though at the time perplexed and discouraged, Wheelock afterwards preferred to regard it as a providential occurrence to facilitate the change. "After some time [he says] this Providence, which had appeared so exceeding dark and threatening upon my school, began to wear quite another aspect, and seemed analogous to other instances of God's faithfulness and fatherly loving-kindness towards it;" since, as it afterwards turned out, these children would have proved an embarrassment to him in removing, while their going left room for a greater number of English youth. Even a report occasioned by this circumstance, which "spread far and wide," that his school was coming to nothing, appeared to him in the light of subsequent events "favorable indeed, and as though Providence had planned the whole for the safety and success of the design," since it tended to blind his enemies and still opposition to his plans. The same good results were promoted by his sending home the rest of the children of the Six Nations, which he says he soon after found it expedient to do.

In the last of May, 1769, Wheelock sent out his cousin, Thomas Huntington, who had graduated in the previous year at Yale College, to relieve Kirkland for a short time, and try again to reach the Western tribes. With him went Levi Frisbie from the school as catechist, and two of the Indians as schoolmasters and interpreters. They found the Indian tribes so uneasy that Kirkland dared not leave, nor let the party go farther west. Huntington, after an absence of about a month, returned, leaving the others with Kirkland, who had at this time a church at Canajoharie of twenty-two members.

These experiences, joined with the known attitude of Sir William, satisfied Wheelock that the Six Nations were, for the present, at least, lost to him, and confirmed him in turning his attention to New Hampshire and the Canadian tribes.

The determining cause of the withdrawal of the children, as Wheelock afterwards learned through Avery, was the unfavorable impression the Indians had of the conduct of Ralph, who, as assistant and presumptive successor, assumed a good deal of

authority. "He did not know [said the Indians] how to talk, neither how to conduct towards our children, but punished them for every trifle." As to Wheelock's suspicions of Kirkland, the Indians solemnly asserted his entire innocence, saying that "The people conceived their sentiments of Mr. Ralph from their children, especially from the Mohawks, that had been in the school." Avery told Wheelock frankly—

"The Indians have a very honorable and exalted opinion of the Doctor, and approve of your government and conduct very much, and their whole objection lies in your son. Whether their final answer will not be somewhat determined by his being in or out of any connection with the school, or at least something more effectual be done to reconcile them to him than what I am able to do, I can't yet determine. I suppose that it will not be required that I give my opinion respecting the justice or injustice of their sentiments of him. Yet I would here just observe that since I first contracted an acquaintance with the Indians in these parts I have thought his quick temper, hasty conduct, and rigid government would never agree with their disposition, nor were best calculated to manage them well; but conscious of my own ignorance and inferiority, have kept silence.

"I never before imagined he has by an evil report among the tribes lost all his influence among them as far as he is known, which I fear is the case. The Onondagas hold his conduct in abhorrence."¹

Wheelock's views had now, in the light of experience, undergone a radical change. He had by this time "begun to be fully convinced by many weighty reasons that a greater proportion of English youth must be prepared for missionaries to take entirely the lead of the affairs in the wilderness and conduct the whole affair of Christianizing and civilizing the savages, without any dependence on their own sons as leaders in the matter, or any further than they are employed under the immediate inspection and direction of Englishmen."

"The most melancholy part of the account I have to relate [says he], and which has occasioned me the greatest weight of sorrow, has been the bad conduct and behavior of such as have been educated here after they have left the school and been put into business abroad. . . . Among those whom I have educated there have been near forty who were good readers and writers, and were instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, as their age and time would admit, and were sufficiently masters of English grammar and arithmetic, and a number of them considerably advanced in

¹ Manuscript reports (Oct. 1, 1771, and May 31, 1772) of David Avery, whom Wheelock, after his settlement at Hanover, sent out to clear up his doubts and suspicions about these matters.

the knowledge of Greek and Latin, and one of them carried through college and was a good scholar." Of these about a half yielded to the characteristic vices of their race, and "some who, on account of their parts and learning, bid the fairest for usefulness, are sunk down into as low, savage, and brutish a manner of living as they were before; and six of those who did preserve a good character are now dead." Those who went out as school-masters "have generally done well in their schools for one season, or till their schools have been broken up by a hunting tour or by some public congress; but I have seldom known an instance of their collecting their children and reviving their schools after they have been so broken up."¹

Even Occom, the best of the race ever sent out from the school, several times relapsed into acts of drunkenness.

As the result of these convictions Wheelock became more than ever solicitous to draw into his school suitable material of English blood. He was especially desirous of young persons already familiar with the Indian languages. As early, indeed, as 1762 we find him negotiating in vain to obtain one George Haxton, a youth of eighteen years, who was serving Sir William Johnson as interpreter. Mr. Forbes's pupil, James Dean,² had been brought to his notice at about the same time,

¹ Narrative, 1771, pp. 17, 19-21.

² James Dean, son of John Dean, of Groton, Conn., and first cousin to Hon. Silas Dean, was born Aug. 20, 1748. His parents early devoted him to be an Indian missionary. At about nine years of age he was placed in the family of an Oneida chief at Onohoquaga (probably Good Peter), to learn the Indian language and customs,—about the time when the war drove Mr. Hawley away from the mission. Dean was adopted into the family and tribe, and remained with them about five years,—until Mr. Hawley's return in 1761. He had by that time become, it is said, in tastes, language, and habits, a thorough Indian. He was brought out to Brookfield, Mass., and put in charge of Rev. Eli Forbes, under the patronage of the London society, and was with some difficulty, as claimed, brought back to civilized habits. He was thoroughly versed in the Iroquois languages, speaking them more accurately than a native. He came with the College to Hanover, and graduated in 1773. While yet in college he went on a brief mission to the Six Nations, and during his senior year served as preceptor of the school. After graduating he served actively (as will hereafter appear) under Wheelock's direction till August, 1775, when he was taken by General Schuyler into the Continental service as Indian agent, with rank of major, and served with distinction throughout the war. Taking up his residence in the Oneida country, he was able, with Kirkland, to hold that tribe true to the Colonies. The Oneidas in 1784 gave him two square miles of land near Fort Stanwix, on which he began a settlement; but in 1786 he exchanged it for a tract in Westmoreland. There he lived till Sept. 10, 1823, when he died, aged 75. Dr. Belknap found him there in 1796, and had the benefit of his services as interpreter. He was for many years a judge of the Oneida County Court, and twice a member of the New York Assembly. — See Sprague's Annals, i. 493; Jones's Annals of Oneida County, pp. 744-59; Amer. Archives, Series IV., vol. v. pp. 768, 1100, etc.;

and with greater prominence in 1766. The family connections of Dean were of the best in the Colony, — some of them resided in Lebanon; and his character and history were perfectly well known to Wheelock. But the latter was not at first willing to disoblige the Boston commissioners, who, having patronized the young man at the start, claimed his services, and were not willing to give him up. They wished, however, to utilize him simply as an interpreter, and were not disposed to afford him an advanced education, which he greatly desired. Circumstances having at last somewhat abated Wheelock's consideration for the wishes of the Boston board, at the same time that his need of such material had become more pressing, he yielded to Dean's importunity and received him, November, 1769, with a promise to give him a college education. The hostility of the Boston board was by this greatly intensified; but it was a most fortunate step for Wheelock, as Dean was able a little later to render services of the highest importance to the school and the nation.

By the defection of the Oneidas and the Mohawks the number of Indian pupils actually at the school was reduced within a short time from about twenty to six, and further to three before the close of the year 1769. The students of English blood, on the other hand, were increased by the following spring to sixteen upon charity, besides paying scholars whose numbers are not recorded.

The necessity for a higher education for students designed for missionary work was evident from the first, and Wheelock was accustomed to maintain his boys, when fitted, at the neighboring colleges, — in early years at Princeton, and later at Yale, where for a time he had a concession of half the tuition. In 1767 he had six or seven of his pupils there, including his son John. With the idea of curtailing this expense, and providing for the whole course of education at home, he organized, in 1768, pursuant to a long-cherished plan, a collegiate branch in the school,¹ and employed as a tutor in that department Mr.

N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, iii. 382; Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., xix. 409, 416; Tracy's Men and Events in Early History of Oneida County; Hist. Coll. State of N. Y. (Barber and Howe), p. 376; and for an account of an attempt by certain Indians to kill him in 1788.

¹ Memoirs of Wheelock, p. 47.

Bezaleel Woodward, son of Dea. Israel Woodward, of Lebanon. This young man — born July 16, 1745 — had been fitted at the school, though not upon charity; and after graduating at Yale in 1764, had spent two years studying divinity and preaching successfully. He had returned to Wheelock in November, 1766, as bookkeeper and assistant, and for the last year had acted as master of the school. The students at college were now brought home to be instructed; though as the school, for want of incorporation, had no power to confer degrees, they were kept on the college rolls, taking care to be present to retain standing and graduate.

From this point the enterprise takes a new departure upon a more ambitious plan. The withdrawal of the Indian boys, by curtailing it in one department, gave it a fresh impetus in the larger sphere. It is necessary now to turn back and trace out the negotiations which resulted in its removal to a new home, and its incorporation under the name of Dartmouth College.

CHAPTER II.

1763-1770.

A NEW LOCATION AND A CHARTER.

A PRINCIPAL object of the mission to England had been at the first to renew the application for a charter and for a royal grant of lands. Great hopes had been entertained from the appointment of Lord Dartmouth to the position of First Lord of Trade and Plantations; but Whitaker found at once that no encouragement could be had for an incorporation. Not only was it certain that it would meet with violent opposition from the bishops of the Established Church, but the friends of the school were likewise against it, thinking the school safer without a charter, which they felt sure would prove to be a "job," and injurious to its integrity. They favored its removal, however, at a proper time, when a suitable place should be found; but no reply at all could be got from the Crown to the repeated prayers for a land-grant. The aversion of the Trustees to a charter was so strong that Wheelock ceased for a time to mention it to them, though he neither abandoned his purpose nor remitted his efforts in other directions. Being in harmony with them on the matter of removal, he laid before them from time to time what concerned that part of his plan, and so managed that the ultimate selection of the general location appeared to proceed from them. They were at first inclined to the opinion that the school had better remain for the present in Lebanon; but the unexpected amount of the fund collected in England led them before the close of 1766, through Whitaker and others, to urge an early removal to some place nearer the Indians.

Wheelock's own preference always lay in the direction of the Susquehanna River; but he sought and received numerous propositions from places scattered all the way from the Kennebec to

the Mississippi. Offers for a situation in western New Hampshire came, as we have seen, prominently to his notice as early as 1763, at the time when the new towns on the Connecticut River were being laid out and granted, but when not more than two or three had been opened to settlement.¹ Again, in September, 1765, Wheelock wrote to Mr. Sherburne:—

“His Excellency Gov. [Benning] Wentworth told me he would give five hundred acres of land to encourage the school if I would carry it into the new settlements in the western part of your province. And I have been of late much solicited to carry it there, and am also offered two thousand acres of land by the proprietors if I will settle it at Thetford. Please to turn your thoughts a little upon the proposal, and inform me whether your Government would be so much pleased with it as to do something for the encouragement of it, and what the advantages and disadvantages of settling it there will likely be.”

Sir William Johnson wrote, Aug. 8, 1765:—

“The fixing upon a proper place will be of some importance to your design, and should not be distant from the Indian country. Kennebec River seems too remote on that account; as the Six Nations have a strong aversion to sending their children far off; and any place to the eastward of Hudson’s River will be sufficiently out of the way so that their parents can neither divert them from their studies, nor corrupt them through bad example. If the tract of land offered by Governor Wentworth is large and in a good situation, it may be worth closing with his proposal; as such land must in time produce a revenue which might in a great measure support your institution. Lebanon [Conn.] seems equally advantageous with the rest.”

Several points to the eastward were at different times mentioned. A messenger was sent to explore about Georgetown, Maine, in December, 1766, and a site on the St. John’s River was spoken of in 1768.

In August, 1766, a plan was prepared by Rev. Charles J. Smith for a settlement at the South, in Virginia or Carolina, which was submitted to Sir William Johnson and others, and forwarded to England. It was not generally liked; though Sir William spoke well of it,—as he did of most of the places proposed that did not bring the school too near himself.

Offers having been suggested in the neighborhood of Albany, Mr. Pomeroy, in his journey to Oneida in the summer of 1766,

¹ Two white men arrived in Haverhill in 1761, and others came there and to Newbury in 1762. Orford, Hanover, and Norwich were first settled in 1765, Lyme in 1764, and three white men passed the winter of 1762-1763 in Lebanon, and others arrived in the following spring.

examined proposed situations on the Hudson, in the Half Moon at the confluence of the Mohawk, and on Otter Creek. His report was unfavorable. He said that some thousands of acres would likely be given by the patentees, but not enough for a parish, "and all so encompassed with Dutch people" that there was poor encouragement. As to the rest, the condition of things was thus summarized by Wheelock to Whitefield, Sept. 4, 1766:—

"Large offers have been made for its coming into the new settlements on Connecticut River, both on the New York and New Hampshire sides of it. It is likely that over twenty thousand acres would be given in their several towns, but not together. Colonel Willard offers to sell eighteen thousand acres in Sugar River for £1,500 L. M., which would be the most inviting of any part of that country. Samuel Stevens, Esq., offers two thousand acres to have it at No. 4 in New Hampshire. Colonel Chandler offers two thousand acres to have it in the centre of the town of Chester, opposite to No. 4, but nine miles from the river. But these lands are northward, and the winter is long and cold, far from any seaport, and transportation will always be expensive. The lands are good, but their timbers heavy, though a great part of them white pine; and if the Six Nations should remove back into their country, these places would be far from the other tribes, perhaps nearer to the Canada Indians than any other.

"The situation of Wyoming on the Susquehanna River is very convenient, and if the purchase of our people should be confirmed, a good set of inhabitants will go on soon, who would be much gratified by having the school there. . . . If a tract of land may be obtained large enough to settle several towns with such English inhabitants as I shall choose, and some towns of the best of the Mohawks, Onoydas, and some from New England, to settle round about to be a barrier to the school and the English inhabitants, there is no situation yet proposed that appears more agreeable to me. . . . Mr. C. J. Smith's plan is generally disapproved by gentlemen at New York, but favorably thought of by Sir William Johnson. . . . My own people will give about £600 L. M., and about 100 acres of land may be had for about £400 L. M." [There was mentioned also a proposition from Hebron, Ct., brought by Colonel Phelps.]

After Pomeroy's return, in 1766, Capt. A. J. Lansing visited Wheelock and made generous offers for a location in his town on the east side of the Hudson, over against the mouth of the Mohawk, now the northerly part of Troy. In November the advantages of Albany were urged anew by William Smith, Jr.; and partly by his influence the municipality, whose jurisdiction extended a mile along the river and sixteen miles back, unanimously made a formal proposition on the 6th of June, 1767,

with a hint of a possible incorporation. They offered to give six acres and a half west of the fort, on which there was then standing "a large new building, consisting of sixteen rooms thirty feet long and in width twenty, with a fire-place in each, exclusive of the garret, which may be partitioned off into many comfortable lodging-rooms; with a spring of excellent water near the edifice (which pleasantly overlooks the city, a considerable part of the river above and below, and many fertile cultivated fields), and perpetual right of commonage for cattle; altogether worth near £2,300."

On the 22d of November, 1766, Smith had written to Wheelock from New York in favor of this location. After urging that the funds collected in England should be kept intact as a principal, he said: —

REV. SIR, — . . . The Indians upon whom we should try to make the first impression, I think, are the Six Nations, because we have the greatest influence over and strongest connections with them. Besides, they are most dangerous to us, and inspire terror in the rest. Your school therefore ought not to be set up in Pennsylvania, as Mr. Penn desires, nor on the frontiers, as you seem to suppose by the proposal to ask lands for townships, for this will exhaust your capital, and then all is over.

The matter is new to me, and therefore I do not speak with confidence; but at present I am of opinion some spot in the vicinity of Albany, which is on the great communication with the interior country, will be most proper for your residence. Everything there will favor the school, and much good may be done amongst that people. The harvest is great, and the laborers very few. Your situation there will set you near the first wheels of government and aid you in the secondary plan of civilizing the Indians, which for want of funds cannot be your immediate object. This is the place of general congresses, and the plentifulness of the country will render your subsistence cheap; and I believe the mere motive of self-interest in certain great landholders for the advancement of the settlement would induce a gift of as much real estate as the school will want.

By all means, therefore, solicit for the charter. It is a royal sanction, and a pledge of the faith of the Crown that may be of great service in an evil day. Without it you can do nothing with safety. Ask also for such orders to Sir William Johnson and his successors and the governors as will befriend this important undertaking. If I can be of any use to you here, you may at all times, with the utmost freedom, command the services of, Rev. Sir, [etc.]

WM. SMITH, JR.

Wheelock's views, as communicated to Mr. Smith, in April, 1767, required, —

"1. That the school be encompassed with good and religious neighbors, since the children who come savage from the wilderness, unable to speak or understand English, will naturally form their first notions of religion by observation; and the impressions they will receive in that way will likely be strong and lasting.

"2. They must be taught husbandry and other manual arts; and therefore as soon as they are taught to read and write, must be put out to apprenticeship to persons suitable to conduct and instruct them. For this purpose it will be important, —

"3. That they live near together, as masters may mutually help one another, and the boys be more easy and cheerful in their servitude.

"4. That they be under the teaching of a good minister, who may be in connection with the school and have special charge of these children, whom they may esteem as their father.

"5. That the children be yet considered as members of the school, and return to it at a proper time to revive and perfect their old studies, and so their apprenticeship be considered a branch of their learning.

"6. In order to this there must be a tract of good land at least large enough for a parish, and so situate as to invite the better sort of inhabitants; and such inhabitants, I find, may be had, and an excellent minister to go with them, sufficient to take hundreds of such children, and continue a succession of them, — and this without expense to the school. If Indian children be not taught husbandry, they must return to their old savage way of living, and so their learning be near useless both to themselves and others."

The objections to Albany were: —

"1. That the Six Nations are to be supplied with Episcopalians. 2. That the Mohock tribe is almost extinct, and likely soon to remove for want of land. 3. That the Indian traders would be jealous of the school. 4. That the Mohocks who would be next the school are proud, and will be easily offended and promote disaffection. 5. That it will be difficult to keep up government in the school, — the boys will run home when such punishment as will be often necessary shall be inflicted, and make trouble. 6. Lastly, the religious character of Albany is such that it would by no means do to take the school into it."

But the suggestion of a charter was so attractive that notwithstanding these objections, Wheelock in April, 1767, was inclined to believe that Albany must be selected. He writes to Mr. Smith: —

"I have been sensible how much my own character is exposed to be traduced without an incorporation, and have been unweariedly turning every stone to obtain it for eleven years last past. I have made repeated applications to our General Assembly, and often applied home for the royal favor. I have rode many hundred miles, and spent much time in the affair; but God has shut up every way hitherto, notwithstanding some have loaded me

with shame that I go on without it. The proposal now made of an incorporation in your province is the first intimation I have had of any probability of success if I should attempt it. And if it should be done, the question is whether the gentlemen at home will so approve it as to let the moneys collected go out of their hands."

Mr. Smith's reply is as follows: —

NEW YORK, 26 May, 1767.

REV. SIR, — . . . One end of my troubling you at this time is to prevent you from giving a negative too hastily, for two reasons. The one is that their present spirit favors the introduction of the gospel, in its purity and power, in a large and populous part of the province, where both have been long at a low, very low, ebb; and the other is this, — if it should appear to you necessary that the school should possess a larger tract of land for the purposes of husbandry, and have a very circumspect neighborhood, yet since we must allow time to bring that about, I think it will be best to accept the Albany offer for a season. You will stave off many obstacles and be vastly facilitated by taking this pledge of their friendship. The school will begin under their powerful auspices, and you will be followed to any other part of the country you should hereafter approve better, with the affection and influences of the corporation, and by their means, with the favor of the many thousands who inhabit that immense country. What they offer, or inform me they intend to offer, is really worth near three and twenty hundred pounds sterling, and you may *begin immediately*.

Let me repeat it once more, — never forget that a charter will be of the utmost consequence, with standing instructions in favor of the school to the governor of this province, and the superintendents of Indian affairs. Now is the time to procure all those securities. Remember the painter's maxim, *Aeternitati pingo*. Your school may see the day when there may be a king that knows not Joseph, and who shall then repent the slight of benefits that would protect or defend us much in the worst of times.

It will be doubtless several years hence before you have any considerable number of Indian boys to instruct. Your acceptance of the building at Albany will therefore enable you in the interim to get a reputation to your school, and increase your capital with the addition of the interest of the money. The Albany people wish to see your school lift up its head into a *college* or *university*, and you in the chief chair, directing all the parts of the instruction. I have many reasons to desire that they may not be disappointed, and beg you would think of nothing more than so extensive a design. I believe you will find it necessary to advance the original end, and prevent the school from sinking into a contempt that may subvert the whole.

WM. SMITH, JR.

Mr. Smith wrote again, Jan. 30, 1768: —

"I still adhere to my opinion that Albany is the most eligible spot on the continent for the school. The magistrates take your reflections upon their city a little in dudgeon, and that is the reason why you have had no answer

from them to your last letter. If Saraghtoge will suit you better, Col. Philip Schuyler will make a generous donation of a fine tract upon Hudson's River, equal to your wishes. I shall not attempt a description of it, because it will be proper that you, or some person in whom you can confide, should go and see what is offered. This gentleman is a near relation to my wife, and very much disposed to patronize your designs. He lives part of his time at Albany, and part at Saraghtoge, and will give you a very hospitable and genteel reception."

Colonel Schuyler's intentions were communicated to Wheelock in the following letter: —

ALBANY, May 9, 1767.

REV. SIR, — . . . I shall be happy if I can be any ways instrumental in promoting the success of your humane plan. . . . I am informed that Mr. Mayor and the other gentlemen of the corporation have expressed an equal desire, and I make no doubt but their efforts will be such as a corporation ought to make, who are impressed with a sense of its general utility. I could say much of the advantages that would accrue from fixing the school near the city. But as you have doubtless considered this affair with attention, you will have anticipated all I could say on the subject. I shall only remark that I have observed with much satisfaction that the morals of my fellow-citizens are much less vitiated than those of other cities that have an immediate foreign trade, and consequently import the vices of other climes. To this give me leave to add that a becoming economy is what characterizes our people, and may by way of example have a very good effect on the Indian children, and such others as might be allowed to take their education in the proposed seminary.

Should you, however, Reverend Sir, after receiving the proposals of the corporation, think them inadequate to the advantages the city would receive, or should you, for reasons that do not occur to me, think a more remote situation more eligible (which I wish may not be), I then, sir, will make an effort to forward the charity. But though I have already fixed on the proposals I intend to make, I must yet declare that those, that I am told the city intends to offer, appear to me to have the advantage in point of fulfilling the intentions of the gentlemen at home; but perhaps it may be thought otherwise, and I be mistaken. . . .

I am [etc.],

TO THE REV. MR. WHEELOCK.

PH. SCHUYLER.

In April, 1768, Captain Lansing made a definite offer for a location in Lansingburg of £1,000 in cash or land, besides six acres, about sixty yards from the town, for a building spot for the college and for Wheelock's house, and two hundred acres about a half mile out; of the value altogether, as estimated, of £2,500.

In the midst of these negotiations Wheelock had, in November, 1766, received letters from England which encouraged him

to expect "almost any favor that he could in reason ask from Lord Penn or from the Crown;" and his thoughts turned with new longing towards Wyoming, or some western part of Pennsylvania, and the magnificent scheme already sketched. So well assured did it seem that he wrote at once to Rev. John Brainerd to prepare to accompany him with his Indian congregation. Not long after this there came from the Presbyterians of Philadelphia, through Chief-Justice Allen, with the concurrence of Brainerd, a proposal to fix the school on the north side of the Ohio River, upon a tract of choice lands, beginning about twenty miles below Pittsburg, and extending fifty or sixty miles down the river, and twenty or thirty miles in width.

"The river being there the boundary fixed by the Indians between them and the English, on the other side of the river, towns of christianized Indians may settle on their own lands (and a considerable number of such may be collected from the several tribes in New England), who will serve as a barrier to the new settlements, and be assisting in introducing new settlers as fast as they shall be qualified to manage husbandry. On this plan children of distant tribes may be taken by hundreds, and the expense not more than for their schooling two or three years, and the burden of that somewhat lightened by the cultivation of the school lands."

This was the scheme so sharply denounced by Whitefield.

These various offers Wheelock transmitted in due course to the English trustees; but they were unwilling to come to a determination until they should see the issue of General Lyman's suit, which then wore an encouraging aspect. The General himself wrote thus of it:—

LONDON, Sept. 26, 1767.

REV. SIR, — It is now going on five years since you and I had the happiness of conferring together on the object of joining your school to my plan of forming a settlement on the banks of the Ohio. Yet I've never lost sight of the object so joined as you and I both wished; and now I have the pleasure to inform you that I have, by the great influence of the Earl of Shelburne, gained the point. But it has to go through the usual course of office. I have always proposed your school to rise to a university, with a professor to every distinct branch of literature, which can tend to promote the interest of learning and happiness of mankind (even a professor of the laws of vegetation, and best method of agriculture); and that a sufficient quantity of best land should be sequestered for its use; and that a large revenue should be furnished by Government for its support, and also for a school for the females on your plan. And I am not discouraged, but that I shall gain the point, agreeable to your wish and mine.

To pretend to tell you of those causes of so long a delay would be in vain. I have pursued it with all the attention and influence in my power, and now think myself well rewarded in obtaining, for I really think it to be the best country in the world, and where the Author of Nature has been more lavish of his bounties than in any other part of the globe, where half the labor that will support a man in Connecticut will make him affluent there. The real happiness it will occasion to myself, and all my friends who shall incline to settle there, in my opinion, is very great. A country very easy to be settled, and must afford great affluence. But enough of this till I shall be so happy as to see you, for I assure you that within twenty-four hours after my business is completed, I'll bid farewell to these regions of smoke, and set out for my beloved America. I am, dear sir, . . .

P. LYMAN.

REV. ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

During the summer of 1768 several offers came from western Massachusetts. The inhabitants of Stockbridge and other towns in its vicinity, through Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, offered £800 sterling, and later a thousand acres of land, one half subscribed by the Indians. Governor Bernard, with Oliver Partridge and Elisha Jones and others, made offers in behalf of Pittsfield, and held up as an inducement the hope that Governor Bernard would "doubtless give a charter by order of the king." They cautioned Wheelock that no charter would be good without the king's license, and added a suggestion that the Governor of New Hampshire had no power to make a college corporation unless specially so expressed in his commission. To doubts intimated by Wheelock it was replied: "True, the commissioners in Boston, disappointed in their own scheme, oppose the school, and will do so if it be placed in New Hampshire, if they think it vies with Cambridge. But the greatest part of the people [of Massachusetts] want another college, as a check upon the extravagant demands made there." In proof of this was cited the almost unanimous vote of the House of Representatives in favor of establishing a college in Hampshire County.

In April, 1769, it was seriously proposed by prominent friends in New York to make the school "an annexation to the College of New Jersey;" but it is needless to say this found no favor with Wheelock.

New Hampshire began to take a more prominent and favorable place in Wheelock's thoughts toward the latter part of the year 1767. Gov. John Wentworth, through the influence of his

father¹ and others, had, as we know, conceived a good opinion of the school before coming to the government, and had while in England expressed a willingness to grant a township to it if located in his jurisdiction. The new towns in the Connecticut valley had drawn their settlers, as well as their proprietors, largely from Connecticut, and from Wheelock's own vicinity. As he himself declares, so great was the emigration at this period from that part of Connecticut to this part of New Hampshire that some of the towns there seemed about to be almost depopulated. On Dec. 28, 1767, Wheelock thus addressed the Governor, after a personal conference with him at Portsmouth: —

"The many assurances I have had of your truly generous spirit, as well as the openness and freedom you condescended to use me with in the short interview you honored me with at your house, embolden me to represent to your Ex^y something relative to the fixing the place for my Indian Charity School; and shall leave it wholly with you to determine whether I suggest anything worthy your notice.

"[As to the very generous offer from Albany, the] objections urged against it are particularly that the city is much frequented by people of loose lives; and also that they are in no capacity to endow the School with a suitable tract of lands, . . . nor to accommodate a suitable number of such settlers as will be proper in order to take the Indian children to instruct them in husbandry and other arts of civilized life, after they are taught to read and write in the School, — which objections I don't understand are likely to be removed, and perhaps will be thought weighty by the Gent^l of the Trust at home, to whom I have wholly referred the determination of the affair.

"And a number of new settlers on Connecticut River, in the western part of your province, have lately manifested a great desire to have the School fixed among them; and I suppose, if proper endeavors were used, generous offers would be made by the Inhabitants to invite the settlement of it there. It is confidently conjectured by some, not less than 20,000 acres of good lands would be contributed in the several towns. . . . His Exc^y your predecessor told me he would give 500 acres to encourage its going there, and perhaps his interest there is so large that he would be no loser if he should double or thruple that."

In reply he received from the Governor a definite proposition: —

¹ Governor Wentworth was a son of Mark Hunking Wentworth, a wealthy merchant of Portsmouth. He graduated at Harvard College, in 1755, and was distinguished for brilliant talents and amiable qualities. After a time spent in his father's country home, he resided in England till his appointment. He was made LL.D. at Oxford and Aberdeen. President Dwight aptly styles him "a man of sound understanding, refined taste, enlarged views, and a dignified spirit."

NEW HAMPSHIRE, 21st March, 1768.

REV. SIR,—I have considered your letter of Dec. 28, 1767, with care and attention. It is my earnest desire to encourage and assist the settlement of the Indian Charity School under your guidance, which appears to me founded on the most benevolent and exalted principles of Christian piety, and also calculated with certainty to produce the political advancement of His Majesty's Colonies by reclaiming a numerous people from their savage, desultory enmity to an orderly, peaceable, and happy subjection to the laws and advantages of his mild and equitable government. As the institution has been honored and approved by His Majesty's most gracious bounty toward its support, I am further disposed, in duty to him, to exert my influence herein.

I shall be ready to grant a township on Connecticut River of six miles square for an endowment of the school and as a site to fix it upon where there may be room, and advantage of soil and water, to practice, teach, and accommodate the necessary studies of agriculture. The terms of tenure, only a moderate quit-rent to the King, and settling eighty to an hundred souls on the premises within five years of the grant, and a reservation of mines to the Crown; that the seminary be actually fixed and continued within His Majesty's Province of New Hampshire; and that His Majesty's Governor and Commander-in-Chief for the time being for the Province of New Hampshire shall always be a trustee in and toward the direction of all and every part of said Charity,—to the end that His Most Sacred Majesty and his successors may be always informed of and satisfied with the just and prudent application of their royal bounty.

I am convinced that no other situation can better answer the ends proposed, and perhaps greater advantages may not reasonably be expected elsewhere. The private donations will be considerable, and my interest shall not be wanting. Many circumstances concur to mark [it] as the most eligible,—the extensive water communication, rich soil, healthy climate, rapid population, inconsiderable taxes, freedom from public debt, commercial markets for produce, and above all the unexampled tranquillity, harmony, and unison of our government among themselves and toward the mother-country, which proceeds from and is supported by an universal prudent and sensible disposition to order, and at present seems to promise great and continued prosperity. These are too conspicuous benefits to be omitted mentioning. Hence you will judge whether to prefer this province as the site of this noble charity. Whenever you and the Trustees may determine, I will afford every personal assistance in my power. The expense of grants, etc., shall have my example to be free.

My sincere thanks are due for your kind congratulations on the affection of this people toward me and my beginning administrations,—which is matter of real pleasure to me, as I am thereby indulged in my greatest happiness and solemn duty in executing the commands of our most Gracious Sovereign, by promoting the true and permanent felicity of his good and faithful subjects of New Hampshire.

Accept, sir, my cordial and earnest good wishes for the most useful

success in your labors, and that the blessings of many led by you to never ending bliss may rest upon you. I am . . .

J. WENTWORTH.¹

THE REV. ELEAZAR WHEELOCK, at Lebanon, Conn.

Cordial invitations came in the interval to Wheelock from many old friends already on the ground. Rev. Peter Powers wrote from Newbury in January, 1768, commending that region as the best on the Connecticut. He frankly adds, however, "the Indians who come there are a miserable, abandoned, drunken, frenchified, popish crew, so effectually prejudiced against religion that there seems very little hope of doing them any good, though perhaps some of their posterity may be reclaimed; but the school may be of advantage to above a hundred new townships in this part of the country." From Orford, Daniel Tillotson, Israel Morey, and Benjamin Baldwin wrote to encourage his coming there (having heard that he was desirous to do so), and reported the Indians as saying that they would send their children to the school. In March a committee from Lyme and Thetford applied to Wheelock to send them a preacher, saying that there were then in those two towns about thirty families, comprising forty-six men between sixteen and sixty, besides women and children. In May, Col. Jacob Bailey of Newbury, being privately informed that he was inclined to fix his school in the valley, writes to commend the country and to offer assistance and one thousand acres of land, if it should be placed within ten miles of Newbury. He recommended Waitstown, opposite Piermont, and as yet ungranted. In August an old friend, Ebenezer Loomis, writes from Orford:

"Your professed desire is to advance our blessed Redeemer's cause and interest in the world, and I can't conceive of any way that you can take more likely than to set your school up on this river. Pray, sir, consider that we have about a hundred townships now granted, and settling very fast, and but one ordained minister [Rev. Peter Powers, of Haverhill] in them all; and they are settling with a people that greatly desire to have the gospel preached amongst them. . . . Our people are greatly elevated with the hope of your settling your school up this river, and appear to be willing to contribute to the utmost of their power. . . . I must say — and I appeal to Colonel

¹ From Governor Wentworth's manuscript letter-book. The original book is in the Archives at Halifax, N. S.; a copy is in the State Department at Concord. It covers only the Governor's official correspondence, and, with two or three exceptions, does not contain the other letters printed in these pages.

Phelps for my witness — that Colonel Moulton's three fifty-acre lots [on the intervale in Orford], and Captain Horsford's lot that joins them, is the completest place for your college that ever I saw on this river. There is near two thousand acres of the best of land lies around them almost entirely level, and scarce a stone in the whole."

Wheelock was in fact now turning in this direction with considerable reluctance, but under the force of circumstances that he could not control. The definite promise of a charter (necessarily implied by the Governor's terms), which he could actually get nowhere else, was probably the ultimate inducement. With this the time was ripe for a decision; and inclination led him to cast in his lot, if here at all, with old friends and neighbors from Connecticut. This was doubtless the real motive that determined the particular site.

In order to obtain a basis upon which to refer the matter finally to the English Trustees, he sent out in August, 1768, agents to visit and report upon all the places then most prominently urged. Dr. Whitaker was sent to Philadelphia to confer with Governor Penn; and Rev. Ebenezer Cleaveland, with one or two companions, to New Hampshire and western Massachusetts, and to Otter Creek and Albany.

Whitaker reached Philadelphia August 26; and after a delay, occasioned by Governor Penn's absence, was received by him very courteously, but found that nothing had been heard from home about a grant for the school, and that he could give no land except on the same terms as to other settlers. By his advice, however, and that of Chief-Justice Allen, Whitaker filed a petition, to be referred to the proprietor, asking for twelve miles square in the southwest corner of the province, not far from Fort Pitt; but nothing more was ever heard of it, and this was the end of that fine scheme.

Cleaveland, setting out a few days before Whitaker, arrived in Portsmouth the second week in August. On the 15th he thus reports:¹—

¹ From Colonel Phelps (just down from Coos, where he had been working up subscriptions), he received the following suggestions:—

"I should call upon Col^l Willard at Winchester, who owns Land in Sugar River; Col^l Bellows, who owns a great part of Walpole, and owns Lands in Sundry other Towns; on Capt Stephens at No. 4; on Esq. Chase at Cornish, and his Brother. I would consult Mr. Wales at Lebanon, and Mr. Sexton at Hanover, who are best able to direct who to apply to in those two Towns. Confer freely with Israel Morey,

"As I came into this town I met Esq. Whiting, of Cohass, deputy surveyor, and Captain Stevens, of No. 4, bound home. It was a mere accident I found them out. I immediately let them into my business. Esq. Whiting turned back to town with me, and is very officious; and as he has surveyed the chief of these towns, the Governor recommended him to me as the best assistant in order to know the towns and lands, and he freely offers his service; and though he is exceedingly engaged in the affair, I find, in his recommending, the most convenient town for the school, all things considered, he carries it to Piermont or to Orford, which is some distance from his own interest. I wish your prayers for me, sir; I am so crowded with company on the affair that I have not leisure to write. I this morning before people arise from their beds have scratched somewhat. . . . Mr. Kirkland [whom he had met there] will give you information better than I have time to do."

The Governor wrote on the 16th of August, — no doubt by the same messenger, —

"I have received your letter of the 20th of July by Rev. Mr. Cleaveland, who this day proceeds into the country, accompanied by a surveyor, to view any lands ungranted in this Province which may be convenient for the site of the Indian Charity School. If his return should induce the gentlemen of the Trust to prefer the encouragement thereof, I shall give directions to accomplish the purposes of your final application. I wish the greatest success to the Charity, and that you may long enjoy happiness therein."

Cleaveland returned to Lebanon early in October; and after the close of his mission to Fort Stanwix, heretofore mentioned, went with Colonel Phelps again to Portsmouth in December. He reported the Governor and others still "much engaged to encourage the school's coming into the western part of the province." "Colonel Phelps [says he] will bring to your hand the subscriptions already gathered, and Esq. Morey will be along in eight or ten days with more; and gentlemen will be using their influence to be getting subscriptions through the winter." The formal report which follows is dated Dec. 17, 1768. What appears to be the first draft of it is preserved in the handwriting of Wheelock himself: —

Esq., at Orford, and Col. Baley at Newbury, on ye west side ye River; and I imagine it would be well to call upon Esq. Wells at Brattlebury, which lyes on ye west side ye River, near fort Dummer, which is but little north of Hinsdale; and it might be well to call upon Esq. Jones at Hinsdale, which is on ye east side ye River, — a man of worth and interest, — and on Major Willard at Hertford, on ye west side ye River about 25 miles above No. 4. There are sundry other persons, whose names I can't recollect, of more private life, whose assistance would be worth having; Col. Stone at Windsor, on ye west side ye River, opposite Cornish, I believe would be very Friendly."

In pursuance of orders received from the Rev. Dr Wheelock to examine and view the several places proposed in the neighboring governments as a site for his Indian Charity School, and to be certified of the quality and conveniency of the several offers generously made to accommodate and endow the same; in order to enable the Rt. Honble., Honble., and worthy gentlemen of the Trust in England understandingly to give the preference and determine where to fix it.

I waited upon his Excellency John Wentworth, Esq., Governor of New Hampshire. He appeared very friendly to the design, promised to grant a township six miles square to the use of the School, provided it should be fixed in that Province, and that he would use his influence that his Majesty should give the quit-rents, etc., to the School, and that the grants should be free from charge of fees, except for surveying. Esq. Whiting, the Deputy-Surveyor, being present, offered his assistance to look out the township and survey it, and give the service to the School. His Excellency the Governor recommended him to me for that purpose, since which we found Landaff, a good township, to have forfeited her charter, of which we advised the Governor, and were informed he promised to reserve it for the School.

After spending a few days in our way with other gentlemen of the lower towns, who appeared universally desirous that the School should come into that Province, and were generous in their offers to encourage the same, but proposed their donations generally where their interests in lands respectively lay, we proceeded to Plymouth, Romney, and Campton, where Mr. Whiting left me. About five thousand acres of Land were proposed to be given, on condition the School should be fixed in either of those Towns. I received from under Mr. Moses Little's hand his offer of three thousand and two hundred acres of Land free from Quit-Rents; and £75 sterling and twenty thousand feet of boards are offered on condition it should be fixed in Campton. The other offers they were to send to Dr. Wheelock. The land in Campton proposed as a site for the School is generally good, — great quantity of large white Pines; the situation pleasant; the stream, called Baker's River (a branch of Merrimack, by which logs are rafted to the sea), runs through it, on which are large intervalles; distance from Portsmouth (the metropolis of New Hampshire) sixty-five miles, thirty of which is good water carriage, and about the same distance from Newburyport, at the mouth of said river, of which about twenty miles is navigable, and about twenty-seven miles from Orford, on Connecticut River. The arguments used for fixing the school here: 't is the centre of that Province; good and easy portages by land and water to Portsmouth and Newbury, — but twenty-seven miles further than Connecticut River from the Indians.

From thence I travelled to Cohos, on Connecticut River. The inhabitants of that new country were universally much engaged to have the School fixed there, both from a respect to Dr. Wheelock's person and a regard to the general design. It would be too lengthy to mention the particular offers that were generously made. [Every one appeared desirous to have it in his own town. Several places were more especially set up, — namely, Haverhill, Piermont, Orford, Lebanon, Plainfield, Cleremont, Charlestown, and Wal-

pole, — those in which it appeared the greatest donations would centre.]¹ Besides what has been already mentioned, upward of sixteen thousand acres are already subscribed, chiefly by Gentlemen of the most noted and public character in the Province of New Hampshire, and more is subscribing, to have it fixed in this Country of Cohos; besides which large subscriptions have been made and are still making, which centre in particular towns, the principal of which (and those where I was advised and thought proper to take the most particular view) were *Haverhill* and *Orford*. Their situation very pleasant, and their soil very fertile, — their lands so much improved and so fertile that there is already a sufficient supply of provisions for the School.

[At Haverhill is a farm of about 600 acres of excellent land, about 150 of which are under good improvements, — all within two bows of the river, which is a sufficient outside fence; and it is otherwise suitably divided and secured by good fences, has on it a large and well-finished Barn on one bow, and also a corn barn on the other bow; also a good Grist mill and Saw mill, and something for a house. All which, I was informed, may be bought for £450 stg., even if the School should be fixed there, which is but little more than has been laid out upon it. It is beautifully situated in the centre of the Town, and other Lands may be had to accommodate it here. 5600 Acres are already subscribed for that end. At Orford they have already subscribed 2100 acres of Land, and about £30 Sterling in labour and materials for building. The land they propose is good and well situate, of which three quarters of a mile square between the road and river is all suitable for tillage, but has no improvements on it.] These places are about equally distant from Portsmouth, — 92 miles, 30 of which is good water carriage; the rest may be made a good waggon road. [Besides the offers already mentioned, upwards of 2000 acres are subscribed on conditions it shall be fixed in either of the above-mentioned towns.]

In this new country there are more than 200 towns chartered, settled, and about to settle, and generally of a religious people, which do and soon will want ministers; and they have no college or public Seminary of Learning for that purpose in that Province, — which want they apprehend may be supplied by this School, without any disadvantage to or interfering in the least with the general design of it. These places are situated about 40 miles nearer to the Six Nations than the place where the School now is [at Lebanon in Connecticut]; they are about 100 miles from Mount Royal, and about 60 miles from Crown Point; and perhaps about 60 from the Indians at St. Francis, to whom there is water portage by Connecticut and St. Francis Rivers, except a mile or two. There is also water carriage by the Lakes and St. Lawrence River, etc., to the Six Nations and the tribes many hundred miles west, excepting very small land carriages. Population in this new country is very rapid, and will doubtless be much more so if the Doctor should remove there with his School, and their lands will soon bear a great price.

From hence I went with Mr. John Wright, whom the Doctor sent to

¹ The words in brackets seem to have been left out of the copy sent abroad.

accompany me in my further inquiry, to Hatfield, in the Province of the Massachusetts, and found gentlemen there universally desirous to have the School fixed in Berkshire county, in the western part of that Province. The reasons they offered therefor were: 1st. It is situated at a most suitable distance from the Six Nations, about 70 or 80 miles nearer than the place where it now is. 2d. Communication and portage by Connecticut and Albany Rivers easy, between 20 and 30 miles from the former, and [40 or 50 as the road now lies] 30 and 40 from the latter. 3d. If war should break out, it will not be exposed as it would in frontier towns. 4th. The post road from Albany to Boston will be through the very town proposed as a site for the School. 5th. Near to old and plentiful towns.

As their donations centre chiefly in a town called Number 2, near the middle of the County, Col. Partridge invited us to take a view of it, and went with us. We found the lands to be very good; the place proposed as a site for the School was high, and the prospect very beautiful. The land was sufficiently wet, but not well watered by streams. They proposed to give a handsome tract of land, with a convenient place for a mill about three miles from the centre. His Excellency Governor Bernard, Col. Partridge, and Col. Jones will give 2000 acres in that Township where it will best suit the School; and about 800 acres are subscribed in Towns adjacent; also about £600 sterling, as we are since informed, on condition it shall be fixed in that County. The proprietors of No. 2 have agreed to settle it with none but such as are of a good moral and religious character. These lands lying so low in the country and between large and populous settlements on each side, viz., Albany and Connecticut River, already bear a considerable value (not less than a dollar per acre), and their price is rising very fast. A few families were settled here by whose cultivation and improvements we were confirmed in our opinion of the goodness of the soil, tho' not equal, in our judgment, to Cohos.

From hence we went to Albany, and waited upon the worshipful the Mayor and Aldermen of that City, who appeared very desirous to have the School fixed there. They offered several reasons which they tho' would determine that to be the place for it; viz., 1st. Its being so near the Six Nations and their acquaintance in Albany, it having heretofore been the ordinary place of their meetings, and therefore it was reasonable to suppose it would be more agreeable to the Indians. 2d. Navigation to that place from all the world, which will render correspondence easy and without much expense. 3d. Their plenty of provisions of all kinds. They went with us to show us the building and lands which they would devote to that design if it should be accepted. The house is beautifully situate upon a hill; it overlooks the city, and gives an agreeable prospect of the River and plantations upon it, above and below. The house is 132 feet long, and 42 feet wide, with an alley thro' the length, and another thro' the breadth of it. Bricks were prepared for it, but the chimneys not built. The roof well covered, and the house inclosed with thin clapboards, and but little done within besides the stairs, floors, and rough partitions. Six acres of land belonging to it which appeared to be good for Gardens and well watered.

These, with the privilege of the Commons for Summer feed, they valued at near £2,300 sterling. [We heard of no private donations offered to encourage the settlement of it there.]

Thus we have faithfully as we are able, and we think impartially, represented the situations, arguments, and offers of the several places proposed as a site for the School before mentioned. In testimony whereof we hereto subscribe our names this 17th Day of December, A. D. 1768.

EBENEZER CLEVELAND.

The truth and faithfulness of ye foregoing accot. after I joined Mr. Cleaveland is also certified by me,

JOHN WRIGHT.¹

N. B. — The people where the School now is continue very desirous to have it fixed among them. The arguments they use are : 1st. It had its birth here ; here it has grown and flourished ; and transplantation, they apprehend, will be of dangerous consequence to it. 2d. Accommodations may be had for it here at a reasonable rate. 3d. Most suitable distance from ye Indians, and yet easy communication with them and with all the world. Dangerous consequences, they apprehend, would attend being nearer to them, arising from their being burdensome and expensive to ye School by their frequent and lengthy visits. These, with what they have heretofore offered on the subject, they hope will be judged sufficient arguments to determine this to be the place for it.

Cleaveland² desired to add his opinion that the estimate of the value of the Albany offer was "vastly above its real worth ;" and said also, "I can without partiality say that all the purposes of the design may be as well answered in western parts of the Province of New Hampshire as any other places, besides answering every valuable purpose there, which it is not like to do in other proposed places, or even where it now is ; namely, to be formed into a *Public Seminary or College* to serve that Province, and many towns in other Provinces adjacent, and more than possible the Canadian country, with Protestant Divines. And the lands in a short time will be very valuable, as they fall into the centre of a large and fertile country, whose settlement is very rapid." But this, as we should expect under the circumstances, was by Wheelock's direction prudently omitted.

¹ This John Wright is understood to be one of the original proprietors of Hanover, who came from Ashford, Conn., and was at this time living in Hanover, — which accounts for his joining Cleaveland at that point in the tour.

² "You have, dear sir [he writes], my inside affection ; and though my heart can grasp the whole world, yet you and your family and cause has crowded every chink of my heart so it's ready to burst. . . . I am sensible that I have not perfected business to your mind, but I am in perplexity. I dare not at all times appear out of my house, as the sheriff has special orders to take nothing but my body."

The following letter of Rev. Dr. Samuel Langdon (then a minister in Portsmouth, afterwards President of Harvard College), intended as a careful statement of the arguments for New Hampshire, was forwarded with the other documents to England:

PORTSMOUTH, N. H., Dec. 10, 1768.

REV. SIR, — Presuming upon your goodness that you will excuse my impertinence in giving advice, unasked, as to placing the Indian School, I venture to recommend a situation in this Province as attended with advantages which I am ready to think cannot be equalled anywhere else; for, first, almost any town on the Connecticut River is as near the Indian country, or as easy of access to the Indian children (whether we consider the roads, lakes, or rivers), as any situation which can be found in any other Province, unless the school is placed much too far from a communication with our seaports and with such English settlements as would be beneficial to the design. Second, the principal men of this Province appear very forward to encourage said school here; for besides the whole township which the Governor has promised, full twenty thousand acres of land have been engaged within a few days past by private subscription, — all which in a very little time must amount to a very valuable estate, and produce a great income to the school; as the settlement of all the back lands of the Province is now going on in a very rapid manner. There is also good reason to think the subscription will still go on and be much larger. Third, there is no other public academy within the limits of the Province; and the school, if fixed in any of the towns proposed near Connecticut River, will be of great advantage for the education of English, as well as Indian children, and greatly promote useful knowledge in those remote parts of the Province which cannot easily enjoy the benefit of instruction at any other seminaries of learning already founded in other provinces, — nor can this school, however largely chartered, any ways interfere with any others of the same kind. Fourth, if this school should be fixed at or near the town of Haverhill, it is likely the usefulness of the foundation will extend to that whole country along Lake Champlain and all the bordering country of the Province of Canada, and even to the eastern settlements of the Massachusetts government. Fifth, it is not impossible the General Assembly of this Province may grant an annual sum to the school, perhaps at least £100 L. M., which may go far towards the support of a master or president. Sixth, the towns all around the school will soon be filled with inhabitants, and furnish all kinds of provisions in plenty and at a very cheap rate. And I may add that the inhabitants are likely to be a sober, virtuous, and religious set of people, if we may judge from the present settlers. Seventh, the communication from Haverhill on Connecticut River to this town is very easy, and will soon admit of a very considerable intercourse of trade; so that the school will be supplied with necessaries from the seaports without much difficulty or extraordinary expense.

I submit these reasons to your judgment, sir, and that of the trustees of the school, and hope they will appear of such weight as to determine the

removal of it to this Province. If it should be fixed here, I shall use all my influence to encourage the bounty of the Province; but I am ready to think it would not be best to ask our General Assembly to defray the expense of the removal, if it could be paid any other way, because it may be some obstruction to a petition for an annual sum. With hearty good wishes and prayers for the prosperity of this school, and your direction from above in all the affairs of it, I am, sir, your brother in the Gospel,

SAMUEL LANGDON.

Wheelock wrote to Governor Wentworth, October 6, that he should leave the matter to be determined by the trust in England, but added a promise that "as soon as the place for the school shall be fixed to be in your Province, I will appoint his Excellency the Governor for the time being a trustee on this side the water till a legal incorporation may be obtained." It would appear from this and from other indications that Wheelock was now practically determined to locate in New Hampshire; yet when we remember that the unfortunate intrigue at Fort Stanwix was at this moment in progress, we must more than suspect that he still in his heart preferred the Susquehanna to the Connecticut. But his hopes in that quarter being disappointed, the reports of his agents, with the various proposals, were sent out to the English trustees, Dec. 23, 1768.

"I have avoided [he then wrote] giving my judgment which of the places ought to have the preference, as I could not do it without grieving some who are very dear to me, and offending others." [But he adds, significantly:] "When I first thought of removing to Cowas, the distance of two hundred miles, a new country, my poverty and inability to bear the expense necessary therein, seemed insuperable objections. But since I am certified of a plenty of provisions at Haverhill and Orford; so many excellent ones of my own congregation, and others, determining to accompany and settle with me; the great advantage I may be to a new, large, and fertile country by settling with my school among them, and likely a wide opening soon into the Canadian country; and as I conceive no disadvantage to the general design of my school, but much the contrary, — my mind is so altered as fully to reconcile my mind to it. And if the gentlemen of the trust shall fix upon that as the place for it, I shall be well satisfied. However, I think I am in God's way while I submit the matter to such a decision, and desire the will of God may be done."

Reading this, one is not surprised that he could say, as he did say soon after to Governor Wentworth, that he "thought it likely they would choose New Hampshire." But it is interesting to note that among all the favorable circumstances he omitted to mention the promised charter.

Soon after this report was written, however, offers came from the West, dated Dec. 30, 1768, that seemed to open the way to a revival of his earlier hopes. Messrs. Dyer and Elderkin, chief proprietors of the Susquehanna purchase, in connection with active measures for opening their country, offered to give for the school a tract of land ten miles long and six miles wide (over 38,000 acres), to be under Wheelock's direction.¹ There were still doubts as to the stability of the purchasers' title, and other circumstances which made the opening now less attractive; but hearing at the same time that General Lyman's star was rising, and that a union of interests on the Susquehanna was about to occur, Wheelock hastened, Jan. 10, 1769, to reopen negotiations with the General, still in England:—

"Of late we hear you have the promise of being Governor of an inland province, to be made of the lands purchased of the Indians at their late congress at Fort Stanwix. And I understand that tract joins upon the Connecticut purchase on Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, which the proprietors (if they can hold it) will doubtless desire to be added to your government. I greatly desire to have my school fixed within your bounds and under your kind and Christian patronage, if it may be consistent with the general design of it, and such encouragement given as shall be reasonable, and such assistance in removing my family and school, and accommodating the same, as will be necessary."

He requested General Lyman to confer with the English trustees, adding, "I apprehend they will give the preference to Cohos, unless there should be some new opening that shall exhibit a more pleasing prospect." The following from Lord Dartmouth, written before the receipt of the foregoing, seven days after the English trust had decided for the "district of Cowas," and received Aug. 10, 1769, informs us of the result of General Lyman's suit so far as Wheelock was concerned, and of the grounds of it:—

LONDON, April 10, 1769.

REV. SIR,—I have received, through the hands of Mr. Keen, the very agreeable present of Indian curiosities with which you have favored me, and for which I beg leave to return you my hearty thanks. I shall esteem them not more as a sample of the ingenuity and abilities of a race of men whom

¹ In confirmation of this, the first company of Delaware purchasers, in session at the town house in Norwich, Jan. 3, 1769, voted six miles square to be laid out on the western part of this purchase on the Delaware River, and the second company voted a similar tract on the Lackawack River,—both on the condition that the school should be erected upon the Susquehanna purchase.

we are too much accustomed to look upon with very undeserved contempt, than as the testimony of the regard of a gentleman of whose character and services to the cause of religion I have a very high opinion.

As I am now writing you a letter intended only for your own private inspection, I am desired by the rest of the gentlemen of the trust to take this opportunity to acquaint you that since we wrote the letter of the 3d instant some of us have had a conversation with General Lyman in which we have learned some interesting particulars relating to you which we think it incumbent upon us to apprise you of. Our intention in conversing with the General was to know from him what foundation there might be for the report you mention of his having obtained a promise of a government to be erected on the lands bordering upon the Ohio, which we thought it necessary for us to know before we should send you our sentiments in regard to the site of the school. The General informed us that he neither had such a promise, nor any expectation of one, and that the utmost he had any reason to expect was a grant of lands to himself, which, however, could not be decided upon immediately. He further told us that he had been lately directed, at the office through which that grant must pass, to omit that part which was designed to be allotted to the use of your school.

We could not help expressing our surprise at this intelligence, upon which he told us that he understood the reason of the direction to be that Sir William Johnson had given his Majesty's servants some disadvantageous impressions of you, and particularly had accused you of endeavoring to defeat the purpose of his Majesty's instructions, by dissuading the Mohawk Indians from parting with their lands. He also intimated that other things had been thrown out to your prejudice, but did not choose to explain himself further; and he said that it seemed, as he thought, to be understood that you had been personally present at the late congress with the Indians at Albany. We thought we could not conceal this from you consistently with the friendship which we profess to have for you. Whatever use you think fit to make of it, we trust you will be cautious of using names, for fear of any inconvenience to General Lyman.

In talking with the General upon the nature of different situations that had been thought of for the school, he told us that the soil and climate at Cowas are both unfavorable to cultivation, and strongly recommended a more southern situation; but as you have not suggested any objection of this sort, we did not judge it necessary to make any alteration in our determination, relying upon your discretion to defer the execution of our plan till we hear further from you, if you think the objection of any consequence. I am, with great truth and regard, Reverend Sir, your most obedient servant,

DARTMOUTH.

P. S. — It will hardly be necessary to assure you that we are fully satisfied that the insinuations which have been conveyed to his Majesty's ministers concerning you are groundless and unjust. We are afraid they have been infused by some people on your side of the water who do not wish well to your design.

Long before this came to hand Wheelock had evidently perceived the futility of hanging any hopes upon General Lyman. In February he wrote to Whitefield, enlarging afresh upon the advantages of the New Hampshire plan, and at about the same time to Dr. Langdon, that he expected the English board would give it the preference. "If so [said he], I don't see why I can't remove there before another winter, unless hindered by want of incorporation. Our gentlemen of the law seem to think that your government has not power to grant such an incorporation." He desired Dr. Langdon to get the Governor's mind on the question and advise him, and also inquired "whether it would not be prudent, to prevent loss of time, to have a draft prepared immediately, to be ready against the coming of their doings in England." He prepared a letter of like import for the Governor (which on second thought he "concluded not to send"), wherein he spoke of the fact that "the trust in England have steadily opposed any incorporation, fearing a job," and raised the question whether a charter might not be made for the school, leaving still in their hands the funds they then had. In April he again reports to Dr. Langdon his progress in drafting the charter, reminding him that "the affair is very delicate, and as such must be conducted, or it will disgust those worthy gentlemen and upset all."

"Their sentiments of an incorporation [says he] have been different from mine. They have insisted that I should conduct the whole affair without one, and that my successor should be nominated and appointed by my will. Experience, they think, has fully taught them that by means of such incorporations such designs become jobs. They choose to hold the moneys collected there in their own hands for this purpose, and accordingly have publicly declared their trust of the same under their hands and seals, and have disposed of it as their wisdom directed for the benefit of the school. I have, therefore, after much study and consultation in the affair, appointed two sets of trustees, — those in England, who have voluntarily condescended to make themselves so, and a set on this side."

He was desirous to fill the local board at first wholly from Connecticut. For this he gave several reasons, — they would be near at hand to conduct the business; several were going to remove with him; communication at Coos would be so much easier with Connecticut than with Portsmouth; the gentlemen there were better qualified by experience of Indian affairs; and finally, that only by choosing them could the existing funds and

lands in Connecticut be saved. He wished to make the list identical with the appointments in his will. It was his purpose, he said, after learning the Governor's views, to have a draft made under legal advice.

Further conference led to a modification of these demands. In June he informed the Governor that the work was in progress, but not completed, and inquired if it would be proper to make the English trust a distinct corporation. At the same time he alluded to the "painful delay" in receipt of advices from England, and promised as soon as they should arrive "to send an agent to ripen all matters for removal upon the spot, it may be before winter."

The decision, dated in April, reached him on the 10th of August, eight months and a half from the date of the submission. Whitefield wrote that the conclusion was unanimous.

LONDON, 3d April, 1769.

REVD. SIR, — Last week we recei^d your letters of ye 22d and 23d Dec^r, 1768, and 10th of Jan^y, 1769; and being convinced how necessary it is for the prosperity of your pious Institution, as well as for the peace of your own mind, that a place should be fixed upon for the future establishment of your school as soon as possible, we have attentively considered the report of Mr. Ebenz^r Cleaveland, whom you employed to take a view of the several spots proposed for that purpose, together with the other papers which have now and heretofore been transmitted to us relative to that matter; and upon weighing the several generous offers and proposals that have been made to you by Gentlemen of different Governments, for the benevolent purpose of promoting the important design of your institution, and the reasons that have been offered or that have occurred to us in support of each, we are unanimously of opinion that the most advantageous situation for carrying on the great purposes of your school will be in one of the Townships belonging to the District of Cowas, in the Government of New Hampshire, agreeable to the proposal of Governor Wentworth and the Gentlemen who have generously expressed their intention of contributing to that design; but whether *Haverhill* or *Orford* may be the most eligible for this purpose, we must leave to your judgment to determine. According to the best information we can procure of the state of those Towns, we think you may possibly give the preference to the former, especially if the farm which you mention as very convenient for an immediate supply of provisions can be procured upon reasonable terms.

We found our opinion principally upon this reason, that it appears to us that Cowas is the most central of the situations that have been proposed between the Indians of the Six Nations on the one hand, and those of St. Francis and of the other tribes to the Eastward on the other, and that it is not inferior to any of the rest in other Respects. For this reason

we cannot but Recommend to you to accept the offer of Governor Wentworth and the Gentlemen of New Hampshire; and we heartily pray that the same good Providence which has so remarkably blessed your undertaking hitherto may continue to protect and prosper it in its farther progress, and may prolong your Life that you may have the satisfaction to see it fixed upon such a plan as may afford a reasonable hope of answering all the good purposes you have in view. We are, Reverend Sir, your most obedient Servants,

SAML. SAVAGE,	JOHN THORNTON,	DARTMOUTH,
JOS. ROBERTS,	DANL. WEST,	S. S. SMYTHE,
ROBT. KEEN,	CHAS. HARDY,	SAML. ROFFEY.

Wheelock was first informed of the nature of the decision by public report, before the letter reached his hands. By this he was much annoyed, having particularly requested to be informed of the result before it should be made public. He wrote to his friend Colonel Moulton, of Hampton, one of the Orford proprietors, that by this circumstance he "was prevented giving you or any others the intelligence as you desired." The next step, he adds, will be to obtain the charter, and then to fix the spot; in view of which he wishes to be informed what Orford will do.

He lost no time in forwarding to the Governor, by the hand of his son Ralph, on the 22d of August, the charter-draft which he had prepared. This involved, as had been foreshadowed, two sets of trustees, and styled the institution an "academy." But to his letter transmitting it was this significant addition:

P. S. Sir,—If proper to use the word "College" instead of "Academy" in the Charter, I shall be well pleased with it.

In this modest postscript really lay the vital point of the whole scheme,—the long-cherished object, as we know, of all his hopes. That it here takes this humble position is evidence that he had not dared as yet to open to the Governor the full extent of his plans.

Ralph was accompanied to Portsmouth by Dr. Whitaker. They found the Governor quite ready to fulfil his promises; but in the arrangement of details discovered, as they supposed, a fixed purpose to make the Bishop of London one of the *ex-officio* members of the board. They so reported to Wheelock, and by their precipitancy came near upsetting the whole affair. He was greatly disturbed, and ready forthwith to abandon New

Hampshire. With this object he turned again to his friends in New York. To Hugh Wallace he wrote, September 30, that his son reported Governor Wentworth to be —

“zealous to effect the design, but to have forgotten the proposal made by himself to have the Governor the only non-elective trustee, and seemed to insist on the Bishop of London’s being of the trust on both sides of the water, and to have the disposal of the moneys now in the hands of the trust in England. . . . Perhaps he only means to try me; but if he should continue to insist upon it, it will be the end of my thoughts of a settlement in that Province, and I must seek the favor in another quarter.

“I have been much solicited to seek an incorporation from this Government [Connecticut], which I might likely obtain; but as it has a college in its bowels, I sha’n’t likely obtain one as agreeable to my mind as elsewhere; and as you have only a party college in your Province, such an academy as I propose will not interfere with that, especially if it be at the distance of Cowas.” [Mr. Wallace was therefore asked] “in the most agreeable manner to propose the affair to Governor Colden, and know if he will grant a generous charter for this school in that part of your Province. . . . I purpose to have one as free from clogs and embarrassments with any names as the charter of New Jersey College is. . . . A word to the wise. . . . The place for the school being fixed in the vicinity of Cowas, a charter from either Government for that place will equally consist with the determination of the trust.”¹

He cautioned Wallace not to publish the matter at present, but to confer with Mr. Smith and others as he should think wise. Mr. Wallace replied, October 18, after conference with Smith, that Wheelock must not expect a charter or any other encouragement from the New York government, on account of sectarian jealousy and the estrangement of Sir William Johnson. But he characterized Governor Wentworth’s proposition as in his belief a scheme to bring the English funds under the control of the London society.

Shut out thus from all hope of a refuge in New York, nothing remained but to make the best of the situation in New Hampshire. Already before hearing from Wallace, Wheelock, choking his resentment, addressed himself once more to Governor Wentworth, October 5. He pointed out that to include the Bishop would greatly disoblige benefactors of the school on both sides the water, “especially the greater part of the inhabitants of your new country, who expect the special benefit of it.”

¹ New York at that time claimed jurisdiction to the Connecticut River.

"It is probably known [he writes] that your Excellency proposed only the governor of the province for the time being as a non-elective trustee; and upon that plan they and I have proceeded. I think that not only will they be disobliged, but that I myself shall be liable on both sides the water to the imputation of forfeiting my honor and betraying my trust if I should consent to accept of a charter with such an addition; and I also apprehend there would be reason to fear that it would overset and ruin the design. I have had opportunity to know the minds of a number of gentlemen of character and penetration who are well acquainted with the minds of people in general, and they are fully agreed with me in the same sentiments respecting the consequences of such an alteration from what has been proposed. Your Excellency well knows the contention of the present day, and what a formidable idea our country in general have of a Bishop, and how jealous people are of their religious rights and privileges, and of everything that has the least look of an infringement upon them. I am sorry with all my heart that the Church of Christ should be so disjointed by party names; but your Excellency is well sensible that the evil can't be cured by force."

He added that the prospects of the school were enlarging, and the hopes of the people in the new country so raised that it would be a great cross to them as well as to himself to give up the scheme, but avowed that he would "rather choose another situation than suffer the consequences which I may reasonably expect from a compliance with such a proposal."

This letter Wheelock despatched by the hand of another and more prudent messenger, his son-in-law, Col. Alexander Phelps. Phelps found the Governor, as he afterwards declared, "certainly very cold in the affair," but having a better talent for negotiation than his predecessors, he managed before long to restore the business to its former favorable aspect, and by tact and good temper to lead Governor Wentworth to yield every point, excepting the position of the Governor as *ex-officio* member of the board, and the requirement that (after the first) eight of the corporators at least should be residents and freeholders in the Province, and seven of them laymen. To neither of these points could objection with decency be urged. As to the Bishop of London, a satisfactory compromise was effected.

In all this Wheelock acquiesced with alacrity, and requested the Governor, in completing the charter, to give, if he pleased, his own name to the institution. Wentworth was certainly entitled to that distinction; but he was too modest and disinterested to accept it. The name of Dartmouth was taken for the obvious purpose of conciliating the English trustees and

disarming their expected disapprobation of the charter. But it failed of its object, as such things generally do. Lord Dartmouth never, so far as we know, gave a penny to the College, which, in common with his associates, he regarded with suspicion and dislike as a perversion of the original design. The correspondence attending these negotiations is too important to be omitted:—

Wentworth to Wheelock.

NEW HAMPSHIRE, Oct. 18, 1749.

REVEREND SIR,—Colonel Phelps has this morning delivered to me your letter 5th Oct. You are sensible, sir, of my earnest disposition to serve the public charity under your care. My conduct both here and in Europe testifies for me. I wish my private abilities ~~were~~ were more equal to support an enlarged liberality; yet what is given is with a willing heart.

I am certain there must have been an important misunderstanding of my proposal conveyed to you. Without entering into the accident, I wish now to be explicit, and am sure that you nor no other Catholic Christian can object. As many insinuations have been and are yet frequently transmitting to England to depreciate the reputation of the intended College, insinuating that the benevolent Charities will be applied merely and exclusively to the advancement of sectaries and particular opinions, with a fixed view to discourage the Established Church of England, it is not only important, but essential that such ideas should be exterminated. Therefore I proposed to add the present Bishop of London by name to the trust at home in England solely, without any other connection than any other of the Govt. mentioned in London, that thereby all the world may know our sincerity and universal good wishes to mankind. At his demise the vacancy to be filled up by election as of another member.

This is so open and candid that I think it cannot be a bugbear to any man of common-sense, nor be objected to unless upon party principles incompatible with and dishonorable to our generous plan of education and government proposed, and am therefore certain that in this light you will not only see but approve the nomination, which, it is my opinion, will be cordially acceptable to the respectable trust at home, who, I am convinced, will at all times gladly accede to so respectable a nomination, which must eminently tend in that country and in this to evince the extensive principles of the society.

The nomination of the three provincial officers to be of the active, influential, conducting trust in this country, I strongly recommend, but do not insist upon. They will be a natural defence, honor, and security to the institution, which may perhaps be the more eligible, as they can't be supposed to be at any time other than the safest and most natural guardians of education. However, I shall not insist upon them, yet would wish so well to the design as to be desirous of its being availed of such an honorable patronage. That I did not mention any other than the Governor to be of

the trust, can by no means be preclusive, neither did I so intend it. The same reason would operate equally against every part of the charter which you did not particularly mention to me. It was indeed resolved on my side that the Governor should be one; but by no reason or considerate supposition can it be thence inferred, the only one: for if so, all those that are mentioned by you must also be contrary to the plan, — which I by no means suppose.

In short, sir, I entertain a high respect for the institution as proposed to me in England, and since in America. My promises I will sacredly make good and excel them, influenced by an ardent desire to do right, without discrimination of facts or names. I shall at all times seek the welfare of the College, the good of the remote part of the province, which you intimate may be (in their opinion) crossed, upon those general principles of candor and rectitude which will produce the just stability which you are politely pleased to attribute to me. Whatever may be the event, believe me, sir, I am hearty in the cause, and doubt not, as we both profess the same, that explanations of sentiment will unite our judgment, — at least, I promise you that however I may have in future to blame my head, I will not leave the least self reproach upon my heart, either for too rigid requisitions or unsupported deviating concessions. I am with great truth and respect, reverend sir, your most obedient servant,

J. WENTWORTH.¹

Phelps to Wheelock.

PORTSMOUTH, Oct. 18, 1769.

REV^d & HON^d SIR, — I this morning had an audience with y^e Gov^r, who appears very friendly to you personally and to y^e School, and I conceive he was not understood when he made his proposal to add y^e Bishop of London to the Trust; he says he did not mean that he should be of y^e Trust on this side the water, but of y^e Trust in England. I then asked how we could add him in the Charter, which, upon considering, he says he can not; but only recommend him to the Gentlemen of y^e Trust at home to elect him, which if they would comply with, he then would be of the Trust. I then urg^d that he could not be made a non elective, to which he consented. I then said that he as Bishop of London could not, I conceived, be a member of y^e Trust for y^e Time being, and upon y^e whole y^e Gov^r consents to make a charter, only inserting therein a recommendatory clause in y^e charter to y^e Trust at home to elect y^e present Bishop to be one of y^e Trust in England, to act with them and them only; and also not to recommend him as Bishop to be one, but only considered in private carrecter, and that his recommendation shall not extend to his Successors.

I also queried with the Gov^r whether y^e Trust at home could add him to their number, and he seems to think they can not without a vacancy; and he is willing even to suppress y^e name Bishop in said recommendation, and I think he will consent to omit y^e addition of y^e President of y^e Council or

¹ All Governor Wentworth's letters (except when otherwise noted) are derived from the original manuscripts, now owned by the College.

Speaker of y^e House or Judge of y^e Sup. Court. I have not had time to advise with but two of y^e Council and one or two others. They are wholly averse to a Bishop, in particular, being concerned in y^e School or any other non-elective Members; but they whose judgment I think you would value (strict dissenters), seem to think y^e Bishop of London being only a nominal member of y^e Trust in England, is but a mere matter of moonshine, and not worthy of much consideration. Y^e Bearer is desired to wait on you with this, and y^e Gov^{rs}. Pray s^r that if y^e Gov^{rs} present purpose as I have mentioned should be so disagreeable that you will not comply, I pray you would write to me by a Special Post, who may be here by Saturday of next week. I am s^r your most obed^t son,

ALEX^R. PHELPS.

N. B. — Y^e Trust at home can if they please choose y^e Bishop of London without y^e Gov^{rs} recommendation, and they can refuse him if recommended.

A. P.

N. B. — I dont think y^e Gov^r has any view to clogg y^e School by recommending y^e Present Bishop of London to the Trust at home to be one of s^d Trust, but upon political views; and he cant, if y^e Trust at home shall see fit to elect him, have any influence on y^e School. This is y^e Sentiment of y^e best men here who are averse to y^e Church. I hope you'll direct me. Y^e Gov^r has given up almost everything I asked, and will it not be a pity to break with him for a bare circumstance? If the School should be fixed other where, I fear he will not be its benefactor; and if fixed in his province I believe he will do every thing for you, yours, and y^e School. He says he abhors every thing like party, and I don't believe he is a churchman. I am, yours dutifully,

A. PHELPS.

[Endorsed "per S. Matson."]

Wheelock to Wentworth.

LEBANON IN CONN^T, 25th Oct., 1769.

SIR, — I have this minute rec^d your Excellency's favour of 18th inst^o. and have read it with great pleasure and satisfaction. The bearer of it having been retarded in his journey, leaves me no time to consult a Friend in the case, and make this return to your proposal, by the time fixed for it by Col. Phelps; and indeed your proposal, since you have Explained it, appears so condescending, your views so catholic, your motives so great, your reasoning so strong, and your friendship, integrity, and uprightness therein so evident, as scarcely [to] leave room for hesitation or any apprehension of any Need I have of Council in order to full compliance with what you propose, viz., "To add the present Bishop of London by name to the Trust at home in England solely, without any other connection than any other of the gentlemen mentioned in London, that thereby the world may know our sincerity and universal good wishes to mankind; and at his demise the vacancy to be filled up by election as of another member." This indeed appears to be as safe a passage thr^o the straits between Scylla and Charybdis as perhaps can be tho^t of; and yet I conceive the bare mention of the name of Bishop in this affair will give offence to members, th^o I cannot see at present but their

offence must be groundless, and I will therefore run the venture of the consequences. But what authority your Excellency or any other man may have to add him to that Trust, or whether anything more can be done than to express a desire that he might be one, is out of my province to determine.

I here present you a Narrative lately printed in London, in which your Excellency may see a copy of their declaration of their Trust, and perhaps be thereby assisted in forming your judgment in that matter. I perfectly agree with your Excellency's sentiments of the importance of exterminating all Ideas that the benevolent charities are designed to be applied merely and exclusively to the advancement of Sectaries and particular opinions with a fixed view to discourage the established church of England. Yet as the reigning distempers and prejudice of our day are, and considering also the vast disadvantage of an unwieldy body, and more so by having the members at a great distance, I am glad your Excellency will not insist upon the addition of the Provincial Officers you mentioned.

And if your Excellency shall see fit in your Wisdom and goodness to compleat the Charter desired, and it will be the least satisfaction to you to *Christian the House to be built after your own name*, it will be exceeding grateful to me, and I believe to all concerned. And that God may lengthen out your important Life to bless the rising Institution and make to you thereby a name better than of Sons and Daughters, even to the latest posterity, will be the fervent prayer of him who is, with the most sincere respect and esteem, Your Excellency's [etc.],

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

HIS EXCEL^y GOV^r WENTWORTH.

While the negotiations were pending, Colonel Phelps appears to have remained most of the time at Portsmouth diligently pursuing the matter. The charter had been there re-drafted with several radical changes (notably the elimination of the dual organization), under the advice, in addition to that of others, of the distinguished lawyer William Parker,¹ who thus announced the result: —

PORTSMOUTH, Oct. 28, 1769.

REV^d SIR, — I have had an opportunity of conferring with Col. Phelps on the affair of the College proposed to be erected here. You'll find some alteration in the Scheme and Draft of the Charter. They are supposed to be amendments, and I think they (to say the least) will not be impediments. I cannot stay to enumerate them. The Charter will show them, and the Colonel will be able to explain the grounds and reasons of them. I have spent some considerable time with the Governor to form the plan in such a manner as will make it most beneficial, and to prevail on him to make such concessions as would suit the Gentlemen with you. I am apt to think the plan will be more serviceable as it now stands than as it was before. I shall be glad to serve the cause, & have persuaded Col. Phelps

¹ For a sketch of Mr. Parker, see Adams's Annals of Portsmouth, p. 272.

to communicate it before the finishing stroke, tho' it will cost him another journey. I have only to add that I am, with great esteem, etc.,

WILLIAM PARKER.

THE REV. DR. WHEELOCK.

From Samuel Haven, Wheelock received at the same time a most friendly letter, urging his acceptance of the modifications, certifying to him that he had the prayers and good wishes of multitudes in the Province, and that he himself, though a strong Dissenter, favored compliance with the Governor's wishes in respect to the Bishop of London, as a refusal might lead to bad results. On the other hand, the composition of the original board was modified in partial deference to Wheelock's wish, so as to take for the time five only from New Hampshire, including the Governor, and seven (a clear majority) from Wheelock's friends in Connecticut, including of course himself.¹ In all subsequent appointments the charter rules were to operate.

The charter itself bears date Dec. 13, 1769.² It was followed, according to promise, by the grant of Landaff, Jan. 25, 1770. Colonel Phelps duly received both the charters, but was delayed by other details, so that he did not reach Lebanon with the parchments until the 10th of March, 1770. Towards the last of November, the preliminaries being substantially settled, Wheelock had sent to Phelps further instructions, as follows:—

LEBANON, NOV. 20, 1769.

SIR,—For your direction in the Business for which I now employ you, I need only give you some general hints, and leave you to conduct the whole affair according as your own prudence, with the advice of such as you shall see fit to consult, shall dictate.

¹ From New Hampshire, besides the Governor, were taken Theodore Atkinson, President of the Council, George Jaffrey and Daniel Pierce, members of the Council, all of Portsmouth; and Peter Gilman, of Exeter, Speaker of the House. From Connecticut, Deputy-Governor William Pitkin, and Rev. Messrs. Eleazar Wheelock, of Lebanon; Benjamin Pomeroy, of Hebron; James Lockwood, of Wethersfield; Timothy Pitkin and John Smalley, of Farmington; and William Patten, of Hartford. The Governor and Messrs. Atkinson and Jaffrey were Churchmen; all the rest were Dissenters. General Gilman, like the Connecticut members, was a disciple of Whitefield, and Mr. Pierce a lover of Dr. Doddridge. Mr. Patten and all the New Hampshire members but Mr. Pierce were graduates of Harvard College, all the others, save Governor Pitkin, of Yale. For biographies of the New Hampshire members, see *Annals of Portsmouth*, pp. 238, 269, 325; *Granite Monthly* (for Jaffrey), vii. 153; *Bell's History of Exeter* (for Gilman), p. 461.

² See Appendix A.

When his Excellency Governor Wentworth has given the charter and you have got it recorded, let the Deeds of lands given to the school and myself be executed, in which let your eye be upon having as much near and convenient for speedy improvement for the present support of my Family and School as may be. Bring the several offers made to induce a preference for the site of it in particular places, here with you, and the estimates of judicious and impartial men relative thereto, and especially his Excellency's Reasons for preferring the place which he shall chuse to fix it in.

Give my duty to his Excellency the late Governor, and tell him I would humbly propose to his consideration whether it would not be an offering well pleasing to Christ if in addition to all his acts of piety and charity he should settle a pension for the support of a professor or tutor or some needy youths in Dartmouth College, as his wisdom and goodness shall direct; and the benefited person to bear his name, and so perpetuate his memory, with the memory of his Deed, to the latest posterity. Let the proposal be properly made to his Excellency, and I am persuaded he will gladly embrace the opportunity to give such an undying Testimonial of his Respect to the Kingdom of the great Redeemer.

See what donations may be had by charitably disposed gentlemen of materials which shall be necessary for the buildings, such as glass, putty, coloring, papering, spikes, nails for floors, ceiling, enclosing, shingling, clabboarding, lathing, locks, latches, [word undecipherable], hinges, fire-shovels, tongs, handirons, etc." And if a good bell should be offered, don't refuse it. See what provision may be made most conveniently for putting seed of all kinds into the ground seasonably for the support of my family and school, and what provision for my removal and what way my Family and School may be supported there at first, etc.

See what materials for building may be had on the spot, viz., of boards, shingles, clabboards, window-frames, sashes, laths, etc., stones, limestone, brick; and how Laborers of all kinds may be employed in the cheapest manner for the school, and where faithful ones may be had, — and this in one place and another which may come in competition. The Lord be with and direct in all your way!

I am yours affectionately,

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

COL. ALEX. PHELPS.

In reply to this, Phelps wrote from Portsmouth, Dec. 19, 1769, —

REV^d AND HON^d SIR, — This day the enrollment of the charter was completed, being retarded several days by the death of Madam Atkinson, which happened last week. I am now going to Newbury to take the deeds of such subscribers as live there and in the way to Newbury, and to see what can be collected there in nails, etc., agreeable to your plan, which the Governor much approved. And I hope to set out the latter end of next week for Coos, to take the deeds, etc., which the Governor and trustees here think very necessary, and shall, as soon as possibly I can

accomplish what is thought necessary to be done, agreeable to your plan and advice of trustees present, make the best of my way home.

The charter as it is made and recorded differs nothing materially from that I brought with me, and all who have seen it judge it the most generous of any on the continent; and the gentlemen of this Province who I have had conversation with highly approve it, and appear cheerful to promote it. Colonel Atkinson has engaged £100 to be laid out in books, I believe in consequence of your letter. I believe a number of gentlemen are to be generous, on whom I am to wait by the Governor's advice. I find to pursue your plan (with which all who are immediately concerned fully agree) will take up more time than I expected when I left home. Hope my family will not be sufferers by my absence. The Assembly will meet in the beginning of January next, when the Governor says he will lay College matters before them. Nails and glass are very scarce. 'T is thought by some best that you immediately write to England for them. The Governor's secretary has hinted to me that I must return from Coos via Portsmouth; but on that I expect to confer with the Governor when I return from Newbury. So should be glad of your further thoughts at Coos, where I hope to be in about a fortnight. I am, sir, etc.,

ALEX. PHELPS.

Again he wrote on the 10th and 29th of January, as follows:

PORTSMOUTH, Jan^y 10, 1770.

REV^d AND HON^d SIR, — When I wrote you last I hoped to have been at Coos before this time; but being disappointed in receiving an actual survey of y^e town of Landaff, no charter could be obtained, till this day the Gov^r has consented to make out a charter of Landaff, which will be finished, I believe, next week. Matters go on very moderately, alth^o the Gov^r and everybody else seem pleased with the Prospect of a College. The Gen^l Assembly will meet the next week, and 'tis thought prudent by y^e Governor as well as others that I be in town when the Assembly are on business, that they may be induced to do something to promote the Design. I am taking y^e deeds of y^e subscribers as fast as I can. My patience is tryed by a thousand Delays. I hope everything will be so conducted that you will not be disappointed. Col^o Atkinson will give a legacy of £100 Sterling in books, and talks of doing much more.

I hope to hear from you at Coos. If any thing new should occur to your mind, you will instruct me. I hope you 'll leave nothing undone which may conduce to your happiness in a removal as early as may be. No one among ye many who have read the Charter have yet pretended so much as to say they think it would or could be made better, which I think you will be pleased with. Attempts are using to procure nails, etc., by subscription; but the gen^l cry is, we are poor. The Gov^r thinks it much best to build with brick, if we can find lyme stone handy; and to build at least 3 story high, whether ye building be of wood or brick. What will be necessary for you to have done at or near the place where the College will stand, for your immediate comfort, your own mind will suggest. I hope you will

write me at Coos for my further direction, and on my part nothing that I can do for you shall be wanting. I have heard not one word from you nor from my family (whose circumstances I am much concerned about) since I left home. I am,

Your dutiful son & humble serv^t.

ALEX^R PHELPS.

P. S. — I hope to set out for Coos next Tuesday.

Phelps to Wheelock.

PORTSMOUTH, Jan^y 29, 1770.

REV^D & HON^D SIR, — At last I have obtained a charter of Landaff to y^e College (which was delayed for want of an actual survey), which was enrolled on y^e 25th of this instant, and am now waiting for y^e opinion of y^e Trustees as to y^e Town where the College shall be fixed, which appears to me absolutely necessary to be done immediately for your particular advantage, as well as that of the College, otherwise you will lose all the profits of the current year. I believe by this time you are impatient for my return; and if you were not acquainted with such affairs as I am upon and with such men as I am to transact with, you would hardly think me desirous to finish my business here; and indeed it is one of the hardest tasks that I have ever had, to keep patience alive amidst so many put-offs and delays; but they say the matter is of y^e greatest consequence, and I must not be in a hurry. But I am determined, as I this day told the Gov^r, to leave this town and proceed directly for Cowas to-morrow; and if this should come seasonably to hand, and your health will admit, I believe you would find your interest in it if you would meet me at Coos y^e week after next or y^e beginning of y^e week after. Your easy situation and early beginning in the spring will much depend on a speedy fixing y^e place, which will be much left to you. But if you cant meet me, I will do the best I can in making every provision in my power for your comfort. I am much exercised about my family, & in hope they will be provided for. Shall make the greatest dispatch of business & return. I should not have mentioned your meeting me at Coos, if Capt. Cushman had not mentioned that you proposed such a thought to him. I am [etc.]

ALEX^R PHELPS.

N. B. — Every one is pleased with the charter and your whole plan.

On the same day the Governor wrote to Wheelock: —

PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE, 29 Jan^y, 1770.

REV^D SIR, — Colonel Phelps is very justly desirous to have some certain Town determined on immediately for the site of Dartmouth College. It is scarcely possible to give any proper advice upon the subject, unless I knew what soil was in each Town, and the other interesting circumstances of Reward or Gratuity which would arise from any particular people obtaining it within their District; yet from all I can at present gather, either Bath or Haverhill have the most advantages. As to the particular spott in either of those towns it can only be chosen by actual and intelligent survey. Perhaps,

ceteris paribus, the centre of either may be expedient for communications with others.

I wish that the College may have the government of the Town wherever it stands, as is usefully in England. This cannot be had so easily as in Landaff, which upon all accounts is much my preference, but by no means my positive determination, which will be much inclined to pursue your advice in it. Upon the whole I consent to Bath, Landaff, or Haverhill. The College to have at least one hundred acres adjoining, and to stand not less than a mile from the river.

I have great pleasure in hearing by Mr. Cushman of your good health, and sincerely wish you every Blessing; being, with real Esteem, my Dear Sir, your hearty Friend and most humble Servant,

J. WENTWORTH.

On the twelfth of March, two days after receiving the charters at the hands of Colonel Phelps, Wheelock communicated this fact to the English Trustees. This was the first intimation given to them of that feature of the New Hampshire plan. It was conveyed to Lord Dartmouth in the following terms:—

“Your Lordship is doubtless sensible of the danger and difficulty, if not impracticability of proceeding in the affair of this school, according to the largeness of the plan which God in his providence has evidently pointed out, without a legal incorporation to secure the whole against reproach and the interests of it against the many plots and devices of bad men, and especially in bad times. In the enclosed copy of incorporation, your Lordship will see some success of my feeble endeavors in that important affair by the blessing of Heaven.

“Governor Wentworth thought best to reject that clause in my draft of the charter which gave the Honorable Trust in England equal power with the trustees here to nominate and appoint the President from time to time, apprehending it would make the body too unwieldy; but he cheerfully consented I should express my gratitude and duty to your Lordship by christianizing it after your name. And as there seemed to be danger of many embarrassments in my way in the present ruffled and distempered state of the kingdom, I thought prudent to embrace the first opportunity to accomplish it; and by that means could have no time to know your Lordship’s pleasure in that matter before it should be accomplished, which I hope you will accept as an excuse for that neglect.”

We shall hereafter see what kind of reception this intelligence met. The next step being to carry out the arrangement respecting the Bishop of London, the following paper was signed by the members of the Board:—

“Whereas a Charter has been granted by his Excellency John Wentworth, Esq., Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Province of New Hampshire, for erecting a College in said Province and incorporating Trus-

tees and officers suitable for that purpose, by the name of Dartmouth College, for the instruction of such of the Indian Youth as may be prevailed upon to receive the same, and such others as shall offer themselves, for which design considerable gifts and donations in money have been made in Great Britain, which money is in the hands of Trustees who have voluntarily undertaken the trust, and it having been proposed and recommended by his Excellency the Governor to request and desire the said Trustees to add to their number the Right Reverend Dr Richard Terrich, Lord Bishop of London, in order to render the design of the most extensive utility; we the said Trustees in America approve of the said proposal, and hereby request his Excellency to recommend it to and desire of the Trustees in Great Britain to invite and join the said Bishop of London to the said Trust and concerns of the said College there, and also that his Excellency will be pleased to write to the said Bishop informing him of the scheme or plan of the College, and praying him to accept of that trust."

This was transmitted by the Governor, April 28, 1770, with a letter, enclosed with a "flying seal" to the Bishop himself. It does not appear what answer it received, if any.

Governor Wentworth also wrote to the Trust in England:

PORTSMO', N. H., 28th April, 1770.

MY LORD & GENTLEMEN, — I beg leave to transmit the inclos'd Request of the Trustees of Dartmouth College in this Province, and most respectfully to hope it will meet your Concurrence. I presume Dr Wheelock has taken early care to forward you the Charter of Incorporation & other Communications relating to the College, which precludes me from entering thereon. Permit me to assure the Right Honorable, Honorable, & Worthy Trustees in Eng^d that I very sincerely believe The College will amply embrace the Ends of its Institution, and more effectually civilize the Indians & spread Christianity among them than any other public or private Measures hitherto granted for Indian Institution. It is also my firm belief that this Institution will so attach the Indians to the British Interest that it will prevent more Incursions & ravages upon the Peasantry in those remote Countries than the best Regiment of Troops that could be raised. It will also be the Means of cultivating knowledge & establishing the Gospel Ministrations in a remote and extensive but rapidly increasing District of His Majesty's Dominions, where there is the greatest danger, if not Certainty, that Ignorance & Irreligion must otherwise prevail. For those New Settlers are at first too poor to support either schools or Churches; and the Disuse too soon degenerates into a habit.

Therefore I have great pleasure in my steadfast opinion that this College is certainly the most noble, useful, & truly pious foundation now in America. It is liberally and plentifully endowed with Landed Estates in this Province, which are daily increasing in Value, and in a few years will yield an Ample Income for its full & honorable support. These great Blessings are the sure Consequence of the continual patronage & protection

of y^r Lordship and the Honorable Trustees, in which is comprehended the highest Gratitude of an immense Country, while Literature & Christianity remain the sublimest Interests of Mankind. I have the honor to be, with the profoundest respect, My Lord and Gentlemen, your most devoted & most obedient humble serv^t,

J. WENTWORTH.

TO THE HONBLE THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH [and others named], Trustees of Dartmouth College in England.

The foregoing is valuable for other things and as certifying to us the Governor's view of the importance of the work he had done. The following extract to the same point adds a new and interesting particular as to his understanding of his own position in the board, and indicates approval of the Haverhill location.

PORTSMOUTH, 29th March, 1770.

[After speaking at length of a tract of land in the north part of the Province, to which he urges Mr. Nelson to remove, he proceeds:] The distance from this place about a hundred & twenty miles. Has a College for Education of youth within thirty miles, most beneficially endowed, and already thirty Students enter'd, the buildings to be founded this summer, for which and its support we have in hand upwards of Twelve thousand Guineas. It is incorporated by the Name of Dartmouth College. *And the Governor of this Prov^a perpetual Chancellor or president of Overseers.* . . . Lands in Lime, Dorchester, and Cockermouth advance very fast in value, especially the first, which is become very valuable.¹

TO JOHN NELSON, ESQ^r, AT THE GRENADES.

A contention now arose that eclipsed all previous difficulties. The preliminary survey by Cleaveland in 1768 had apparently provoked no great emulation. Though several towns were brought under consideration, none came very prominently into view except Campton, Haverhill, and Orford; and the English Trustees plainly understood that the choice lay between the last two.² Colonel Phelps himself had interests in Orford, and

¹ This letter and the preceding are derived from the Governor's manuscript letter-book.

² The subscription-paper for Haverhill is dated Aug. 12, 1768, and is headed by Tim'o Bedel, John Hazen, and Jacob Bailey. The first signed for three hundred acres, and the others for one thousand each. Orford, through Jonathan Moulton, of Hampton, its chief proprietor, was in the field at the same time or earlier. The earliest paper of this kind now preserved is for Orford, dated Aug. 1, 1768, in the handwriting of Colonel Phelps, and headed by Daniel Tillotson. On September 19 the Orford proprietors, pursuant to Moulton's promise, voted one thousand acres to the College and one thousand to Wheelock (in case Orford should be chosen), besides £100 in cash to pay the expense of removing his family.

perhaps in Piermont; and just before Cleaveland's visit he was there actively promoting subscriptions of land, money, and materials to induce the selection of Orford. But the Orford interest, finding strong influences drawing towards Haverhill, seems to have thrown its weight at last in that direction. The following letter from Colonel Morey, like the other settlers an immigrant from Connecticut, and one of the most influential men in the region, makes it clear that there was no real antagonism.

ORFORD, 4th Sept, 1767.

REV^d SIR, — I rejoice at the news of the School being fixt within the Province of New Hampshire. I cant think but that it must be the best place for the School, as it is a goodly land in general upon this river, and men of learning and good order are greatly wanted in this part of the country. Providence seems to point out this part of the country for the School. By what I can best learn by information, the biggest offers have been made to have it in the township of Haverhill, and that some offers have been made by Colonel Moulton to have it fixt in the township of Orford. Both towns, I believe, are very good; and I believe you may have your choice of either of them, if you should think best to fix it in either of them. I believe you may have as much given in the one town as in the other. I don't mean to give any more to have it in Orford than to have it in Haverhill. I am willing to leave that affair to yourself or them whose right that is to say which is the best place. If it comes in this part of the country, I am easy about what town. Many things may be said in favor of Haverhill, and much might be said in favor of Orford. Col^o Bayley seems to like Haverhill best for the school; I believe I should if I lived and owned there. I have a great value for Col^o Bayley's judgment, set all interest aside.

Sir, a number of Gent^a have promist to give something to the school in land when it shall be fixt, and that they will remember you and give you lands for your Extraordinary trouble in the affair of the school, etc. Sir, I understand you are coming up next month. I hope to see you then; ¹ and if there be any service that I can do you, inform me by a line. I shall take the utmost care to wait on your business. Sir, I am your friend and very humble serv^t,

ISRAEL MOREY.

REV^d ELEAZAR WHELOCK, D.D.

On Jan. 30, 1770, the same day Colonel Phelps set out from Portsmouth, we find Wheelock informing a correspondent that "great numbers are eager to know the spot, that they may accommodate themselves to it," and also "that three towns are bidding for it; viz., Haverhill, Orford, and *Hanover*." This is

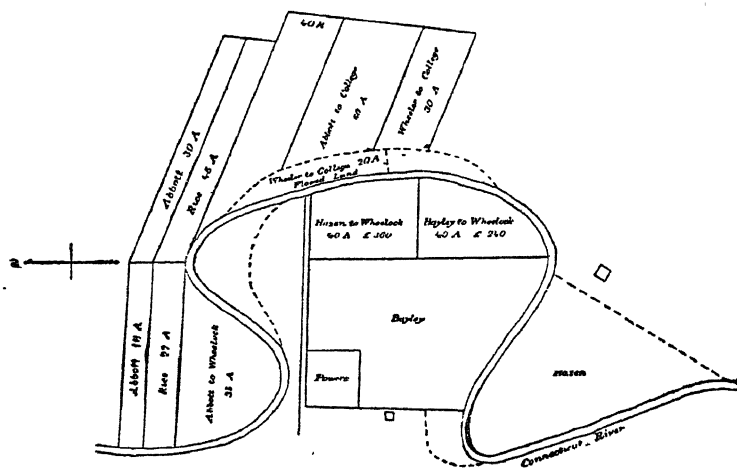
¹ This hope was not at that time realized, as Wheelock made no journey to the Coos country earlier than April, 1770.

the first mention of Hanover found in the official correspondence that remains to us; but we learn from other sources that it had been named in this connection several months before. Dea. Edmund Freeman writes from Mansfield, Conn., to his son Jonathan, at Hanover, Sept. 4, 1769, "I hear and believe that it is determined that Mr. Wheelock's school is to be settled in the Province of New Hampshire. I have heard transiently that Dr. Wheelock thinks likely in Hanover, or in Orford, or in another town, I know not the name. The Doctor, as I hear, says Hanover is settled with the most serious, steady inhabitants. Rejoice if you are, and continue worthy of a good character." The Hanover proprietors recorded a vote, Oct. 17, 1769, to encourage subscriptions, since "there appears a prospect of Dr. Wheelock's school being settled in this town."¹

The month of February and part of March Colonel Phelps spent in Coos. We have no means of knowing with certainty the course or the result of his negotiations, save as may be inferred from allusions in subsequent correspondence. In pursuance of his instructions, as he understood them, he at that time selected a site for the College, and entered into contracts for the purchase of materials and the erection of buildings. The favored spot, as shown by a plan still in existence, was in the town of Haverhill, opposite the great bend of the Connecticut known as the Great Ox-Bow, on the beautiful elevated plain just above the site of the present North Village, which was then the principal settlement in the town, and close by the spot where the first county building was afterwards erected. Deeds of neighboring lands, partly given and partly purchased, on both sides of the river, including some of the best of the Great Meadow, were executed (some to the College and some to Wheelock), and deposited in the hands of Colonel Bailey, Colonel Porter, and Mr. Coleman, awaiting Wheelock's acceptance. Of five thousand acres lying in Haverhill, Newbury, and Bath, the subscriptions are preserved, running four

¹ There is preserved, with others, a subscription paper for Hanover, in Mr. Woodward's handwriting, dated January, 1769, and signed by Simeon Dewey, Gideon Smith, Benjamin Rise, Timothy Smith, Edmund Freeman, John Bridgman, Asa Parker, David Mason, Jeremiah Trescott, Isaac Walbridge, Nathaniel Wright, Jonathan Curtice, Stephen Mason, and Joseph Curtice.

fifths to the College, and one fifth to Wheelock. Besides outlying lands, there were given 180 acres on and near the Great Ox-Bow, and 165 acres of adjoining high lands for building purposes. The plan exhibits but a part of it. There was a



PLAN OF THE ORIGINAL SITE OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

barn 45 feet by 30, completely finished, and a small house, 16 by 16, finished on the outside. There were also subscriptions for money, materials, and labor (even down to the "macking too pear of lethern briches"), for which notes were to be given by June 1st, payable by October 1st, with interest; and contracts were made for other materials and buildings.

The proprietors of Haverhill, in March, 1770, upon an article "to see if they would give anything to Dartmouth College, Dr. Wheelock, or Colonel Phelps, or either of them, as an encouragement for said College being fixed in said township," voted to Wheelock fifty acres "lying on Capt. John Hazen's mill brook, where there is a convenient water-power for a mill." This brook runs through the village of North Haverhill, near the site selected for the College.

That these proceedings had been known to the Governor and approved by him is from all the circumstances reasonably certain. The result seems to have been fairly in the line of his wishes and of Wheelock's instructions, though in strictness

somewhat in excess of their limitations in certain particulars. Of the propriety of his course, Colonel Phelps himself appears to have entertained no doubts. Colonel Bayley was enthusiastic, as shown by the following: —

LEBANON [Conn.], 27 Feb. 1770.

SIR, — I heartily congratulate you on your receipt of the charter of Dartmouth College, and now wish the most advantageous site for the same. I shall only add to my former accounts of this new country, that from Charlestown to Bath the distance from the several towns on the river to Newbury or Portsmouth [is] nearly the same, and that Haverhill is so situated that the inhabitants, which is probable may settle on more than five hundred thousand acres of lands, must ever pass through Haverhill to Portsmouth, Boston, etc., which is not the case with any other town on the river; and as some persons represent that no wood is to be got without great difficulty, I assert that all such reports are groundless. On the contrary, wood may be brought easier to the place we think most beautiful and convenient for the College and yourself than in any place I ever saw. Considering the College of a long standing, what is purchased for yourself is good, and of present profit, the donations sure, and I am fully of the mind that the whole affair may be more than one thousand pounds cheaper carried to perfection at Haverhill than in either town from Charlestown to Haverhill. Though the temptation is great for any man to act self, yet I must say I have said nothing in this affair but what I believe will prove itself to be true. Otherways I would not have writ at all. Wish you the direction of Heaven, and am [etc.].

JACOB BAYLEY.

TO THE REV DR. WHELOCK.

Another friend (Elijah King, a surveyor) wrote, March 5, from Charlestown: "The land Colonel Phelps tells me that is deeded to yourself, and land that is proposed to build the College on in case it should be set in Haverhill, I am perfectly acquainted with, and I think none on the river so convenient and commodious. The land to build on has the best prospect on the river; and in case there should be ever a communication opened from Connecticut River to the western waters and to Montreal, none will be open so easy."

There followed a most clamorous outcry from all the disappointed. Wheelock's old friend Moses Little, of Newburyport, sent to him on March 6, by special messenger, information of new subscriptions lately opened to induce a settlement at Campton, Rumney or Plymouth, — one in Plymouth which already amounted to £3,000 in labor, provisions, etc., and another in Newburyport to the same effect, worth £1,000, besides

further subscriptions for Wheelock himself that would be generous. The interests of Hanover had been entrusted to James Murch, — one of the early and most prominent settlers, and an old acquaintance of Wheelock. Stimulated by Colonel Phelps's movements, he wrote, Feb. 10, 1770, —

REV. SIR, — As I understand that Col. Alexander Phelps, Esq., has been on business of importance relative to your College, viz., the consulting the honorable trustees at Portsmouth concerning the place where it will be best to set the said College, and as there is great engagedness and large subscriptions making by the proprietors and others of the towns of Plainfield, Hartford, Harford, Lebanon, Norwich, Hanover, and some other towns for the said school if said school should be set in Hanover in the Province of New Hampshire, now, sir, I suppose that Colonel Phelps never heard of this subscription, and I apprehend he has not laid this donation, with circumstances of the place, before the board at Portsmouth. Trusting in your wisdom and willingness to hear everything of consequence to said School, I would therefore pray that the place for the said College may not be fixed on till the donations may be gathered and the circumstances of the place be properly laid before their honors.

P. S. — I suppose there can be as much or more said in favor of its going to the said town of Hanover than any town on the river, — which will be laid before their honors in writing, if desired.

The neighboring towns now made a concerted effort to enlarge their subscriptions, and Murch went to Connecticut to see Wheelock, who wrote thus to the English trust, March 12 :

"I hoped the Colonel and the trustees in that Province would have been able to furnish such materials as might enable us to determine upon the very spot without any further difficulty, and that I might set all the wheels in motion for building and making preparation for my removal with my family and school immediately; but I find the case much otherwise. He says that part of the Province are all with redoubled zeal engaged to each town to have the school fixed in it or as near to it as may be. To-morrow is the day appointed for meetings in each town to renew and enlarge their subscriptions to invite it to the place they have respectively fixed upon. . . . Nothing can be done by me consistently in this affair till their subscriptions are all brought in, and then it is not likely it can be determined with safety or honor to the cause and satisfaction to the inhabitants without viewing the several places fixed upon and hearing the reasons and arguments of the several parties upon the spot. I expect Colonel Pitkin, one of the trustees, will accompany me in that affair as soon as the roads are settled. . . . It is thought proper that the first building should be about 120 feet by 40, and three stories high, and much the safest to build with brick; and that even the partitions to so many rooms at least as shall be occupied by Indians, who have never been taught to exercise any care or prudence about fire, should also be of brick."

The result of the town meetings was a local concentration in favor of Hanover. Besides other offers, the proprietors of Lebanon (N. H.) voted, March 13th, "to give 1441 acres adjoining to Hanover line, and to Mr. Tilden's land, to be laid one mile and a half square, for the support of Dr. Wheelock's school, upon condition that it be erected in Hanover." Murch on the same day wrote again, as follows: —

HANOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE, March 13, 1770.

REVEREND SIR, — Having been honored with some conversation with yourself relating to Dartmouth College, therefore I would take the freedom to send a few lines to you on that subject. And first, Lebanon proprietors, I understand, have voted to give one mile and a half square adjoining to Hanover line, which will doubtless come to hand; and as to land, by all I can gather there is some bad land, but the greater part is very good. I mention this because 't is reported that Colonel Phelps had been heard to say it was good for nothing.¹

I would also take the liberty to inform you that the people in these parts imagine the Colonel does not give a fair representation, and they think not without reason for their imagination, for Mr. Powers has told John Wright that the Colonel, being in company with Colonel Moulton, put the question whether Colonel Moulton would give him half his interest he had in Orford if he would get it in that town, adding that his interest there did not cost Colonel Moulton so much as it had cost him in that business, Colonel Moulton telling him he would take it into consideration and send him a letter with the promise of fifty pounds if he should obtain it for Orford; at which Colonel Phelps showed great resentment for so trifling a sum being offered. This here, together with much of his talk, give them to suspect that if he be not bribed, he is trying to advance his own interest.

Now, sir, we all hope you will view the place yourself, and the people will all be satisfied that the College will be set in the best place for its benefit; or if a disinterested man should come and view the place and make a representation, it is generally thought it [would] come to Hanover or Lebanon.

Now, sir, I shall endeavor to set before you some of the benefits of this place for the College: First, here is a large tract of land of near three thousand acres or more, all lying together, and the greater part some of the best of land. I shall only add that there may be a good road to Portsmouth; and it is in a line to Crown Point from Portsmouth, and a very narrow place in the great river for a bridge; and it is by a long pair of falls, and where salt and other articles, brought up the river, will be cheaper than they will be farther up. Having given some short hints of what is commonly talked of where I have been, I hope you will condescend to forgive what is amiss in this broken letter. . . .

P. S. — I would inform you we all got up here well.

¹ He was not far out of the way as to most of it.

Colonel Phelps found himself in a most embarrassing position. The grounds upon which he was charged with corruption do not fully appear; but it seems to have been generally reported that he had "sold" the College, and Wheelock, by silence at least, gave countenance to the accusation. Phelps was naturally indignant, and defended himself by several earnest letters, which are especially valuable in the glimpses they alone afford us of the course of events during the preceding months. Wheelock's part of the correspondence being unfortunately lost, allowance must be made in his favor for the fact that we have but one side of the controversy.¹

Phelps to Wheelock.

HEBRON, March 22, 1770.

REV^d & HON^d SIR, — Being anxious to do right, especially where your honor, my own, and the public good are concerned, and not having had a sufficient opportunity to converse with you and to give my full account of what occurred in my late tour relative to Dartmouth College, and as I have heard you are soon going on that very important affair, and fearing that I shall not have opportunity until you go, I shall in this give a short account of what happened, and my apprehensions thereon. And as you remember, I set out on that affair in Nov^r last expressly instructed by you to "transact the whole affair relative to s^d College according to my own prudence," with the advice of such as I should think fit to consult; also that when the charter should be obtained and recorded, then I should proceed to take the deeds of

¹ Occasion for remark may have been found in the fact that in February, 1770, Colonel Phelps acquired from Colonel Morey two rights of land in Orford. But there is no evidence that there was anything out of character in the transaction. Colonel Phelps seems to have had interests here long prior to this, and in the following year removed from Hebron and settled in Orford with his family.

Alexander Phelps, son of Nathaniel Phelps, of Hebron, Conn., was born Jan. 6, 1723-24; graduated at Yale College, 1744; prepared for the ministry, and preached a while, but is said to have been later a lawyer. His letters show that he adhered to the English Church. He was a tutor at Yale 1747-49; member of the Connecticut Colonial assembly eleven sessions, between 1754 and 1762; and twice appointed judge of probate *pro tem*. He was also lieutenant-colonel of militia in 1766. He married for a second wife Dr. Wheelock's eldest daughter, Theodora, Jan. 9, 1751-52. Their son Davenport is spoken of in another place. Another son, Ralph, born at Orford March 21, 1772, weighed at birth 16½ pounds (Mass. Gazette, April 13, 1772), and graduated at Dartmouth College 1794. There appear to have been other children; namely, Eleazar W. and Alexander, and perhaps more. Colonel Phelps died at Orford April 19, 1773, æt. 49 (N. H. Gazette, April 30, 1773; Dexter's Yale Biographies, i. 765). He is spoken of as "a gentleman of a liberal education, who had sustained several offices of trust in Connecticut, which he discharged with fidelity." Jointly with Colonel Morey he appears in December, 1771, as agent for the town of Orford before the General Assembly of New Hampshire.

land given to the school and yourself, in doing which your express direction was that I should keep my "eye on getting as much near and convenient for speedy improvement for the present support" of your family and school as might be, and that I should bring home y^e several offers to induce the preference for a site of the school in the several places, and the Governor's reasons for preferring the place he should choose to fix it in; and also that I should see what provision could be made for putting seed into the ground seasonably for the support of your family and school, and also that I should see what "materials for buildings might be had on the spot," viz., Boards, etc. And in order to execute my commission, I was obliged to show the same to his Excellency and the rest of the Trustees in New Hampshire, who considered you as the principal actor in the whole affair, and as such acting with them by me, and I also considered myself as personating you in the whole affair. . . .

And I did through the whole of my tour, tedious as it was, punctiliously pursue my ^{s^d} instructions according to my best prudence, and have conditionally engaged lands, articles for building, etc., accordingly, not once suspecting that I was acting without book, and am sure that no one who has seen or shall see my commission will differ with me in sentiment; and further I did, as I then thought was necessary, assure the Governor, etc., that they might rely upon your catholicism in the whole affair of the College.

My character with the Governor is too dear to me to be willing to lose it, since I have interested myself so much in land in his province; and my difficult circumstances in this colony (which by long absence from my own affairs at home are the more difficult) make it the more necessary that I take good care of my name and interest in New Hampshire. My circumstances, together with a filial concern for your comfort and usefulness in your exalted station as President of a College (which I believe will be the most useful and the richest on the continent if the Gov^r's friendship may be continued to it), are the reasons of my writing this; though the occasion of my writing at this time is a hint which is spreading that in my late tour in the affair of the College I acted without book, which is spread and spreading by such persons as I fear you will have reason, when too late, to consider as *angues in herbis*, let their present connections with the College be ever so near, which hint if it should reach the Governor I fear will not serve any good purpose.

I always thought till lately I had acted well in the affair and to your good liking. I had the happiness to gain the Governor's friendship to the College and to you when it was most certainly very cold; and as I left him a hearty friend in these regards, I hope he will continue such. His friendship lost, will hardly be regained. As to such lands, seed, laborers, etc., which I engaged, if 't is likely you shall not have them, I wish I might know, if my knowing would not disserve your cause, that I might write to them, which I promised to do, and now have no opportunity. I am [etc.]

ALEX^r PHELPS.

TO DOCT^r WHEELLOCK.

[Endorsed: "Delivered to him before he set out on his first tour to Coos."]

The trouble was not speedily allayed. A year later Phelps wrote again, having in the mean time enlisted Colonel Morey in his defence, and furnished him with documents not altogether pleasing to Wheelock. There are hints of instructions and occurrences of which we have no other knowledge.

HEBRON, 23^d of Mar., 1771.

REV^d & HON^d SIR, — Rec^d yours of y^e 13th of Feb^r in which you punctiliously observe that Esq. Morey came to your house at 11 o'clock on s^d day & tarried till 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

You observe that a little before Esq. Morey went away he told you that I was concerned about my carrecter in your parts, on acc^t of a report *that I had sold y^e College, &c., and that I was uneasie with you, &c.*; and as to my concern about my carrecter, it is true, and I think not without reason, when so groundless a report is spread and passed current for truth. You, s^r, was the first person that ever hinted to me that there was such a report, but would not give me your author, neither could I guess at one till I went to a Town adjoining Hanover, and there was told that you had rec^d Letters from Hanover before you left Connecticut, charging that enormous crime on me; and when you came to Hanover I asked you about it, and you neither showed me y^e letters, nor told me your authors. But however injurious and abusive y^e Report was, I came home with full resolution to bear it, and continued my resolution till a number of your present Townsmen had at Diverse places in this colony industriously spread that and sundry other reports as false as that; and when I came to reflect on that report, and that I had acted in your affair without your direction, &c., and y^e persons reporting living in your neighborhood, & could find that neither you nor any other person had ventured to contradict them, I thought it high time to bestir myself in my own defence.

I viewed your several powers of att^r to me and your several letters; also I reviewed my fateagues in your business, my sufferings in body and estate, the sufferings of my family by reason of my absence, — my wife left and lingering through a long winter with bodily indisposition; your kind reception of me when I brought your charter; your urging me to visit you the next Tuesday to consult with you; your almost perfect silence touching y^e affair when I waited on you; your telling me expressly that Mr. Pomeroy should not go with you to fix the place for y^e College; your sudden change of mind; your secreting all your then future plans from me, after I had done so much, which you often said was well done; your caressing & consulting those, and almost only those, who you knew to be unfriendly to me; your urging me to give you my bill of charge, telling me, as an inducement to make my charge low, that probably I should be much benefited by the College; your refusing to have my accts. adjusted by y^e Governor or some others of y^e corporation, when I told you I had made a mistake in charging my honest wages; your getting my first bill viewed and approved by one who neither you nor I have esteemed friendly, and who would not have done what I did for 20s. per diem, — for which you allowed me 6s.; your total neglect of corre-

sponding with me since you left Connecticut, while you wrote frequently to a number who lived near me; and one thing more, — which I had like to have omitted, — your cold receipt of my letter to you which I delivered to you with my own hand at my house, before your first going to Coos, — so cold that you left it, — a copy of which I herewith send, which may afford you some light with regard to y^e marked passages in y^e copys Esq^r Morey showed you. I say when I came to review these things (omitting many others which perhaps it will not be prudent for me to write), it gave me no small degree of uneasiness. . . .

And now as to printing those papers Esq^r Morey showed you (wrote[in] a hand which I hope will grow better), I gave them to him to do as he should find best, enjoining him first to show them to you and to acquaint you with his design; and what I have suggested I think suff^t to justify me. Ye reason why I gave them to him is this: By your special and repeated direction which you cant forget, I several times engaged his and Col^o Bayley's friendly assistance in your affairs, who were at no smal Expense that way; and by that means they have been blamed as well as neglected not a little, as well as I, by whom you personally and your school have both been much advantaged; and they would have good reason to blame me if your powers, letters, &c., are not enough to excuse me, as also a number more with whom I treated relative to provisions, labour, &c., would have abundant reason to blame me, as they really have done; and I expected they would blame me before you set out on y^r first journey, as you'll see by y^e copy of my former letter; and I requested Esq. Morey to do no more with y^e copies I gave him than what should be suff^t to excuse me and those acting with me for you. . . .

I don't dispute my falability, but I insist upon my integrity; am willing y^e Gov^r, whom I esteem highly, should be acquainted with all my conduct, and I know I never attempted to keep any of it out of his sight; and am willing that every indifferent man of car^racter in y^e Province should know y^e whole, but I am not willing to be aspersed by a clubb of mean, low-lived men. . . .

Upon the whole, s^r, I want nothing but that justice may be done, and I designed to have communicated this and more, might I have seen you before you left Connecticut. Your going when you did was not only unexpected by me, but by others. I am, sir, . . .

ALEX^R PHELPS.

To Doct. WHEERLOCK.

P. S. — Having a minute, I add an additional reason for my committing those copys to Esq^r Morey is that he best knows who has blamed me in the affair; and I think he is possessed of prudence how to conduct the matter, and of integrity not to exceed in publishing them further than is consistent with your honor as well as mine; and he assures me that he has shown them to none as yet, except those who were actually assisting to me in my agency for you. I want the plaister no bigger than the sore; if he shews them to Gov^r Wentworth, I am not afraid of any ill light it will set me in. I am not in fear that it will raise any jealousies in his mind of my being y^e author of y^e *Piece* [post, p. 152] you wrote to me that he had rec^d. I will venture to

say that I always sought y^e good of your school to y^e very great neglect of my own, and your honor and temporal interests to y^e great hazard of my own honour and loss of my interest; and I can sincerely say that let my circumstances be ever so necessitous, I do yet value my carrecter above any pecuniary interest both for myself and my family, and can further assure you that I never did give one hint to any person, my own family and Bro. Ralf, who I desired to tell you what I said to him, excepted, until I communicated it to Esq. Morey. I am, s^r . . .

ALEX^R PHELPS.

The Governor's letter of 29th January, 1770, sent by the hand of Colonel Phelps, had been delayed with the other papers until Phelps's return to Connecticut in March. Wheelock's reply is dated March 22, 1770: —

"As to yours of the 19th [29th] of Jany., by Colonel Phelps, who arrived the 10th instant, I have the pleasure to assure your Excellency, without the least flattery (which I pray God to be always kept from), that your views through the whole of this affair appear to be generous, disinterested, sincere, & truly noble. . . . I observe, sir, the preference you give to Landaff as a site for Dartmouth College, and the reasons you suggest appear very weighty; but whether they be really sufficient to outweigh the disadvantage urged on the other side, I am yet in no capacity to judge; and there are indeed so many new circumstances which were not offered to consideration when the Col. was with you that it appears to me we can't with safety or honor to the cause or satisfaction to the inhabitants determine a point so important as the Place for Dartmouth College without viewing the several places and hearing the several Parties upon the spot.

"Last week, the Col. informed me, the several towns on the river were to meet by appointment to renew & enlarge their subscriptions. Also a man was sent me about a fortnight ago by some proprietors of Plymouth, Campton, and Romney to advise me of a subscription in favor of either of these towns, which is warranted to be (and by one who has ability to perform it) not less than \$7,000 when it shall be completed, besides generous grants of lands which they will make to the College. This distance from the river was an objection at first view; yet how sufficient against other things which they may urge, I have not understanding of the affair sufficient to determine. The Trustees here have desired Col. Pitkin to accompany me on this occasion, and proposed that the Trustees with you should, if you think proper, appoint one to meet us there some time in April, when the roads shall favor a journey, of which proposal we hope your Ex^y will advise us as soon as may be.

"I very much want to know your Excellency's thoughts of the places last mentioned. They tell us of several things inviting, viz., a set of good inhabitants and such accommodations as that I may remove with my family & scholars immediately, and be comfortable while they are building my house & the College, &c. I should be glad that no private interest might have any governing influence in this great affair, though it will be very difficult to

avoid it when so many are plotting every way to sacrifice it to their own avarice."

Just at this point, before the letter was despatched, the following important letter came to hand from the Governor, March 22:—

Duplicate
New Lon

Portsmouth New Hampshire 28 Feb^r 1770

I wrote you some time since about the
Location of Dartmouth College— Since which I have
felt unnumberable reasons of very great Importance to
inform you that it is my fixed Opinion I wish'd before
that the said College be plac'd on Land off Bath or Haverhill
and in no other Town whatever— the first I prefer next
Bath, and then Haverhill— All the Trustees will join
me in this Opinion on a Vote— I therefore thought it
best to communicate this Resolution to you— w^{ch} results
from reasons of the greatest Importance to the College,
and to the Province; and therefore will have all our
Influence & weight—

I am with great respect
Yours^r Sir

Your most Obed^t Serv^t
J^o Wentworth.

The Rev^d Doct^r Wheelock,

Upon this Wheelock added to his letter a vigorous postscript.

SIR,—I had just finished the foregoing letter last evening, and was undressing for bed about eleven o'clock, when yours of February 28 came to hand. I suppose it to be the same which I was informed to be on the way from you to me by a gentleman who, about a fortnight ago in his jour-

ney through Woodstock hither, while he stopped for refreshment, was told that there was such a letter, which he offered his service to bring to me; but after some consultation held about it, it was thought best to keep it for the present. This relation, together with some characters and accounts of the devices of some to make a booty to themselves of the Redeemer's interests, raised some jealousies and suspicions which perhaps were wholly groundless.

This seminary, which God has honored your Excellency to be the instrument to establish, and which I trust justly rejoices in your patronage, friendship, and great and extensive influence, has from the first had evident signatures of a divine stand in raising it hitherto, which abundantly encourages us to wait upon, trust, and hope in it to dispose and direct all things concerning it, and particularly the settlement of it, as shall be most subservient to the general design in view, if so be we ourselves keep that same end in sight and govern all our conduct according to it; and it grieves me much that I have so much evidence that some gentlemen of influence have quite another end, object, and rule.

I have labored day and night in the affair for more than fifteen years. I have not yet expended one farthing of any collection made for it or donation to it, either in Europe or America, for my own or my family's support. I have refused to own myself or to suffer my son to own one foot of land in that new country, although he had a fair prospect of making an interest by it, before the school should be fixed, lest it should be the occasion of a bias upon his mind, or suspicion or jealousy in others that it had been so in him or me. I have no disposition to know either son or nephew in this matter, and much less to sacrifice the little remains of my life and worldly comfort and usefulness, and what is most dear, — this cause of the Redeemer, — to feed the pride and avarice of men who will not themselves submit to the hardships and fatigues of a settlement in the wilderness, and have nothing higher in their view than to make a large estate, which they are in no capacity to improve for God, and are so much engaged in that pursuit and blinded by self-interest that their representations and accounts of things relative to it are nothing to be depended upon, being directly opposite the one to the other. I wish with all my heart I could see the same disinterested views in some gentlemen which I think your Excellency has given so fair an example of.

My late experience and opportunity since this affair has been upon the carpet has given occasion to write as I do, and has made the point clear to me that I can't with honor to myself or the cause, or with a good conscience towards God or man, give a judgment that shall have the least influence to determine that matter, without further and clearer light than I now have. And until I can be in a proper capacity for such light I can't innocently indulge the least bias upon my mind. Glad should I be if it could be regularly decided without me. I could then sit down satisfied, even though the decision should not be according to my own judgment.

A week before that, Wheelock had secured the services of his friend Rev. Jonathan Parsons, of Newburyport, to

sound the Governor. Mr. Parsons reported, March 24, as follows: —

NEWBURY PORT, March 24, 1770.

REV^d & DEAR B—R, — Yo^{rs} of y^e 14th Instant by M^r: Call came safe to hand on y^e 18th at evening. The next day I rode over to Portsmouth, and had a private and very free interview with G—r W—h. He told me that he could not approve of any proposals y^t he had heard of to fix y^e College in any town where y^e chief of y^e Lands lay in a few Men's Hands; That whatever might be said in favor of such a scheme for y^e present, y^e College would in all probability be brot. under Contributions if it should be fixed in such a Town; that y^e Lands proposed to be given would be liable to be taxed for Province, Town, and ministerial Charges, &c., &c. He said y^t he owned a great part of several Towns himself, and it would greatly raise y^e Value of his Property to have y^e College fixed in one of those Towns, but y^t he was not consulting his own Interest, but y^e declared design of y^e Institution; that rather than you should not be suited, he would yield it should be at Haverhill or Bath, as these Towns were tolerably situated, etc.

But he greatly preferred Landaff to any other Place, not only because as near y^e centre of y^e Province according as he expects y^e Line will be fixed, and so will accommodate y^e Inhabitants and Indians, but especially as y^e whole Township is given to y^e benefit of y^e College. That Oxford & Cambridge Universities in England are settled upon their own Lands, and y^t it will be of great Importance y^t this new College should be settled on its own Lands, particularly on y^e following acct; viz., If it be settled in Landaff, that could be y^e settlement of y^e Town. But if not, 6,000 acres of College Lands must be given away to Settlers, — *i. e.*, 100 acres to each Settler, — which would be a great loss to y^e College. Again, if it is settled in Landaff, then all y^e civil and Religious affairs of y^e Town will be under y^e Direction and management of y^e authority of y^e College; and therefore if vicious, corrupt, or contentious and bad men should get into y^e Town, y^e authority of y^e College might turn them out; and further y^t y^e Income of y^e College Lands when brot. under improvement would probably be double to y^e College if it is settled upon its own Lands, because y^e President and Fellows would have y^e Improvement under their eye & direction.

Some of these things I had not skill to answer. However, it was objected y^t y^e President had almost worn himself out in y^e indian Service, and it would be an insupportable Burden for him to be planted in y^e Wilderness; that other Towns which had made considerable Improvements might be well situated for y^e Province, & much more comfortable for you at present, &c. Answer: all these considerations will not take off y^e objections against placing y^e College in any place which is chiefly owned by a few proprietors, nor answer y^e reasons for its being fixed in Landaff. That he did not doubt but D^r: Wheelock had a good heart & upright intentions, and y^e Happiness he would feel in promoting y^e *public interest* would carry him thr^o, and enable him to surmount all imaginary difficulties. That those difficulties will soon be over; that 3 years ago Wolfsburg was

a Wilderness, yet now so pleasant a situation y^t he was moving himself and Family this Spring to abide there. And further, he said it would not be necessary to move to Landaff before Preparations are made. That y^e President, Fellows, and Scholars might abide for some years in some settled Town until things were put in order, &c. And further, it is his opinion y^t a house need not be built for y^e Scholars until some future time; that y^e first buildings should be for y^e President and two Fellows or Professors. That these houses will be large enough to hold all y^e Scholars for y^e Present, &c.; and further y^t it will soon be a good coach road from Landaff to Portsmouth: that it is tolerable already to his Seat, which is 46 miles from Portsmouth, 30 miles of which is already better than from Portsmouth to Boston, and y^t Landaff is about 30 miles, more or less, from his seat. I can only hint at things; but you will more than guess at his Sentiments by them.

I enquired whether y^e Province would not settle something handsome upon Y^e Presidents? He told me y^t he designed to make y^e motion, and was waiting for a favorable opportunity, and y^t £200 Lawful money P. Annum was y^e least he hoped would be granted.

Thus, D^r Sir, I have laid before you y^e substance of what I can recollect of a free conversation with his E—y, whom I believe God has raised up for great & good things. And now (th^o I do not advise) if you will suffer me to exhort you, it shall be in y^e words of y^e Apostle Paul, “look not every man on his own things, but every man also on y^e things of others. Let y^e same mind (*φρονισθω*), y^e same act and exercise of mind and will, be in you which was also in Christ Jesus.” I was lately shown y^e passage of a letter in confidence from a gentleman to his Friend, viz. y^e words, “I am fully of opinion y^t D^r Wheelock’s own interest is y^e grand object of his pursuit.” I hope better things, and pray God you may give matter of conviction to every one y^t is desirous to know y^e Truth. You will give up all to Christ and for Christ, and make it appear y^t you are governed by y^t Meekness, Humility, Love, and Wisdom which was eminently and perfectly exemplified in our Lord Jesus Christ.

I desire you would not expose to my hurt two letters I have lately sent you, but look upon them secret for y^e present. His E—y’s compliments presented by his desire. Assure yourself y^t I am your faithful friend and serv^t,

JONATHⁿ PARSONS.

Matters were now come to such a pass that nothing short of Wheelock’s personal attention, in conference with the Governor, could settle them; and he set out April 7th, having notified the Governor and desired his presence in the Coos. After starting, he learned that the Governor was detained, and turning aside to the New Lebanon Springs in New York, waited there more than a month. He set forward at last in company with his brother-in-law, Pomeroy (instead of Mr. Pitkin, as first

arranged), and Mr. Samuel Gilbert, of Hebron (afterwards of Lyme). He took with him also his son Ralph and his physician, Dr. John Crane. They arrived in New Hampshire probably about the 1st of June. Wheelock while on the road wrote the Governor, May 30: "I hear the people in several towns have got into a heat and unhappy temper among themselves about the affair, which I think is an argument strongly urging your personal presence upon the occasion, if it may be." The Governor was still detained, and the party were obliged to proceed without him. We have no details of their journey, nor account of their proceedings, save two or three incidents widely separated. Wheelock states in his narrative that they "examined thoroughly the several places proposed, within the limits prescribed for fifty or sixty miles on or near the river," patiently hearing "all the reasons and arguments that could be offered in favor of each. In which service we faithfully spent eight weeks."

They were at Hanover on the 8th of June (where it would appear that Colonel Phelps met them), and spent three days going over the lands that were offered. There was then no settlement in that part of Hanover where the College now is, nor any house of entertainment nearer than the inn of Captain Burton, on Norwich plain; the party therefore put up there. While here, Wheelock's attention being called for the first time to an announcement in the "Portsmouth Gazette" of March 9th that the College would be located in Landaff, Bath, or Haverhill, he caused to be inserted in the public prints an emphatic denial that the place was yet determined. New subscriptions were handed in from Hanover, dated June 9, and from Lyme, dated June 11 and 19;¹ and the previous subscribers in the towns of Charlestown, Claremont, Cornish, Plainfield, Lebanon, and Hanover, with those in Hartford, Hertford (Hartland), and Norwich in the Province of New York, some of whom at least had conditioned their promises upon a location in Hanover, now filed a consent to be bound also in case the College should be established "within the limits of the two extremes, north and south, of Charlestown and Hanover."

¹ The proprietors of Lyme offered fifteen hundred acres of land in case the College should be fixed in that town, south of Clay Brook. To this were added, by Isaac Fellows, one thousand acres and £50 to Dr. Wheelock, and by Jonathan

From Hanover the party passed up the Connecticut to Haverhill, viewing the various sites, and thence down to Plymouth and Portsmouth. While at Campton, June 22, Wheelock received from the Portsmouth trustees the following: —

PORTSMOUTH, N H., June 10, 1770.

REVEREND SIR, — We, the trustees of Dartmouth College who reside in this Province, have met and consulted together upon your letter to his Excellency Governor Wentworth, upon the choice of a place whereon to build said College. The result is that we unanimously and earnestly recommend and vote that the College be built in Landaff, or in any part of Haverhill which is not one mile distant from Landaff¹ if by building in said limited part of Haverhill any advantages to the College shall present, of which we think you and whatever other gentlemen of the trust that may meet together at Haverhill must be the best judges. Also we refer to your and their judgment to resolve on and determine the particular site, as this can be understandingly shown only upon an actual and accurate examination of Landaff and the afore-limited district of Haverhill.

It is, however, recommended that the buildings should stand on some well-chosen, moderate eminence, surrounded by dry land and free from large ponds or swamps, whence it may be expected to be healthy and pleasant. If possible, some one or more of us, the subscribing trustees, will meet you at Haverhill between this and the last day of October ensuing, whereof you shall have timely notice, then to choose the particular spot; but if not, then we leave it wholly to yourself, within the afore-mentioned district of Haverhill, or in the town of Landaff. We have fully considered every circumstance whereby we could form any judgment, and are clearly of the aforesaid opinion.

As it is necessary and expedient that the school be removed from its present station, we recommend that you hire at the best rate you can such houses in Haverhill as can be procured and will best accommodate you and the students now under your care, and then remove as soon as may be. By this means you will have time to prepare for the building next year, and all difficulty will be removed. It will also be expedient to contract for provisions to subsist the seminary for one year.

As the settlement of Landaff is a principal object for the future support of the College, we advise that you give an hundred and sixty acre lots for an hundred good families to be actually resident in Landaff at or before 20th April, 1771. These lots to be scattered over the whole town, as there can be no doubt people enough will gladly offer. We are convinced you will

Sumner his "north pitch, if that shall be esteemed a suitable place for the College to be built on."

¹ This would have placed it in a very inaccessible spot, at the extreme north-eastern corner of Haverhill, midway between the present villages of North Benton and Swiftwater. The site selected by Colonel Phelps in Haverhill was distant about six miles by the river from the most eligible spot in Landaff, on the Ammonoosuc, where the College farm and mills were afterward located.

prefer such steady good men for these lots as may best promote a speedy and vigorous settlement, whereby the reserved land will directly be enhanced in value, great facility acquired in supporting the students, and labor much cheaper to build the requisite edifices. It will be necessary that one hundred acres of good land immediately adjoining to and surrounding the College be reserved for its particular use and convenience. Also three hundred acres next be allotted for an house lot and farm for the President of the College forever.

Having thus far communicated our sentiments on the more immediate interests of the College, to which we earnestly wish every human prosperity and divine blessing, we would also cordially recommend you to the great and merciful protection and guidance of the Father of mercies and Fountain of all true wisdom, that in all things you may be directed aright, and that under your law this seminary of Christian knowledge may be safely founded and long flourish. We are, with due respect, reverend sir, your most obedient, humble servants,

J. WENTWORTH,
THEODORE ATKINSON,
D. PIERCE,
GEO. JAFFREY,
PETER GILMAN.

REV. DR WHELOCK.

From Plymouth, June 25th, Wheelock writes thus to his wife: —

"We came to this town last Thursday, and have with our wonted industry viewed the several places proposed in this and the neighboring towns. The offers made in this and other places are very generous, and I find one place in this town and in Campton and Rumney where a pretty parish may be made out of the three towns, which is very inviting, — a very beautiful plain, with Baker's River running through it, with large meadows on both sides. But whether this will be the place, or whether the preference will not be given to other offers made, I can't yet tell. Wherever it will go, I shall have a house built for me, and another for the students immediately, so that I may remove as soon as may be."

Referring to the foregoing letter from the trustees, he proceeds: —

"I am setting out to-morrow to wait upon the gentlemen, and hope to convince them that what they propose is impracticable; and it is well it is so. *I expect a very trying time.* My hope is in God, who has been my helper hitherto. We are all along received with the greatest expressions of kindness and respect. I shall accomplish the business as soon as possible, and return to my family, which I long more than ever to see. . . . Mr. Moses Little and Colonel Bayley are with me and design to set out to-morrow morning for Portsmouth. I expect to be detained there a great while, and hope to have Dr. Whitaker's company on my return to Boston."

They left for Portsmouth June 26th. On arriving there, Colonel Bayley made a final effort for the Haverhill location, as follows: —

PORTSMOUTH, June 29, 1770.

HONBLE AND REV^D, — In the capacity of agent for the Towns of Newbury and Haverhill I promise and engage (if Dartmouth College is placed in said Haverhill, in New Hamp^e) that out [of] the subscriptions of said Haverhill and Newbury and the Town of Bath, that three thousand acres of land shall be laid out in a convenient farm at the Corner of Haverhill adjoining the South west corner of y^e town of Landaff, and one thousand acres more laid out in a gore in Bath adjoining said town of Landaff, and the three thousand acres in Haverhill as above. And also engage to give five hundred acres more to the Honb^{le} & Rev^d Trust of said College for the use of said College in a Handsome farm Round said College if set In s^d Haverhill. Provided it is not set on Lands already laid out, which if it is, to lay out said five Hundred next adjoining in a convenient form, as also to make and Raise a frame for a building two Hundred feet long and Eighteen feet broad, one story high, or a frame or labour to that value. The above I promise to perform at or before the first day of November next. The frame I promise to set upon Demand. Witness my Hand,

JACOB BAYLEY.

TO THE HONBLE AND REV^D TRUST OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

Wheelock's party remained in Portsmouth somewhat more than a week, and were entirely successful in persuading the Governor and the trustees to recall their letter of June 10th. On the 5th of July all present joined in the final choice of HANOVER. The order of settlement was as follows: —

PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE, July 5, 1770.

We, the subscribers nominated trustees of Dartmouth College in the charter of said College, and being duly qualified as directed by said charter, have taken into consideration the places whereon said College might be situated, and do hereby certify that it is our advice, opinion, and vote that said Dartmouth College be situated and erected upon lands in the township of Hanover, upon Connecticut River, in the Province aforesaid, provided the lands, moneys, and other aids subscribed for the use of said Dartmouth College, if placed in Hanover aforesaid, be firmly and securely conveyed to the trustees of and for the use of said College. And also that the said towns of Hanover and Lebanon previously consent, and petition to the Legislature that a contiguous parish of at least three miles square in and adjoining to these aforesaid towns of Hanover and Lebanon, be set off and incorporated into a separate and distinct parish under the immediate jurisdiction of the aforesaid Dartmouth College.

In witness whereof we have hereunto signed this instrument for placing buildings and establishing the said College in Hanover aforesaid, upon the aforesaid conditions.

[Signed by Wentworth, Atkinson, Wheelock, Jaffrey, Pierce, Gilman, and Pomeroy.]

On the same day (July 5th) these members took the oaths required by the charter, and ex-Gov. Benning Wentworth, in fulfilment of his promise made five years before, conveyed to the trustees his five-hundred-acre lot in the southwest corner of Hanover. Within little more than six weeks thereafter, Wheelock had taken up his abode upon it "in his log hut in the wilderness," before the people of Haverhill had fairly discovered that the college was lost to them. They have never known precisely how it came about.¹

The other members of the board qualified at Hartford, before Wheelock, July 17, and assented to the location, with a condition in Wheelock's behalf that he should be "accommodated with a suitable farm at or near the College; apprehending his past labors and expenses and his present connection with said institution justly merit such consideration."

What arguments were used at Portsmouth, and what opposition overcome, we do not know; Wheelock in his Narrative says merely that "in consequence of our report and representation of facts, the trustees unanimously agreed that the southwest-erly corner of Hanover, adjoining upon Lebanon, was the place above any to fix it, and that for many reasons; namely:—

"'Tis most central on the river, and most convenient for transportation up and down upon the river; as near as any to the Indians; convenient communication with Crown Point on Lake Champlain, and with Canada; being less than sixty miles to the former, and one hundred and forty to the latter; and water carriage to each, excepting about thirty miles (as they say); and will be on the road which must soon be opened from Portsmouth to Crown Point; and within a mile of the only convenient place for a bridge across said river. The situation is on a beautiful plain, the soil fertile and easy of cultivation. The tract on which the College is fixed, lying mostly in one body and convenient for improvement in the towns of Hanover and Lebanon, contains upwards of three thousand acres."

¹ The discarded site was visited by President Dwight in 1797. He describes the place, rather slightly, as "a yellow pine plain, on which is built a lean-looking village, called Haverhill Upper Street, and inferior to any other which we had hitherto passed. I was unable to account for the existence of a settlement on this hopeless soil until I came to the brow of the plain. Here I discovered a succession of rich intervals, extending along the river several miles, and furnishing a most inciting field to industrious agriculture. The inhabitants of the plain were, I presume, allured to this spot by so tempting an object; but they must have been sadly disappointed. From the skirts of this settlement we discovered several houses, whose brilliant appearance plainly showed that their owners had pre-occupied all these fruitful lands, and left the inhabitants of the plain to derive their subsistence from the parsimonious grounds in their neighborhood" (Dwight's Travels, ii. 121).

A public notice, dated Aug. 23, 1770, inserted by Wheelock in the newspapers, announced the establishment of the College, describing its site in similar language as upon "a choice tract of lands of more than 3,300 acres, which butts upon the falls in the river called White River Falls, and is the only place convenient for a bridge across Connecticut River, it being but eight rods wide, with well-elevated rocks for abutments on each side, and on a straight line from Portsmouth to Crown Point, to which is a good road; and is a place which the Indian tribes far and near have frequented and used as a hunting-ground till the late wars, with many other inviting circumstances."¹

To the English trust Wheelock wrote, July 29, in terms identical with those of his public notice, adding as a special advantage that near two hundred acres of the lands were choice meadow, annually overflowed by the river and by a large brook (Mink Brook) which runs into it; that the tract was pretty well watered and well proportioned for all kinds of tillage and for fuel.

"The College [he wrote] will stand upon the body of lands designed for cultivation, which situation will be well accommodated to my plan of introducing labor as the principal or only diversion necessary for the students' health, by which means they may not only contribute much to their own support under the conduct of a prudent and skilful overseer, but young Indians with English boys may be instructed and improved in the arts of agriculture, without the least impediment to their studies; and I see not why I ha'n't a good prospect of supporting a large number as soon as those lands may be brought under improvement.

"A young Indian from Canada on his hunting tour came to us at Haverhill and seemed much pleased with the design we were upon, and promised to come to school as soon as it should be settled in those parts and capable to receive him. . . . I have employed an agent and laborers to build barracks or small houses, . . . and am preparing to remove immediately, unless a report very lately come among us, that an army of worms has so prevailed as to cut off a great part of the crops, should be so confirmed as to convince me I must stay for want of subsistence. I don't hear of any men of consequence in New England who are now inimical to this rising institution, excepting in Boston, and none there but those who were of the late annihilated society."

¹ That these falls in the river were frequented even in prehistoric times, is attested by the fact that about a hundred years ago Mr. Luke Dewey, then a child, digging with others a cave in the western bank, found deep down under the roots of a very large pine-stump, near the middle bar, a lot of curiously wrought pottery, which they kept for a time to furnish their play-house. Though they never to old age forgot the incident, it did not occur to them that the pieces were worth preserving.

There were in Wheelock's day no Indian settlements nearer than St. Francis. There are indeed extensive Indian remains near the river in that part of Haverhill called "Horse-Meadow," and Rev. Grant Powers, in his sketches of the Coos country, states that in 1761 a remnant of the Indians were still living on the meadows there, on both sides of the river, but so much weakened and discouraged that they had ceased to cultivate the ground, which was in consequence covered with a luxuriant growth of tall wild grass. While the country remained in their possession the Indians passed much back and forth between St. Francis and the lower part of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. The settlement at Haverhill was their stopping place. South of it they had several routes, one passing down the valley of Baker's River, and another down the Connecticut to Hanover, thence over the heights to Lebanon, by the route afterward used for the fourth New Hampshire turnpike, and on to the Merrimac valley. A spring on the southern side of "Mount Support," about three and one half miles below the College, is said to have been their usual stopping-place, and a large stone, with a peculiar rounded surface, still pointed out near it, they are said to have habitually used in curing skins.

The announcement of the decision, so far from allaying the popular excitement, increased it. The clamor rose to a tempest. Wheelock was assailed in the most scurrilous manner. Even the confidence of his friends was shaken. Colonel Moulton, of Hampton, wrote from Orford, August 22: —

"I have been in Portsmouth, and there to hear all mouths opened against you, and laughing at me and all my neighborhood, flinging, 'Ah! I always told you Dr. Wheelock was making a purse to himself; and now this of fixing the College proves it.' Your usefulness at present in the dear Redeemer's kingdom seems over. Oh, sir! consider, this affair seems to overthrow in the minds of sinners all you have been building up so many years, and it is currently talked that those that have largely subscribed will not pay one farthing, except forced, if the College stands in Hanover; and others say it can't prosper, for it's all a jockey trick from first to last. Dear sir, I am constrained to let you know what is the common report, out of love to you. . . . Now it looks dark, but as thick as the cloud is, I hope it will come light again. Pray, sir, if you have been misled by men, hearken to the voice of a Province; and if the College can yet give peace by altering its place, pray, if it's in your power, let it be done. They likewise talk about Mr. Pomeroy for not delivering their letters as a confirmation of the scheme."

Similar slanders were also rife in Connecticut, and did not readily abate. Wheelock himself wrote to a friend as late as October, 1771: "The great clamor in the country is (and that by which great numbers are prejudiced) that I'm wholly in a plan to aggrandize and enrich myself and family."

Nor did he escape like damaging suspicions among his friends on the other side of the water, several circumstances conspiring temporarily to estrange them. They were (as will presently appear) greatly offended by the charter, and ready to suspect his integrity, as they did at first in the earlier matter of the remittances of Whitaker. Even his old and stanch friend Whitefield doubted. On his last arrival in New England, shortly after Wheelock's removal to Hanover, he had his doubts cleared up; but he told Dr. Whitaker "that he himself and every one of the trust in England had conceived of the matter as if Wheelock had a farm of one or two thousand acres which he was to make the best of by building, and buying or hiring help with the money in England to improve it,—something like his own estate in Georgia." Of course such gross misconceptions as these were less likely to be permanently injurious because of their very extravagance. But they served for the time seriously to aggravate the difficulties under which Wheelock necessarily labored, and in some quarters were never wholly removed. To Colonel Moulton he wrote: —

"The site for Dartmouth College was not determined by any private interest, or to favor any party on earth, but the Redeemer's. When I plainly perceived what struggles private interest could occasion in that matter, and that I had unavoidably a cross, and no small one, to take up in the accomplishment of it, I determined to divest myself of every occasion of bias on my mind, to know neither son nor nephew, and to have no object but the interest of the Redeemer's kingdom. I saw plainly enough what course I might take to secure the favor of great men, and with that a good interest to myself; but I did then, and do still, I trust, through grace, despise the motives while I can have them at no less expense than sacrificing the Redeemer's interest for them.

"The site of Dartmouth College is no doubt far preferable to any other place we were invited to take a view of upon the river; and because there had been so diverse and contrary accounts concerning the place, we faithfully spent almost three days in viewing it, and we did find the accounts given in favor of it to be strictly and fully true. And so they are esteemed by all impartial judges, so far as I heard, who have given themselves leisure to examine the same. . . . I had no connections nor interest in this government that could

have the least influence upon my mind in that matter, nor had any others I consulted therein any influence to determine me of the most suitable place for it. . . . I am almost worn out, and have one foot in eternity, and feel myself to have but little to hope for or fear from an ungrateful world."

General Bayley wrote Wheelock a kind and loyal letter, though fearing that the College would not prosper, "as the place is distasteful to the government and to the eastern part of Massachusetts; . . . and many donors did say to me that they would never give any more, nor even pay what they had subscribed, if the place be not altered." He added that if it could be removed even then to Haverhill, he could raise enough to build the whole.

Landowners of Hanover gave further opportunity for criticism by doubling the price of their lands, or withdrawing them altogether from sale. Complaints and protests poured in upon the Governor in every form; but he stood manfully by the decision as the wisest that could have been made, — for which, considering the strength of his earlier convictions, he is much to be admired. Indeed, knowing his unimpeachable integrity, and the high character of the other trustees, their unanimous support in this crisis affords (if it were needed) the strongest proof that no stigma can justly attach to Wheelock himself. The following letter displays the Governor at this period in a most pleasing light: —

WENTWORTH HOUSE, 7 Sept., 1770.

REV^d SIR, — Mr. House and his party arrived here yesterday, and bro't me your letter of the 1st instant, the contents whereof I note; also of yours inclosing the obliging poem composed by one of your pupils [Frisbie], wherein I find much cause to thank the author, and many shining marks of poetical talents, enriched by a warm benevolence of heart, which I hope time will ripen and reward. As I should not attempt the former, the latter I shall rejoice to exert my influence toward whenever it may be advantageous to him.

The unreasonable price demanded for lands in Hanover, particularly mentioned by Mr. Patten, does not much surprise me, altho' it gives me no advantageous opinion of those who are so wretched as to endeavor such impositions; they are to be pitied, wanting hearts and loving only sordid money. However, I dare foretell that a little time will reduce them to more reasonable terms.

Mr. House informs me of a good road to be made from Hanover to Winnepisioket Pond, in 35 miles, and I have required the respective proprietors of the soil forthwith to clear and make it convenient; which being done will, I hope, convince by fact the inhabitants of this Province that the situ-

ation of Dartmouth College is not injurious to the Trade and Govt. of New Hampshire, which suspicion is now the only foundation of all the calumny, invective, and aversion to it. Many people interested above wish it there; others interested below are as desirous to have it with them; and some who possess on this quarter, cry aloud to have the College here. In the midst of such diverse (perhaps also perverse) interests, it was our Duty to judge and determine, without any other view than to promote the College as benevolently instituted.

This done, I know we have so far well done, and all the subsequent and expected disappointment that *alone* causes clamor will neither disturb me or cause regret. I wish also the same to you; for surely, sir, the unavoidable fatigue of such an undertaking ought not to be increased by any feeling of groundless aspersions. Scarce a day passes but I hear some complaints of my conduct herein, or a mail but brings me reproof, either signed or anonymous. I consider the authors as totally unacquainted with the whole case, and therefore don't suppose them really writing of Dartmouth College, but of an entity in their own Brain, form^d from certain suppositious circumstances, which are by no means ours, and therefore readily allow that they may be right, without in any degree altering my former vote and opinion.

But all this will soon subside. The people will be essentially benefited, whether they know it or not,—and we will be happy in their prosperity at all events. This is a reward they shall not intercept me in. I've inclosed you one of the pieces last receiv^d; the original, wrote in an old text hand, I keep, for future discovery, of curiosity only.

It would much delight me to come to Hanover at the Corporation meeting; if possible I will, and bring the other Trustees. In the mean time, I wish you every blessing, and do assure you I am, . . .

J. WENTWORTH.

REV^d DR WHEELOCK.

The "piece" inclosed was the following; it found its way into the public prints, and probably affords us a complete view of that side of the question.

SIR,—Finding by the public papers that Dartmouth College, an Institution worthy your Excellency's patronage, is to be placed in Hanover, I beg liberty (although I must secrete my name) to suggest a few things to your Excellency's Consideration, which I am moved to from a hearty desire that learning may flourish in your Province, and that the good ends you had in view in giving a charter on the most generous and catholic plan may be answered, which I am persuaded no other Governor on the continent would have done; by which I (and I am not alone in opinion) think you have, in conjunction with the other Trustees in your Province, the sole right in Equity to determine at what particular town the College shall be fixed in, without the intermeddling of any of the Trustees in Connecticut who (were they not of the clerical order, which alone is enough to determine them unfit to that service) can't be supposed to be sufficiently acquainted with your Province to determine on y^e place; and although I have little acquaintance with the Doctor, who I understand is

appointed president, and of whom from his public character I have a good opinion, yet he is liable to be imposed on, and from designing men may be, and I doubt not has been, wretchedly imposed on in this affair.

However, whether the Doctor has been imposed on or not, 't is generally said that your Province and the public are; for a more unpleasant spot on the Connecticut River, within your Province, cannot be found than Hanover, both in point of soil or prospect, it being horridly broken on the river, and in the back part of the Town very muddy, and scarce a running stream upon it, and but one within the limits of the Town that can in any measure answer for mills; and 't is thought by many who have viewed that stream that it is not sufficient for one mill.

As to my own knowledge, I can say that I have travelled thro' said Town twice, and am satisfied that my informers are not mistaken; and although I live at a good distance from the Doctor, yet as I happened to get an acquaintance last year with Col^o Phelps, he was so good as to show me his instructions and power of agency from the Doctor, which was as ample a power as could be to enable him to act with regard to the place and fixing the College; and the Doctor will now own that he verily thought the place was fixed, and your Excellency and the other Trustees living in New Hampshire then expressly gave in writing that it should not be placed below Haverhill or Orford. But it is evident that some of the Craft that has plagued the State this thousand years has been used, or sure I am, and so is every indifferent man who is acquainted with Hanover, much mistaken, — a town if they had water to grind for the few poor Inhabitants who live there, they never did, and 't is said by judicious men that for years to come they will not be able to raise their own bread.

I would therefore, in behalf of the public, humbly pray your Excellency, by yourself or by an indifferent committee, to review, or rather view, Hanover and its circumstances, — for the Doctor and his attendant did not view it, — that in justice to your Excellency, to the Province, and to the College, it would be placed farther up the river. In justice to your Excellency, as the eye of the public is to you; your honor must suffer, as it must be judged ill placed. In justice to the Province, as certain it is that the Trade from Hanover will never be to Portsmouth, but to Newbury; but from Haverhill or Orford the trade will be to Portsmouth. Further, numbers in the Province in which I live, as well as in Connecticut, as I hear, who propos^d to remove and settle near the College, expecting the College would have been placed in a good Town, are, as the case now stands, determined not to move into your Province.

Your Excellency has the best right, as every one judges, to determine that matter; and as the Doctor has once passed by his engagement and point of fixing it, your Excellency's honor can't be exposed in reviewing that matter. Surely the extraordinary cost must be great to build and support a College in a Town where boards can't be sawed nor bread raised. I beg your Excellency's pardon for this trouble. A number of the judicious urged me to write, and as a word is sufficient, I am, etc.,

PUBLICUS.¹

¹ N. H. Hist. Soc. Colls., iii. 286.

Wheelock suspected in this the hand of Colonel Phelps, and took care to let him know it. Perhaps the same idea was also in the mind of the Governor; but Phelps, as we know, indignantly denied the authorship. Though the violence of the storm in a little while subsided, and most of the subscribers after some delay and importunity discharged their obligations, there lingered for many years an undercurrent of hostility which affected the relations of the Province to the College, and even became a factor in the political turmoils of the border.

Many of the objections urged against this place we readily see to have been unfounded. At present it is no doubt quite as suitable for the purpose as the situation at Haverhill, certainly much better than any in Landaff; and yet as matters then were, Haverhill afforded some obvious advantages, and the reasons for preferring Hanover are still somewhat obscure. To the London trust Wheelock wrote, July 10: "The very favorable and remarkable occurrences in providence by which that place [Hanover] was pointed out above all others are too many and too long to write."

In contemplation of his removal, Wheelock's pastoral relations at Lebanon were dissolved about the 1st of April, 1770, with the approval of the western council of the Windham Association. The dissolution was attended with some circumstances of irritation that made him and his family glad to get away. His relations with a portion of the congregation had for some years been not of the pleasantest. The matter of his salary had never ceased to be a source of heart-burning and a subject of frequent discussion. Its annual value was dependent on the prices of provisions at stated periods of settlement; and aside from the uncertainty thus involved, he complained of arbitrary changes of the period, made so that rate-payers might avail themselves of fluctuations to his disadvantage. In 1766 he seriously proposed, on that account, to ask a dismissal. Early in 1769, being in feeble health and looking forward to an early removal with his school, he proposed to his church to invite in a candidate to preach on probation, which was done, with a promptitude not altogether pleasing, in the person of one Ephraim Judson. But Wheelock's health after a few months improving, and the prospect of removal growing more uncertain, he found that the step was premature, and preferred, with

the help of Mr. Woodward, to resume the full charge of his pulpit. Parties were about equally divided, and there arose an unhappy state of feeling that greatly embittered his last months in Lebanon. Doubtless some of the trouble was due to the disappointment of the people in seeing the school taken out of their midst.

To the subscribers of the £500 endowment fund of 1755, Wheelock gave notice by public advertisement, dated Lebanon, Aug. 23, 1770, that—

“My Indian charity school . . . is now become a body corporate and politic, under the name of DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, by a most generous and royal charter, granted and amply endowed with immunities, powers, and privileges, in the opinion of good judges not inferior to any university on the continent, by his Excellency John Wentworth, Esq., Governor of New Hampshire, whom God has raised up and commissioned for this purpose. . . . I hope soon to be able to support by charity a large number, not only of Indian youths in Moor’s¹ charity school, which is connected and incorporated with the College, but also of English youths in the College, in order to their being fitted for missionaries among the Indians, etc. And I would take this opportunity to advise those who have so generously subscribed for the use and support of this institution that the several sums by them subscribed are in consequence of this incorporation become payable.”²

¹ The subscriptions of 1755 being predicated on Moor’s foundation, it was necessary in this connection to recur to that.

² Conn. Courant, Sept. 10; N. H. Gazette, Sept. 28, 1770.

CHAPTER III.

1760-1810.

HANOVER UNDER THE PROPRIETARY.

DURING the long struggle between France and England for the possession of the Canadas, which ended in 1760 in favor of England, the upper valley of the Connecticut River, till then unoccupied, except by Indians, came by various circumstances to be better known for its beauty and fertility. Plans had been agitated as early as 1752 to lay out towns in it; and no sooner was the war over than crowds of adventurers besieged the Royal Governor of New Hampshire for grants of land on both sides of the valley, and beyond, to the westward limits of the present State of Vermont, over the whole of which, until 1764, he claimed jurisdiction. In the three years, 1761-64, Governor Benning Wentworth granted more than one hundred and forty towns in these western regions, one hundred and twelve of them west of the Connecticut.

The Connecticut valley, while difficult of approach from eastern New Hampshire by reason of the intervening heights, lay open to easy access from the south, and the people of Connecticut, not slow to avail themselves of the advantage, came in large numbers, under favor of the Governor, and possessed the land. Among them, in the autumn of 1760, came to Portsmouth two gentlemen from Windham County, Joseph Storrs and Edmund Freeman, Jr., both of Mansfield, and with the assistance of the elder Atkinson presented to the Governor, December 10th, the following petition:—

PROVINCE OF	{	TO HIS EXCELLENCY BENNING WENTWORTH, ESQ., Capt. General,
NEW HAMP.		Governor, and Commander in Chief in and over his Majesty's Council of said Province.

Humbly shews Joseph Storrs and Edmund Freeman, Jun., in behalf of Themselves, and as agents for about Two hundred and forty others, Inhabitants of Windham County, in the Colony of Connecticut, whose names are

herewith presented, — That there is a tract of Land within his Majesty's said Province of New Hamp^e, at a Place called Cho-os,¹ situate on both sides of Connecticut river, so called, commencing at Welles river where it emptys itself into Connecticut river afores^d, and from thence running north-erly up said river about [twelve] six² miles, and southerly down said Connecticut about six miles, and carrying that Breadth Back Westerly about same distance; and also, one other Tract lying on the East side of the s^d river, opposite to the Tract above, and to carry the same Breadth Back Easterly the same distance from the said Connecticut river. Which two Tracts are capable of making Four Townships, and, as your Memorialists are informed, are as yet ungranted.

Wherefore your Petitioners and their associates Humbly Pray that they may be Indulged with a grant of the said Two Tracts of Land above Described, upon the usual conditions and reservations that his Majesty's Lands are commonly granted upon in this his Province; Your Petitioners now standing ready to enter upon and cultivate the same Immediately, and as early as Possible fullfill and Perform every article of their s^d Grant; and as in Duty Bound, they will ever Pray.

JOSEPH STORRS.

EDM^d FREEMAN, JUN^r.³

Portsm^o, Decemb 10, 1760.

This petition, being one of many seeking at this time locations in the coveted valley, and no official survey having yet been made, nor any grants above Charlestown, No. 4, Joseph Blanchard, of Dunstable, N. H., was sent out in March, 1761, to lay off a tier of townships on each side of the river, from No. 4 to the upper end of the great meadows at the lower Coos. As time pressed, it was done at this season on the ice; the broken character of the country and the heavy forest rendering any other process tedious and expensive. The surveyor, starting from the northwest corner of Charlestown, proceeded up the Connecticut, marking, at intervals of six miles, a tree on

¹ This word, variously spelled Coos, Co'oss, Cowas, Cohass, Choos, and even Chohorse, is as variously interpreted. Its meaning is generally stated to have some relation to pines; Coos-auk being translated as the "place of pines." Others, with equal confidence, translate it "crooked," as referring to the course of the river in the meadows. But it is to be noticed that although the name was by the whites often applied indiscriminately to the whole valley, in parts of which, indeed, pines predominated, yet in the localities to which it was peculiarly attached by the Indians, viz., the regions about Haverhill and Lancaster, — the lower and the upper Coos, — the distinguishing feature was at that time certainly, as now, extensive meadows destitute of trees. See Vt Hist. Gazetteer, ii. 918; Power's History of the Coos Country; Bitteringer's History of Haverhill, p. 363.

² The word "six" stands in place of "twelve," crossed out.

³ From the original manuscript in the State archives. The body of the petition is in the hand of Theodore Atkinson, Sr.

each side of the river, which he numbered for the corner of a township to be granted. From this, without further ceremony, was arbitrarily plotted, in the executive office at Portsmouth, a double or triple tier of towns on each side of the river, extending from Charlestown to the north bound of Newbury.¹ It is easy to see that this method, though simple and expeditious, was likely to occasion in the sequel no little confusion.

The intermediate proceedings are not recorded; but the result was that on July 4th, 1761, five charters passed the provincial seal, being the first in the western section since the outbreak of the Indian war seven years before. Of these, four, granted substantially to persons named in the lists attached to the foregoing petition, covered the towns of HANOVER, *Norwich*, *Hartford*, and *Lebanon*; ² the original lists being numbered and marked in that order, though the names upon them were largely rearranged before the charters issued. The list for Hanover as finally revised, with places of residence annexed, is preserved, and agrees, as far as it goes, with the enumeration on the back of the charter.

It will be noticed that this block of towns was situated some thirty-five miles below the tract petitioned for; namely, at the mouth of the White River, instead of at the mouth of the Wells River. The change was probably due to the fact that other persons nearer Portsmouth, and of influence there, had already an eye upon the latter tract, which included the Great Ox-bow (considered the choicest tract in the whole valley); although its settlement was not begun, nor its charter granted, until some time afterwards.³

The names of these towns were evidently, as in other cases, transplanted from the homes of the grantees. Of three the derivation is sufficiently obvious; that of the other, at first glance obscure, seems to be satisfactorily explained by the suggestion that there was at that time, in the Connecticut town of Norwich, a parish styled "Hannover," where the name indeed still persists, though the territory of the old parish has been divided among the towns of Lisbon, Windham, and Canterbury. This name was then, as also in the charter, spelled with a double

¹ Rev.^s Silas McKean, in *Hemmenway's Vt. Hist. Gazetteer*, ii. 802, 807.

² The fifth was Enfield

³ Bath was granted in September, 1761, and Newbury and Haverhill in 1763.

n; but the superfluous letter was here almost immediately dropped.¹

The charter is of paper, upon one of the printed blanks generally used at that period, filled up mostly by the hand of Mr. Atkinson, though certain important particulars appear in the hand of the Governor himself. On the back of it are the names of the proprietors, as shown on page 160.

Of the sixty-eight shares it will be noticed that but fifty-five were assigned to persons from Connecticut named by the petitioners, and the remaining thirteen to beneficiaries designated by the Governor, according to his invariable custom, whereby he enriched the members of his government and his personal friends, as well as himself; for he made it a point to reserve for his own benefit in each township a parcel of five hundred acres in one tract, estimated to be equivalent to two shares; and to serve his advantage he took care, so far as he could, by favor of the surveyors, to have the same well located. The Governor was prudent, and looked sharply after his own interests; but not always successfully, as some amusing anecdotes testify. In Hanover he chose the southwest corner, which, judged by the result, was well enough, though probably at that day not deemed by the settlers by any means the choicest parcel in the town.

The area of the town as given in the charter was 22,400 acres; but after the expiration of eleven years, when it had been in large part settled, the discovery was made that, by an error in the original survey, the distance between the hemlock and the pine, which marked the corners on the river, was some 220 rods greater than indicated in the charter; whereby a strip of about 2,200 acres (a large part of which had been in the process of settlement lotted in the northerly part of the town) was not included in the dimensions specified. Application, personal and by petition,² was at once made to Gov. John Wentworth at

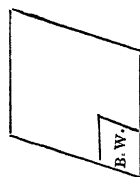
¹ It is also a coincidence that from Hanover in Plymouth County, Mass., the town of Mansfield, Ct., itself received, in 1770; its first settler, Rev. Samuel Mann, whose name it bears, — a lineal descendant from a "Mayflower" pilgrim, and the ancestor of the first settler of Orford, N. H.

² See the petition in N. H. State Papers, xii. 161-4. These printed volumes, issued by the State of New Hampshire, are numbered in one series, but some of them are distinguished by different titles; namely, vols. i-vii., Provincial Papers; vols. ix., xi.-xiii., Town Papers. To avoid confusion in this work, the general name of State Papers is used for the whole series.

THE NAMES OF THE GRANTEES OF HANOVER, VIZ.*

Edmund Freeman, Jun. ¹	Prince Freeman. ¹	Huckins Storrs. ¹	Huckins Storrs, Jun. ¹	†The Honourable
Nath ^l Freeman, Jun. ¹	Peter Aspenwall. ¹	Peter Aspenwall, Jun. ¹	Prince Aspenwall. ¹	John Downings, Esq ^r .
David Allen. ¹	Phineas Allen. ¹	Malachi Conant. ¹	Edmund Freeman tertius. ¹	Sampson Sheaffe, Esq ^r .
Silvanus Freeman, Jun. ¹	Jonathan Freeman. ¹	Otis Freeman. ¹	Will ^m Farwell. ¹	Major John Wentworth.
Heman Atwood. ¹	Deliverance Woodward. ¹	Will ^m Woodward. ¹	Eleazar Stoddard. ¹	George March.
Nathan ^l Hopkins. ¹	Samuel Storrs, Jun. ¹	Joseph Storrs, Jun. ¹	Stephen Freeman. ¹	Dr. Mathew Thornton.
William Cary. ²	Stephen Walcott. ²	Moses Walcott. ²	Elijah Walcott. ²	Colonel Joseph Smith.
Jonathan Curtis. ³	John Wright. ³	Nathan ^l Wright. ³	Philip Squire. ³	John Knight.
Joseph Storrs. ¹	John Parker. ⁴	Ebenezer Jones. ⁴	Noah Jones. ⁴	†Major Joseph Smith.
Oliver Barker. ⁴	John Bissell. ⁴	David Richardson. ⁴	Amos Richardson, Jun. ⁴	
John Walbridge. ¹	Sam ^l Herrick. ⁴	Elisha Addams. ⁴	Nath ^l Freeman. ⁵	
Ozias Strong. ⁵	Joseph Hatch, Jun. ⁵	John House. ⁶	Abraham Blackman, Jun. ⁷	
Joshua Sherwin. ⁷	John Sherwin. ⁷	Edmund Freeman. ¹	William Johnson.	
Russell Freeman. ¹	†Ebenezer Duham, Jun.			

One whole Share for the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.—One whole Share for a Glebe for the Church of England as by Law Established. — One whole Share for the first settled Minister. — One Share for the benefit of a School in said Town. — His Excellency Benning Wentworth, Esq^r. † Five hundred Acres to be laid out as marked on the plan B. W.



Province of } *July, the 5th 1761.*
New Hamp. }

Recorded in the Book of Charters.
‡ THEODORE ATKINSON, Secy.

† The Gov^{rs} two Shares make 68 equal Shares.

¹ From Mansfield, Ct., 27. ² From Windham, 4. ³ From Ashford, 4. ⁴ From Coventry, 10. ⁵ From Tolland, 3. ⁶ From Lebanon, 1. ⁷ From Hebron, 3.

* In the exact order in which they appear on the back of the Charter.

† Written over an erasure. The petitioners' list has Dunham's name erased and Joseph Smith added

‡ All the names in this fifth column, together with the sentence, "Five hundred acres to be laid out as marked on the plan B. W.," were written in a different ink and a different hand from the body of the list. The list appears to be in the hand of Theodore Atkinson, the secretary, and the other resembles the hand of the Governor himself.

Wolfborough, Oct. 8, 1772, by Jonathan Freeman, as agent of the proprietors, pursuant to their vote, for a correction of the error by an enlargement of the grant. The petition was laid before the Council February 2; notice, returnable March 23, was ordered to the proprietors of Lyme, who did not, however, appear to oppose; and after a further survey, and renewed application by Mr. Freeman, July 23, 1774, the additional grant was made, Jan. 9, 1775. For his services Mr. Freeman received 140 acres of land, £11 L. M.,¹ and the thanks of the proprietors.

It will be observed that the actual area of the town was not by this enlarged, but only the distance between the recognized boundaries correctly stated. This accounts for the ready acquiescence of Lyme. Dr. Wheelock, on the theory, no doubt that the error lay along the southern boundary rather than at the north, applied to the Governor for a grant to the *College* of a gore supposed to lie ungranted, between Hanover and Lebanon. His petition was submitted to the Council, Feb. 1, 1773, and "ordered to lay."

There was afterward a dispute with the Canaan proprietors about the eastern boundary, arising in part out of a similar inaccuracy in that direction, which culminated in litigation, and resulted adversely to Hanover, and in dire confusion to the eastern tier of lots. Of this dispute little can now be learned. In 1805 the proprietors requested the selectmen to have the boundaries of the town surveyed according to the charter, "without reference to the pretended or supposed N. E. bound of Lebanon;" and, October 31, they further "voted that Jonathan Freeman, Esq., and Joseph Curtis, Esq., be appointed to pursue any legal measures in the action of Hanover proprietors against Canaan to final execution, according to the best of their judgment and discretion." The records of the court afford no light upon the matter, and we have no details of the controversy. But from a contemporary plan we gather that the claim was that the southern line of Hanover should extend a half mile farther to the eastward of the "reputed bound of Lebanon;" and besides that the eastern line had been laid upon a wrong course.

¹ It is to be remembered that unless otherwise expressed, all sums stated in £ s. d. are to be understood as "lawful money" of New England,—\$3.33 to the £.

This town, like all others on the river, was bounded originally to its nearest bank; the object being, no doubt, to reserve to the Crown full control over the river as a public highway. The islands over against the town, of which there are four of considerable size, were not, therefore, covered by the charter, and remained ungranted. They were, however, taken up by individual squatters, and were brought into the legal limits of the town by a General Act of Jan 6, 1795, that extended the boundaries of all towns on the river to the then recognized western line of the State, which by the royal order of July 20, 1764, had been settled "to be the westerly banks of the River Connecticut." What constitutes the westerly bank of the river has not to this day been fully determined.

The face of the land throughout the town of Hanover was found to be greatly diversified. Along the river were generally narrow intervals, some of which have been since washed away, and immediately back of them high, rugged hills, through which in deep, narrow gorges numerous brooks rushed violently down to the river, affording at certain periods abundance of water-power. The hills, rising in what are substantially three or four successive ridges, culminate in Moose Mountain, which extends the whole length of the town near its eastern boundary, and reaches at one point the height of 2,350 feet above the sea.¹

Upon the western slope of the mountain Mink Brook, the principal stream of the town after the river, takes its rise, and flowing southward and westward, skirts the border just within the limits for upwards of three miles before it reaches the river. It was in early days a large and handsome stream, well stocked with trout and with mink, as its name implies. Occasional spe-

¹ The College plain at the southwest corner of the common is 545 feet above sea-level, and 175 feet above the river. The following are the altitudes above the sea of other important points: The river at mean low water at the bridge, 370 feet; top of Observatory hill, 614 feet; barometer at the Observatory, 603.7 feet; the bald hill east of the College, "Velvet Rocks," eastern peak, 1,313 feet; the village of Etna, 758 feet; the Baptist meeting-house, 846 feet; the centre village, 1,195 feet; the northwest point of Lord's hill, 1,483 feet; Pinneo hill, 1,286 feet; Craft's, or Bald, hill, three miles south of the College, 1,020 feet; Ascutney, north summit, 3,190 feet,—south, 3,231 feet; "Happy Hill," in Norwich, 1,700 feet; "Lone Pine Ridge," in Hartford, opposite the Falls of the Connecticut, 1,250 feet. The splendid pine which so prominently marked the last locality was cut down, about 1870, in pure malice, by a student, who walked to it from Hanover in the night for that sole object.

cimens of the latter are still seen. The valley of this brook is, in places, of considerable width, and affords some fine intervalles, — superior indeed to those upon the lower levels of the river. Through the last four miles of its course, to within a mile of its mouth, the brook falls nearly four hundred feet, and offered in early days unsurpassed facilities for mills, more available to the settlers than the greater, but less manageable, power of the river.

The river islands, beginning at the south, have been designated as follows: 1, "Gilman island," now known as "Negro island;" but this, joined to the shore at low water by a ledge of rock, was deemed to be in the town limits, and passed, with the Governor's right, to the College, by which it was granted to one Nicholas Gilman in April, 1785. The origin of its present name, "Negro island," is not definitely known. 2, "Girl island," at the mouth of the little brook just north of the College plain, which from time immemorial has been known as "Girl," or "Girl island" brook, and the winding romantic valley through which it flows, as the "Vale of Tempe." 3, "Parker's island," over against the mouth of Camp brook, two and a half miles north of the College. 4, "Bushes" island, at the mouth of the Pompanoosuc River. 5, A very large island, mostly in Lyme, known as "Hovey's" island. In December, 1770, John House petitioned the government for a grant of two of these islands (probably Nos. 3 and 4), which he had bought of James Hovey, of Lyme; but no grant is recorded.¹

The brooks flowing into the river in the town are: 1, Mink Brook; 2, Girl Brook; 3, Camp Brook; 4, Dewey or Coleman Brook; 5, Slade Brook; 6 and 7, two small streams locally known as "School-house" Brook and "Pingry's" Brook; and, 8, Wait's or Huse's Brook, which rises at the north end of Moose Mountain and runs a large part of its course in Hanover, but reaches the river in Lyme. The only pond in Hanover is Goose Pond, near the northeast corner of the town, and partly in Canaan; its principal affluent rises in the same swamp with Huse Brook, and is known as "Willis" Brook.

Except the intervalles, the whole town to the very top of the mountain was covered with heavy forest, chiefly of hard woods, — maple, beech, birch, ash, oak, and other varieties. Bass-wood

¹ Vt. Hist. Gazetteer, ii. 1039, 1040.

and hemlock also abounded. White pines prevailed exclusively in several localities, especially along the river and in the valley of Mink Brook, and elsewhere in tracts of limited extent. These were often of great size and height, a hundred feet, or more, to the first limb, and were famous through all the region. It was not unusual that four trees could be felled in such a way as to fence an acre, one on each side of the tract. Out of a single tree, cut about 1780, shingles and clapboards were got sufficient to cover a new two-story house in Randolph, Vt., 40 feet long by 30 wide. The largest specimens grew on the College plain.

The wooded lowlands were wet, and settlements began invariably on the hills. There the soil, though often very productive, was (besides being covered with a heavy hard wood forest) generally stony, and sometimes barren, so that the town at first was not in high repute for fertility, but was accounted on the whole poor and unpromising. We learn from tradition that some years after the College had been placed here, a man who tried farming among the pines, on a river lot about a mile north of the college, becoming discouraged, offered to give his land to a neighbor if the latter would pay for the deed; and *the offer was refused*. The same land could hardly be bought at the present time for \$200 an acre. Within the memory of the writer an adjoining parcel, now of equal value, lay abandoned as a common, covered with huge pine-stumps.¹ After a time the reputation of the town improved. Farmer and Moore, in their Gazetteer of 1820, describe it as having less waste land than any other town in Grafton County, one half being then under improvement. Its value, whatever it is, so far as known, lies above ground. Copper indeed exists in the Ruddsborough district, but not in paying quantities; and the true precious garnet is abundant in the rocks on the College plain, but too soft for the lapidary.

¹ The pine-stumps, being almost indestructible except by fire, were generally utilized for fences. Particularly about the College plain all the roads were lined with them till recent times. It is to this circumstance that the north end of Main Street, "Rope Ferry Road," or "Lovers' Lane," owes its equally familiar title of "Stump Lane." The stumps are now gone, and the younger generation is already beginning to ask the origin of the name. Mr. Dewey tells us that when his father, Dea. Benoni Dewey, kindled the first blacksmith's fire on the river bank, some three miles north of the College plain, in 1769, he was accustomed to obtain his coal on a hill on the opposite and western bank, by burning pitch-pine knots, which lay there

The first meeting of the Hanover proprietors was held at the house of William Cummins, innholder, in Mansfield, Conn., Aug. 25, 1761. Two organizations (proprietary and town) were then perfected, which for a few years ran along together, but as soon as settlement had fairly begun, came to be more and more distinct. The second meeting of both organizations was held at the same place as before, March 9, 1762; and thereafter a town meeting was held annually on the second Tuesday of March, as required by the charter. Proprietary meetings were held with less regularity, but for some years with greater frequency, until the gradual disposal of the lands made the preservation of the organization unnecessary. After 1762 the meetings were generally held at the house of William Waterman in Mansfield, Conn., but occasionally at the house of Lot Dimmick in Coventry, and once, in February, 1764, at the house of Jehiel Royse in Coventry. Until March, 1767, the town organization was purely formal; the town meetings were held by the proprietors as such; and the principal officers of the town were all residents of Connecticut. But a considerable number of settlers having by that time (1767) established themselves, the offices were transferred to them at the annual meeting; and on July 22, 1767, was held the first meeting of "the *Inhabitants* of the town of Hanover, in the Province of New Hampshire."

Proprietors' meetings continued to be held in Connecticut until 1769. Some difficulty having been experienced in calling a special meeting in 1762, it was voted at the regular meeting in March, 1763, "that the proprietors' clerk and committee shall warn proprietors' meetings for the future by setting up notifications in some public places in the towns of Mansfield, Coventry, and Ashford, fourteen days at least before said time of meeting." At a meeting, March 27, 1769, at the house of Lot Dimmick in Coventry, it was ordered that the warnings in future should be posted in Hanover. The next meeting was

on the ground in abundance and of great size, though no wood of that kind was then growing within many miles, and the face of the hill was covered with other growth.

We have it on the same authority that the native flora of this locality was rich in botanical specimens not common elsewhere in the country; and upon the clearing off of the trees most of them disappeared, and that others before unknown came in their place.

warned and held accordingly, Oct. 17, 1769, at the dwelling-house of Isaac Walbridge in Hanover.

The first business of the proprietors after securing their organization was of course to lay out the lands for settlement. At the first meeting, Aug. 25, 1761, a committee of five was named for this purpose.¹ They were instructed to mark out the *Town Lots* according to the requirements of the charter, and also to lot out the meadow land in the town into equal shares among the grantees, making proper allowances in each case for highways, and in their discretion to lay out still another division. In execution of this duty the committee went to Hanover the next month, and completed the work by the 12th of October. They were allowed £27 4s. 8d. for their expenses, and £4 12s. each for their time, excepting Mr. Freeman, who as surveyor was allowed £6 17s. 6d. The whole expense, amounting to £52 11s., was covered by a tax of 17s. on each right.

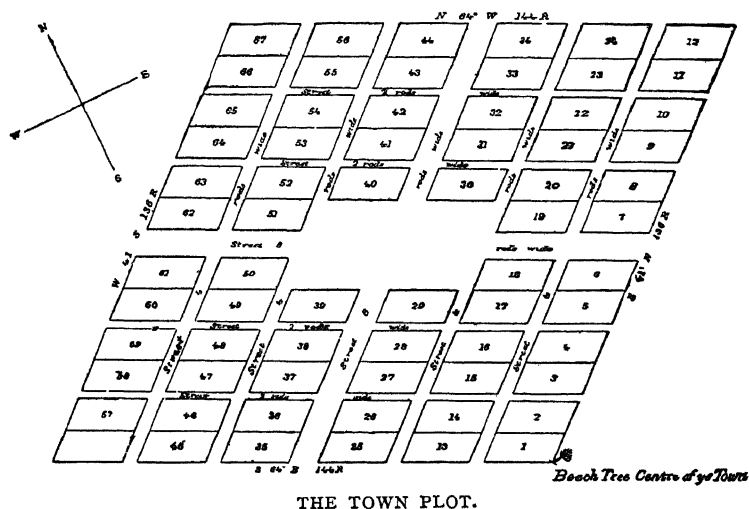
The town lots were laid out in a rhomboidal tract (136 rods by 144 rods), of which the southwest corner was marked by a beech-tree taken to be the centre of the town, and situated south 6° east, 3 miles and 200 rods from the northwesterly corner of it. The whole, known as the "Town Plot," comprised an area of 121 acres, divided into 68 lots of 10 by 20 rods, numbered according to the annexed plan, separated by streets, and having in the centre a space 56 rods long and 28 rods wide, reserved for a meeting-house, burying-yard, and training-field. This paper city lay on the rolling hillside about a mile southeast of the present Congregational meeting-house at the centre village; but the first house in it is yet to be erected.

The committee at the same time laid off sixty-six lots, known as the *River Lots*, all abutting on the river, and lying parallel to the northerly line of the town. Each lot, twenty-one rods in width, extended one hundred and sixty rods from the river, and was intended to contain twenty-one acres. They were numbered from north to south, and bounded upon trees.² Tradi-

¹ Edmund Freeman, Jr., Deliverance Woodward, Oliver Barker, Joseph Storrs, and William Farwell.

² The enumeration of these affords a glimpse at the character of the growth on the hills skirting the river, — hemlock 14, beech 10, bass 9, elm 8, ash 8, birch 6, pine 4, hardbeam 3, butternut 2, maple 1, black-oak 1.

tion has it, and modern surveys do not belie the statement, that many of the distances in this survey were determined by guess. The work was presented to the proprietors and confirmed at a special meeting, Jan. 4, 1762, and the lots were drawn in open meeting in the following manner. The numbers



of the lots were written on "separate and equal pieces of paper," and put into a "covered hatt," and drawn out separately by two disinterested persons. The first draught was set by the clerk to the first grantee in the right-hand column on the charter, and so down that column and the others till all were drawn. The town lots were first drawn, and then the river lots in the same manner. Each right was thenceforth distinguished by the number of the town lot which it drew.

It was voted, Nov. 30, 1762, to allow each proprietor, at any time before Sept. 30, 1764, to lay out for himself a hundred-acre lot, so as to include not more than twenty acres of intervale, and to acquire the same in severalty, provided he should enter upon it and cultivate it forthwith, and continue to do so until the date last mentioned. A tax of three shillings was ordered to pay incidental charges and to buy a book for the records. In April, 1763, the streams fit for mills were reserved from entry by individual proprietors; and it was voted to build a saw-mill by May 1, 1764, and a grist-mill by Oct. 1, 1764.

John House and Ebenezer Jones were named a committee to select the streams and build the mills, either at the cost of the "propriety," or by agreement with private persons, at their discretion. A tax of ten shillings was laid for this purpose, but nothing seems to have been accomplished.

The records are silent as regards any active proceedings in the season of 1762. Several meetings were held, but nothing, apparently, was done until September 15, when it was voted to "join with the proprietors of more or less townships upon" Connecticut River "in clearing a road from Charlestown to and through the several townships which shall join in the cost and labor thereof;" and a tax of five shillings was laid upon each right to defray the cost of it. The road was opened during that year or the next. A meeting was warned, Oct. 15, 1762, to be held November 30, in order, besides other things, "to hear the account, and allow the same, of the committee for clearing a road from Charlestown to Lyme in said Province on the east side Connecticut River." It is to be inferred from this that some progress had already been made; but no action seems to have been taken upon the article. At a meeting in Mansfield, Jan. 18, 1764, John Ordway was appointed to join the committees of Lebanon¹ and Norwich to audit the account and determine the amount chargeable to Hanover. He reported February 8, and the account, £26 10s., was allowed and ordered to be paid.

This road went at first no farther than the northern limits of Hanover, Lyme not having come into the arrangement; but it was before long extended to Haverhill. As recorded in October, 1764, this road began at the north line of Hanover, half a mile from the river bank, and followed the "half-mile line" as nearly as possible straight across the town. There is still in use a portion of it at the north end of what is now the "County Road," beginning about forty rods above the school-house in District No. 2, and a short section in District No. 4. It passed along the western side of the hill, a mile east of the College, to the top of "Sand Hill," where it crossed the

¹ The Lebanon proprietors, also at Mansfield, the same month appointed a similar committee, and directed an action to be commenced against Captain Thompson for breach of contract in connection with the road, provided the committees of Hanover and Norwich would join.

route of the present road (once the fourth New Hampshire turn-pike), and descending to Mink Brook by the path still to be seen in "Sleepy Hollow," reached the Lebanon line not far from the place where the river road now crosses it. This road was laid eight rods wide, and went in Hanover by the name of the "Half-mile Road." It was also called the "Great Road" and the "Country Road;" but the latter name was afterward equally applied to other roads laid by the State or the county.

On Jan. 18, 1764, the proprietors voted to lay out a division of hundred-acre lots, reserving space for roads, so that every lot should be on the highway. A committee was appointed, and their compensation fixed at four shillings each a day, besides expenses while in Hanover, but nothing for time in going or returning. Edmund Freeman, Jr., was joined as surveyor, at a compensation of three shillings a day while going and returning, six shillings a day while in Hanover, and his expenses, except for returning home. A tax of twelve shillings was laid on each right for the expense of the survey. A further tax of twelve shillings was voted Aug. 6, 1764, to be expended in laying out and clearing roads, with a privilege, at the discretion of the committee, of payment in labor before the end of the year at four shillings a day.¹

These committees both discharged their duties during that season. The lots known as the first division of hundred-acre lots were laid out between the 1st and the 19th of June by a party of nine,² and the roads were cleared in October by a party of twenty-two.³ All returned to Connecticut before winter, and made report to the proprietors, December 4th.⁴

¹ A further road-tax of twelve shillings was laid in March, 1765, one of six shillings in March, 1767, and another of six shillings in December, 1767.

² Edmund Freeman, Jr., Edmund Freeman 3d, John Parker, James Hovey, Hezekiah Johnson, Oliver Barker, Elisha Adams, William Woodward, and Ebenezer Jones.

³ Edmund Freeman 3d, with his younger brother (probably Otis), Hezekiah Johnson, Ebenezer Jones, Prince Freeman, Silvanus Freeman, John Ordway, Elisha Adams, John House, John Walbridge, David Richardson, Eleazar Stoddard, John Parker, Jonathan Curtice, Deliverance Woodward, William Woodward, James Hovey, John Bissell, Oliver Barker, Noah Jones, Jehiel Ross, and Peter Aspenwell. Most of them were allowed for only three days' work.

⁴ We, the subscribers, being appointed a committee to lay out a hundred-acre division of land in Hanover, etc., did from the 30th day of May, 1764, to the 19th day of June then next ensuing, survey and lay out 66 hundred-acre lots, in six

These lots, sixty-six in number, were located in a block in the northwestern section of the town, distant from Lebanon line about two miles at the nearest point, and from the river about half a mile in the north section, and a mile and a half at the southern limit of the survey. Eastward they extended beyond the centre of the town nearly to the foot of Moose Mountain. They were laid in six ranges, numbered from west to east, the lots being numbered from north to south.

Up to this time no one had been persuaded to make actual settlement in the town. Each proprietor was now once more offered the "liberty to choose and take either of the hundred-acre lots not already chosen and taken up (first making return thereof to Edmund Freeman 3d, to be by him entered on a plan), and by laboring thereon, or on his river lot, three months before the last day of October next, shall hold said hundred acres as his draught in the first division." The time was afterwards extended to November, 1766, and several persons availed themselves of the privilege. On Jan. 28, 1767, at the house of Lot Dimmick in Coventry, the remaining lots were assigned in the same manner as the town and river lots.

The first actual settler was Edmund Freeman 3d,¹ who came up from Mansfield in May, 1765, with his wife and two children,

ranges; each range begins at its No. at the line between Hanover and Lime; each of s^d 100 acres are laid parallel with the north line of the town, viz, S. 64^d E and N. 64^d W. 160 rods. The several lots are laid in wedth 108 rods, S. 49^d W. We made reserve and left land for a highway between the 1st and 2d ranges of Lots 8 rods wide, and between the 3d and 4th Ranges we left land for a road 10 rods in wedth; likewise between the 5th and 6th ranges we left land for a road 8 rods wide. We likewise made reserve and left land for a road 4 rods wide on the northerly side of each Lot in No. 3, No. 5, No. 7, No. 11, No. 13; and on the North side of each lot in No. 9 we left a road 10 rods wide. And if the land reserved for either of s^d Highways or any part thereof be utterly unfit for s^d purpose, then and there s^d road to be laid upon the next adjoining meet land for the same where will be most convenient and to least damage, s^d reserved land unfit for highways to belong to the lot on which the road is turned.

June 25th, 1764.

P ^r	{	EDMUND FREEMAN, JUN ^r	}	Committee
		JOHN PARKER,		and
		EDMUND FREEMAN 3 ^d		Surveyor.

¹ Eleven of the proprietors bore the name of Freeman; three of these bore the name of Edmund. These three were father, son, and grandson, all of Mansfield. The first died in 1766, æt. 83. The second, Edmund Freeman, Jun., born in Sandwich, Mass, in 1711, and graduated from Harvard College in 1733, removed about 1742 with his father to Mansfield, Conn., to settle five hundred acres of

— one of them three years of age, and the other a babe of eight months. He was himself twenty-eight years old, and was accompanied for the summer by his brother Otis, seventeen years of age, and by some other young men without families. He took up his residence in a log-house near the river in the northerly part of the town, near where Lemuel Tenney now lives. Through this season and the following winter Mrs. Freeman was the only woman in the town.¹ Dea. Jonathan Curtice made a settlement the same year in that section now known as District No. 4, where Charles W. Stone lives. The next spring (1766) he brought his family from Ashford or Pomfret, Conn. They were joined by Benjamin Davis from Mansfield, and Benjamin Royce (or Rice), probably from Coventry. Within another year came ten or twelve other families, the most of whom settled, like their predecessors, in the northwestern quarter of the town, not very far from the river. A few were added every year till in the early part of 1770 there were said to be about twenty families. Only ten of the sixty-eight original proprietors ever became actual settlers.²

The handful of settlers in the midst of the wilderness must have passed at the first a dreary winter. It is a pity that no account of their experiences is preserved. Search has been made for their letters, without success. Edmund Freeman's third child, Otis, born May 25, 1767, was the first white child born in the town. The second was a child of Benjamin Royce, born two weeks later, June 6th. The first marriage was that of Isaac Walbridge and Hannah Smith, in 1767. It was per-

land which his grandfather had purchased in 1702. He died in Mansfield, Feb. 14, 1800, æt. 88. Though the principal man among the proprietors at the outset, he did not remove to Hanover himself; but five of his sons — Edmund 3d, Jonathan, Otis, Russell, and Moody — did so, and excepting the last, were long prominent in the town.

¹ The second family that came to the town seems to have been that of Jonathan Lord, of Bolton, Conn. (the part which is now Vernon), who bought the rights of David Richardson. He cleared land in Hanover in 1765, and returning to Connecticut for the winter, came back in the spring a little in advance of Deacon Curtice, bringing his wife, with an infant in her arms, up the river in a pine canoe. He settled near the centre of the town, on the farm now occupied by P. Monahan.

² The provincial census of 1767 reported 26 married couples, 11 unmarried men, 13 unmarried females, and 16 boys under sixteen years of age, — a total population of 92 (N. H. State Papers, vii. 169).

formed at the place where Franklin Smith now lives, by Rev. Peter Powers, of Newbury, who chanced to be passing on the river.¹ The first person to die is said to have been a child of fourteen months, who died of consumption in the family of Stephen Benton. The second year matters began somewhat to amend. The greatest need was religious privileges. How these were provided will be presently shown.

Under a vote of Dec. 7, 1767, a second division of one-hundred-acre lots was laid in 1768 in the same manner as the first, excepting that the lots east of the half-mile road were laid 168 rods long, subject to an allowance for the road, and abutting on the first range, instead of abutting on the road itself. The original order was to lay all these lots east of the half-mile road; but it was afterwards varied so as to allow some of them to be laid west of that limit, "where the land will admit of being laid in good form." The committee was to draw the lots for the proprietors and make return thereof. They were at the same time "to look out the most convenient places for roads from the river to the half-mile road, and if they can agree with the owners of the land through which the road must go, to exchange common land therefor and lay out said road." They also laid out the mill lots on Mink Brook near what is now Etna, and "rere'd out" the river lots whose lines had not been fully surveyed. This work occupied twenty-six days. Jonathan Freeman was the surveyor, and the total expense was £25 10s.

The next year (1769) a tract of 127 acres, comprising all the pine timber land lying conveniently near the lot designed for a saw-mill, was laid out in sixty-six small lots designated as "pine lots," and duly divided. The work was ordered in March, and executed between the 23d and 28th of October by Jonathan Freeman, John Ordway, John House, and David Mason. These lots varied in size, being apportioned "quantity for quality;" but the lines were parallel to the lines of the hundred-acre lots, and reservations were made for necessary highways and for the right of passing over intermediate lots to the mill. This tract lay near Lebanon line, north of Mink Brook, about three and a half miles from the College.

¹ See a curious account of it in Rev. Grant Powers' *History of the Coos Country*, p. 80.

We have seen that the first attempt to induce the building of mills failed. There was originally no grist-mill nearer than Charlestown (No. 4); and it was the habit of the settlers to go thither periodically in parties by canoes upon the river, or by land over a very rough road. Sometimes they were compelled to make the trip on foot with their grist upon their backs. At the best it consumed several days, and the families at home were often thoroughly frightened before they returned. A mill was therefore the first necessity; and the proprietors, June 16, 1768, chose Timothy Smith, Isaac Bridgman, John Ordway, Edmund Freeman, and Benjamin Davis, a committee "to agree and covenant with some meet person or persons to build a grist-mill and a saw-mill in Hanover, and have the same ready for grinding and sawing as soon as may be," and to lay out one hundred acres of land in one or more parcels, to be given to any person "who shall effectually build either of them upon such spot as the committee shall direct." The committee reported, Nov. 12, 1770, that they had agreed with James Murch to build both mills; that he had built them according to agreement, and given bond to keep them in good repair and give them "tendance" for three years from the time they were built; and that they had laid out for him the stipulated land in three parcels on Mink Brook.

The grist-mill stood, as we understand, substantially on the site of the present grist-mill at Etna, on Mink Brook, about four miles from the College plain. The saw-mill was placed on the same stream, apparently half a mile below, for convenience to the "pine lots." It stood probably a little above the fork of the roads as one turns toward Lebanon. Murch was not a millwright, only a contractor; and tradition informs us that the mills were in fact built in the summer of 1769 by Simeon Dewey, a blacksmith from Springfield, Mass., who settled here about that time. They soon passed (the upper one, at least) into the hands of Asa Hill.

In the same summer of 1769 was built, by John House, the first two-story house in the town. All before had been of logs and one-story. This was framed and boarded, and survived till modern times. It stood near the river, about two and a half miles above the College plain, and a few rods north of the house now occupied by William Fullington. It was in use for

a dwelling till it was pulled down in October, 1866. Thanks to the mill, framed houses were thenceforth not uncommon. We find in the records in 1770 casual mention of a "frame" of Rev. Mr. Sexton on the two-mile road, which must have stood a short distance north of the centre village. In 1771 several two-story frame-houses were built near the College.

The prosperity of the town dates of course from the advent of the College, the circumstances of which, so far as known, have been detailed in the previous chapter. The recorded proprietary votes relating to that matter are as follows: —

Oct. 17, 1769, "Voted, that whereas there appears a prospect of Dr. Wheelock's school being settled in this town, which will have a tendency to promote the Settlement of the town and will be many other ways advantageous to the town and propriety; for the encouragement whereof it is therefore *Voted* that each proprietor who has agreed or may agree to give land for the benefit of said school shall have liberty to lay out a fifty-acre lot in the undivided land lying west of the second mile road and within three miles of the Lebanon line, to lie for so much in quantity in his or their next division, provided they give the land for the use aforesaid and the school be settled within this town."¹

It having been finally determined to place the College in Hanover on the Governor's lot, and Dr. Wheelock having in August, 1770, arrived on the ground and begun operations, the proprietors, Oct. 1, 1770, voted, —

"Whereas the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, Doctor in Divinity, President of Dartmouth College, now settled in this town, has been at great expense and suffered many disadvantages in leaving his interest at Connecticut and in his removal to this place; in consideration thereof, together with the many advantages of said College to this Province, and to this town and propriety in particular, *Voted*, that this propriety do give to said Eleazar Wheelock 400 acres of land to be laid out in the easterly part of town adjoining Canaan."

The extreme eastern part of the town was as yet wholly undivided and unsurveyed, and Dr. Wheelock's tract was at once

¹ The subscribers to this tract were: Knight Sexton, 100 acres; Joseph Storrs, 100, John House, 100; John Ordway, 100; Jonathan Curtice, 140; Timothy Smith, 100; Edmund Freeman, 50; Prince Freeman, 50; Jonathan Freeman, 50; Nathaniel Wright, 50; Nathaniel Woodward, 20; Simeon Dewey, 50; Benjamin Davis, 50; Asa Parker, 50. The deed is dated Nov. 12, 1770. In it Knight Sexton is described as of Hartford, Conn; Simeon Dewey, as of Springfield, Mass.; Edmund Freeman and Prince Freeman, as of Mansfield, Conn.; and all the others, of Hanover.

laid off at the extreme northeasterly corner of the town, and the survey was recorded in November of the same year. The full rights of William Woodward and Elisha Freeman were expressly saved by the vote, — indicating, one would infer, that they alone, or their representatives, disagreed to the donation.

At a meeting held Nov. 12, 1770, the proprietors further voted "that the following named persons may give to Eleazar Wheelock three hundred acres of land, as they have agreed, to be laid in one body, out of undivided land on the Lebanon line, next east of the Governor's lot, to be charged to them on the next division."¹

As before stated, considerable money was laid out in roads between 1762 and 1767, but in what manner or in what localities cannot now be exactly told. The records are silent, except for the half-mile road, the course of which is recorded in 1764. On the 17th of October, 1769, the proprietors laid a tax of nine shillings on each right, for highways, to be paid by July 30, 1770 (with privilege of paying in labor at three shillings a day), to be expended, — one third upon the half-mile road, one third to lay out and clear a road from the river to the mills, and from the dwelling-house of Jonathan Curdice (in District No. 4) to the dwelling-house of Asa Parker (on the river lots 47, 48); and the remainder upon the highway from the middle of the town to the mills. The committee (Deliverance Woodward, John Wright, and Jonathan Freeman) was at the same time authorized to exchange undivided lands for lands taken for highways outside or in excess of the allowances. Allusions in later records show that these roads were surveyed and laid out, but they were not recorded.

The road from the grist-mill (now Etna) eastward, up the big hill known as "Pork Hill," had been opened prior to this time, and was known as the "Country Road," — for what reason we have been unable to ascertain. The proprietors, Nov. 7, 1769, voted certain lands to Benjamin Davis if he would build a good bridge over Mink Brook, on the "Country Road," by Oct. 1, 1770. The bridge was duly completed and accepted by the proprietors on that date. It stood, as we understand, substantially where the existing bridge does, — near the grist-

¹ John Wright, 40 acres; David Woodward, 50; Isaac Bridgman, 50; Edmund Freeman, 40; Isaac Walbridge, 40; Otis Freeman, 50; John Bridgman, 30.

mill This road passed over "Mount Tug" to the foot of Enfield pond, and was for many years the main avenue of communication to the eastern section of the State. In deeds of 1782 it is referred to as "the road to Exeter."

The presence of the College gave, of course, great stimulus to road building. At a proprietors' meeting held July 30, 1770, at the house of John Ordway, it was voted to lay out a road from Hanover to Wolfborough; and a committee was appointed, consisting of John Ordway, Jonathan Freeman, Nathaniel Wright, John House, and John Wright, "to look out said road." They were directed "to run a line from near the southwest corner of Hanover to the Great Pond, or Governor's seat, at Wolfborough, and view the situation of the land and conveniences for a highway, and make return the first Monday in October next." The members of the committee were to receive a compensation of four shillings and sixpence per day, with the privilege of appointing substitutes if they desired. Jonathan Freeman, as surveyor, received six shillings and sixpence per day. It was also voted that one third of the nine shillings rate laid for preaching be expended under direction of the same committee in clearing roads to accommodate the place proposed for the College. The committee spent ten days upon the survey of the new road, and reported at a meeting held October 1st. It was then voted to lay out the road from the College to Canaan line; and a tax of six shillings was imposed for the purpose, to be paid by December 25, or worked out by October 31 next ensuing. This action, being superseded by later events, was annulled the next year.

November 12, 1770, nineteen shillings were allowed to a number of Lebanon people (not named) "for clearing a path to the College." The route of this path is not specified. It of course communicated with that part of Lebanon lying on the river, where all the settlers at that time were, and naturally approached the College from the nearest point on the road of 1764. From allusions in ancient deeds we are led to conclude that this path (called in 1775 the "old road to Lebanon") left the half-mile road near the Lebanon line, and crossing Mink Brook near the existing bridge on the river road, passed up the ravine we now use, but turning to the east of the present road about half way up the hill, and still keeping the ravine, approached the

College by what we call "College Street."¹ The valley was enlivened by an unfailing brook, which took its rise near the College.

The Wolfborough road being still in suspense, the Legislature, at the instance of the Governor, intervened with an Act passed April 13, 1771, "for establishing and making passable a road from the Governor's House in Wolfeborough, to Dartmouth College in Hanover." Beginning with a recital of the great public utility of roads, and that "the making of a road to Dartmouth College will greatly promote the design of that valuable institution," it proceeded to enact the opening of a road three rods wide to Plymouth, "and from thence on the straightest and best course to Dartmouth College in Hannover." John House, Jonathan Freeman, and David Hobart were appointed to lay out this section of the road, and make a plan of it, at the expense of the Province, *not exceeding twenty-five dollars*. And the proprietors of the land within the respective towns were required forthwith to cause the same to be made passable, at the charge of the town, by an equal rate on all the land therein, except that laid out for public uses. In case of neglect by the proprietors for six months after proclamation, the Governor was authorized to appoint some one to do the work at the charge of the delinquent town.

At a meeting of the Hanover proprietors held Nov. 7, 1771, a tax of £120 was voted, "to make the road from Dartmouth College to Canaan, to be laid agreeably to the Act of the Assembly for that purpose, to be paid by the 1st day of June next," by an assessment on lands to be made by David Mason and Jonathan Freeman, and collected by Isaac Bridgman. Proprietors' taxes hitherto had been laid only upon the rights in gross. This tax was assessed on the land at the rate of a penny and a half an acre; and in July, 1772, quite a long list was advertised in the "New Hampshire Gazette," by Mr. Bridgman, to be sold at his dwelling-house, August 24, for nonpayment of the tax. Lieut. John Ordway, Lieut. David Woodward, and Mr. John Wright were chosen a committee to agree with persons to make

¹ The present road, known to us as Main Street, was laid, July 7, 1775, from the southwest corner of the College green "S. 6½ W. 30 rod, thence S. 11 W. 24 rod to the bridge where the road crosses a valley; thence on the eastern side of said valley to Mink Brook Meadow; thence as the road is now fenced, and travelled to the half-mile road, the highway lying on the east side of said line."

the road at a cost not exceeding £115, and authorized "to set out to any person his proportional part," on his obligating himself to do it to the acceptance of the committee by August 1st, 1772. This road, which in parts still exists under the name of "the Wolfborough road," crossed Moose Mountain northeasterly of the centre of the town, and thence in nearly a straight line over the hills to a junction with the river road about a mile north of the College.

On June 22d, 1772, in this same connection, Timothy Smith, John House, and Asa Parker were allowed £1 10s. "for building a bridge [on this road] over Camp Brook," — a few rods east of the present dwelling of J. H. Foster.

In the absence generally of definite records respecting the highways, many of them having been worked ostensibly upon the allowances plan, without any regular proceedings, the whole matter fell very soon into confusion and uncertainty. There followed a series of efforts to retrieve it. It was voted, April 20, 1774, "that this meeting advise the Selectmen of the Town to see that the highway by Mr. Hill's mills is cleared of the encumbrances now on it forthwith; and likewise that they see that said highway leading from said mills to the middle of the town as far as the meeting-house be properly authenticated; and that amendments be made if they shall think fit; and that Jonathan Freeman be a surveyor, and Gideon Smith a committee, to assist them in the business."

March 14, 1775, £40 were voted to be laid out on highways. The selectmen were directed to lay out a road from John Wright's to the meeting-house, and another from Jeremiah Trescott's "to accommodate him for meeting." Trescott lived near where H. H. Marshall now lives, on the eastern slope of "Velvet Rocks."

July 7, 1775, the selectmen and committee laid out a road from "Hill's mills" to Dartmouth College, supposed to be substantially the Mink Brook road now travelled. In November of the same year they "viewed and established" the highway from the meeting-house to the dwelling-house of Benjamin Hatch (where P. Monahan now lives), "after examining the ancient survey of said road as laid out in November, 1769, by the committee appointed for that purpose," and confirmed the location previously made.

November 5, 1776, the town voted that the selectmen be em-

powered to settle and establish highways laid out, and to exchange allowances therefor. But as this was going a little beyond their power, the vote was amended in March, 1777, to order that "as soon as the propriety shall pass such votes as to render it feasible, the selectmen proceed to some effectual measures for the settlement of highways." At the same meeting the Mile road, as laid out by the selectmen, from Jeremiah Trescott's to the Wolfborough road and to the Mill road, was accepted. The proprietors gave the desired authority, March 31, 1777, as follows:—

"Voted, that whereas the allowances left for highways on the several divisions of land made by this propriety are in many instances unfit for the purpose of travelling, and in others, the situation of them such as to render it unnecessary for a highway to be laid in said allowance; and whereas in many instances it has been found necessary that the town lay out highways through land being private property, where no advantage can accrue to the town by any of said allowance, but under the present situation of the matter the town must of necessity purchase said highways; and as it was ever the design and intent of this propriety that the town should be supplied by them with necessary highways, of a reasonable width, out of the reserve by them made for highways,—this propriety do, therefore, grant to the said town of Hanover, or their selectmen for the time being, forever hereafter, or so long as any of said allowance remain, that whenever it shall be necessary to lay out a highway through any part of the town, being private property, that they have power to sell or convey to the person or persons, through whose land said highway shall be laid, so much of the aforesaid unfit or unnecessary allowances as to be a compensation for such highway, deducting the advantage such highway may be to the owner of such land, and that such exchange of land being recorded on the town records, shall entitle such persons thereto against all future claim of the propriety; provided, nevertheless, that no allowance shall be wholly taken from any lot in either of the hundred-acre divisions, unless by consent of the then owners of such lot or lots. Nothing in this vote to be considered as excluding this propriety hereafter disposing of any of the aforesaid allowances not before disposed of by the town or selectmen."

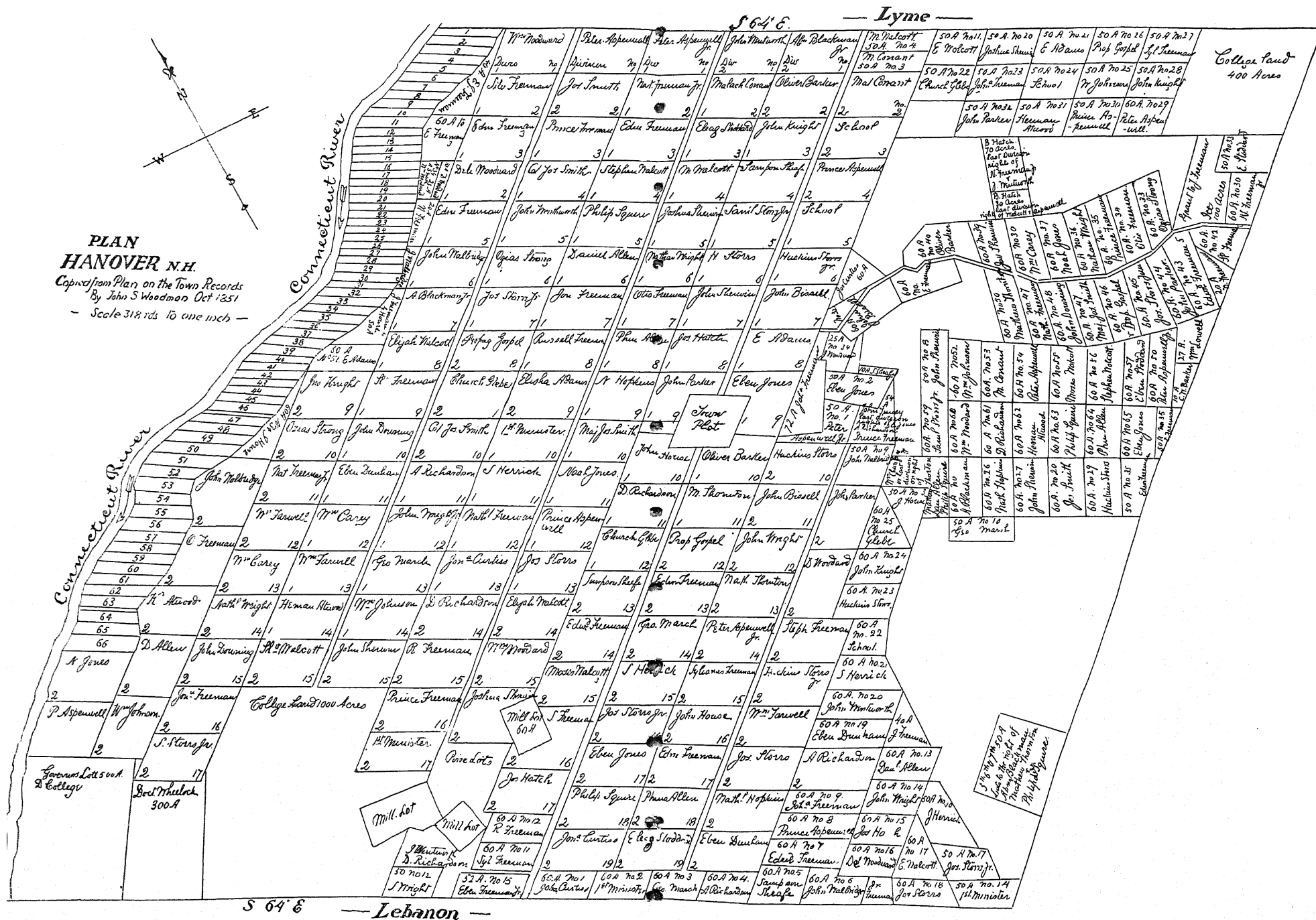
In April, 1778, a road three rods wide was laid to Lyme line "by Connecticut River, beginning at the line between the thirty-second and thirty-third river lots, at the end of the highway which is laid to the College to said line." This would appear to be the river road north of its junction with the county road. In 1783 there was laid a road from the mills to Silas Tenney's, on Pork Hill, east of Etna, and in 1785 (returned November, 1786), a road from Nathan West's to Seth West's.

Notwithstanding the votes of 1777, nothing was done towards a general rectification of the highways till twelve years more had elapsed, when the town again, June 22, 1789, "requested the selectmen, as soon as may be, to see that all those highways in said town heretofore said to be laid out, and still judged necessary, be regularly laid out and conveyances taken from the persons on whose land said roads are laid; and that they make to such persons compensation out of the land left by the propriety for the purpose, and make due return." Pursuant to this, return was at last made in 1793 of the adjustment of allowances upon twenty-four ancient highways, and in 1796 upon nine more, all of which was duly recorded. These roads were from three to five rods wide. On Oct. 21, 1799, the proprietors voted that the power of the selectmen to assign allowances should cease March 1, 1800. Highways opened since that date have been laid according to modern methods. Several roads have been laid through the town by State or county authority, of which some account will be given in another place. As to several of these, no court records can be found.

The "Military Parade Ground" at the centre village, as well as the burying-ground (in part), is also derived from the thoughtfulness of the proprietors. The Parade comprised upwards of five acres, of which five rods in width was covered by the highway laid on the two-mile allowance, and the balance was conveyed to the town by Solomon Jacobs, Sept. 15, 1795, and paid for out of the allowance.¹ The proprietors voted, Nov. 27, 1795, "That the selectmen have liberty to make a further exchange with Captain Jacobs out of the allowance adjoining his land, so as to give him an equal quantity, including what has been heretofore granted for the common laid out on said Jacob's land, which is seventeen rods wide, and also to make the burying-ground one acre in the whole, and to extend in front to the west line of the common. Voted that the selectmen have liberty to exchange the whole width of the allowance in the two-mile road (so called), directly opposite

¹ Salmon Dow records in his diary, Sept. 16, 1795, "People met and evened the parade;" Sept. 24, "training;" Oct. 2, "Col. Freeman's regiment met at Hanover Meeting-House; troop, 50; 1st L. Inf. 48; 2d L. Inf. 45; 1st Batt. 220; 2d Batt. 195; total, 556."

Copied from Plan on the Town Records
By John S Woodman Oct 1851
- Scale 318 fds to one inch -



to the common turned out by Captain Jacobs, as a compensation therefor, including the highway if they see fit." In 1802 the Wolfborough road, which before had passed a few rods eastward, was changed so as to go up the west side of the Parade and turn across the north end. The ground being pretty much in its natural state and very uneven, it was in 1810 let out, by vote of the town, to be smoothed and seeded down.

The town being fully organized, and having assumed the charges of preaching and maintenance of roads, there was left to the proprietary body, now composed principally of resident owners, nothing to do beyond the disposal of the remaining lands. A division of sixty-acre lots was laid out in 1774 by Jonathan Freeman, David Woodward, John Tenney, and David Mason, under a vote passed at the house of John Ordway, Oct. 4, 1773. These lots were laid in the easterly part of the town, in such form as convenience dictated, most of them on or about Moose Mountain, and were numbered from 1 to 66.

In May, 1780, permission was given to each proprietor, who had not exercised the right in connection with the gift to the College in 1770 or otherwise, to lay out for himself, to the acceptance of a committee, a fifty-acre lot, with allowance of two acres more for highways, under certain restrictions as to details. Up to October, 1792, twenty such were taken up. In 1795 a committee was appointed to complete this division, and regularly assigned about twenty more; but the division was never expressly completed.

This ended the regular assignment of the lands, amounting to 330 acres to each original right, besides road allowances. There remained a considerable body of common lands, chiefly about Moose Mountain, very rough and inaccessible. The undivided interest of a number of the proprietors had been already extinguished, at their desire, by special assignments, and others followed from time to time. An eighteen-acre division was attempted in 1799, but never regularly completed. The remnant of all the common lands was finally sold to Dea. Jonathan Freeman, son of the first settler of that name, in December, 1810.¹

The taxes voted by the proprietors for expenses of surveys

¹ In Appendix B. will be found a list of the original grantees, with the lots falling to them in the several drawings.

and settlement up to 1772, when the burden of the town affairs passed out of their hands, amounted to £6 13s. on each right, which, if all collected, should have realized on sixty-two taxable rights some £440, — about fourpence halfpenny per acre. The actual expenses appear to have fallen short of that sum about one seventh.

Of the lands reserved for public and charitable use, those appropriated for the first settled minister went of course to Mr. Burroughs. The school lands were taken charge of by the town and leased, and in course of time nearly all sold. A few parcels still remain under lease.

The rights of the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were, with those in twenty-eight other towns, conveyed, July 20, 1808, to St. John's Church, Portsmouth, by trustees to whom the London society had in April, 1788, assigned all their interests of that sort in New Hampshire. The board of trustees originally named were nine in number; but the deed of 1808 was signed by only two. The same infirmity existed in a similar conveyance about the same time, made by the same gentlemen, to the churches at Claremont and Cornish. Troublesome litigation resulted; but it is understood that a compromise was effected, and that the lands laid to this right in Hanover are held under that title.

The church glebe lands lay unclaimed till 1812. In December of that year a committee of a convention of the Eastern Episcopal Diocese of the United States (appointed at Providence, September 30th) conveyed all these lands in New Hampshire, lying in seventy-two towns, to a board of trustees incorporated by the State of Massachusetts under the style of the "Trustees of Donations to the Protestant Episcopal Church." Rev. William Montague and James Richardson, Esq., as agents of this corporation, proceeded to recover and lease such of these lands as could be reached. They were succeeded, August, 1817, by James C. Merrill, Isaac Hubbard, and Charles Flanders. The glebe titles are derived from them and their successors.¹

As distinguished from the proprietary body, the independent life of the town began with its emancipation in March, 1767. It speedily assumed all the appropriate functions. The list of

¹ History of the Eastern Diocese, i. 280-284, 291-297.

officers comprised at that time a town clerk, three selectmen, a constable and two tythingmen,¹ and three surveyors of highways. A "choirester" was chosen in March, 1768; fence-viewers, a sealer of leather, and a pound-keeper, in 1769; a deerrieff and sealer of weights and measures in 1771; and hog howards in 1773.² The regulation of swine received annual attention from 1769, when it was voted "that hogs may run on commons without rings, being well yoked." The next year they were forbidden to run at large at all, but in 1771 were given that privilege, "being well yoked and ringed according to law;" and so on, according to the fluctuations of public sentiment. A brander of horses was chosen in 1781. There was in these early years an inveterate tendency to multiply officers, and to elect them all by formal vote in town meeting.

In 1770 a pound was located "on the two-mile road near Mr. Sexton's frame," and Jonathan Lord was constituted keeper. This would be a little north of the centre village. At the annual meeting, 1770, the town included in its first tax-rate provision for boarding a minister, if need be, and in March, 1771, definitely assumed the support of preaching as a part of the town expenses. The business of the town for some years, so far as the records show, was confined to the election of officers, regulation of swine, struggles over the location of a meeting-house, and arrangement of preaching.

The town-meeting was for seven years held at private houses. The place is not always named in the record. It was at the meeting-house first in March, 1775. Since that time it has

¹ Tythingmen had the duty "carefully to inspect all licensed houses and to inform of all disorders or misdemeanors committed in them, and also all such as shall sell [spirit] by retail without license, and to present or inform of all idle and disorderly persons, prophane swearers or cursers, sabbath-breakers, and the like offenders." Each tythingman was to be armed with "a black staff two feet long, tip'd at one end with brass or pewter about three inches, as a badge of his office, to be provided by the selectmen at the charge of the town." The law (Jan. 6, 1715) required the town to choose annually not less than two nor more than ten of these functionaries, and persons chosen were obliged to serve, or submit to a fine of forty shillings. For convenience of keeping order in church, the staff was sometimes six or seven feet long. See an account of the methods of procedure in Stevens's Memorials of Methodism, 2d Series, p. 272.

"Deerrieffs," two in number, had the duty of searching for deer killed contrary to law, — *i. e.*, between January 1st and August 1st (Act 14 Geo II ch. 113).

² In Appendix C will be found an inventory of the ratable polls of the town in 1773 and the selectmen's return of the population.

been held, with few exceptions, in the central part of the town. In 1785 the meeting was adjourned to Brewster's tavern, at the College, to receive votes for State officers, and in 1791 to the College chapel for the same object. In July, 1801, a special meeting was called, for an object peculiar to that part of the town, at the meeting-house on the College plain. In 1792 we find the record of an adjournment for *fifteen minutes* to the house of Benjamin Hatch, innholder, for an object not disclosed by the record.

In the "Life and Times of Elder Ariel Kendrick," whose grandfather, Nathaniel Kendrick, was here as early as 1773, Hanover is described as —

"A place at that time little else than a howling wilderness, containing wild beasts double the number of both the inhabitants and the domestic animals together, which were a great annoyance. Our company for a season all occupied one log-cabin. Most of the buildings were constructed with logs. The fireplaces were generally from six to eight feet wide; and as the dwellings were cold and clothing scarce, the wood, which was plenty, was used unsparingly. In the winter, the last thing before retiring to rest was to fill the chimney and make a lordly fire."

CHAPTER IV.

1766-1810.

THE OFFICIAL CHURCH OF THE TOWN.

THE preaching of the gospel received the attention of the Hanover proprietors in the second year of the settlement. A tax of six shillings on each right was voted, Feb. 3, 1766, for the support of preaching for the ensuing year, payable three quarters in labor, at three shillings per day (each person finding himself), or in bread-corn at the common price in said town, by September 1st, and one quarter in money by October 1st. John Ordway, Ebenezer Jones, and Jonathan Curtice were made a committee "to procure some meet person to preach the gospel in said Hanover some part of the ensuing year." A like vote was passed for the next year in January, 1767. The service was performed both seasons by Rev. Knight Sexton, of Colchester, Conn., and seems to have been confined to the summer months. In the intervals the people enjoyed the occasional ministrations of Rev. Peter Powers, of Newbury and Haverhill, who was accustomed to itinerate along the river, when it was open, in a canoe. For several years most of the settlers were not far from the river; and the meeting-house was a log hut by the river, nearly opposite the mouth of the Pompanoosuc. According to some accounts, it stood a little farther down the river, and near the Smith place. Afterward, to accommodate the more eastern settlers, the services were held at different places by turns.

Mr. Sexton filled the pulpit in the summer of 1766, 1767, 1768, and probably 1769, though in May of that year we hear of him as out of health and proposing to open a stationer's shop in Hartford, Conn. Oct. 26, 1767, the town voted "to hire Mr. Sexton to preach with us next summer," and "to apply to the propriety for their assistance in supporting the gospel here the ensuing summer." The proprietors voted, December

17, a tax of twelve shillings, payable one third in money and the remainder in labor, for the support of preaching as long as it could be procured with the proceeds.

Ill-health seems to have prevented Mr. Sexton's continued service, although he acquired several proprietary rights in the town (those of Phineas Allen, Nathaniel Hopkins, and Heman Atwood), and continued to reside here for a number of years. In 1769 he was one of the subscribers to the donation of land given to bring the College to Hanover. Some of his lands lay near the centre of the town, and there was his "frame" house on the two-mile road; but he also had lands, under the right of Heman Atwood, about a mile and a half north of the College, and he appears to have been living there in 1773, when he was employed by Dr. Wheelock as teacher of Moor's school. The following letter makes a pitiful disclosure at that time of sickness and destitution. He was deeply in debt, and his lands, covered with mortgages, were finally alienated in November, 1774, when he is described as of Hartford, Conn.

PROVINCE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,
HANOVER, Feb. 19, 1773.

REV^d AND HONORED SIR,—I am very poorly with a cold, and greatly concerned for my School. Last Saturday was cold and blustering, and as I have no cloaths Suitable for winter, and have a very tender constitution, I was in a considerable degree overcome. In the evening it was extreme cold, and my house being very much open, the next morning I was greatly exercised with a cold and was exceeding sorry that I could not attend publick worship, the more so on account of its being Sacrament day.

Monday I was in great distress at my breast, and in almost a universal pain, and for some time spit clear fresh blood, and was left very weak. In the evening I had the Hickups extremely hard (my wife judged half an hour), till I was all in a sweat like a man a mowing, and was very much afraid of losing my life by them. For some days I have been so troubled with boils that it has been difficult for me to wear my clothes; and in addition to this I have the itch very bad, and have reason to think my cold has struck it in, so as to be exceeding hurtful to me, and I am told many times it proves to be dangerous. Last night came on my heel a sort of a stone bruise which is very painful, and is so bad that I am not able to go one step. My wife is not very well. I have not anybody to pity me or help me. I am full of concern and distress, and very much discouraged. I am in distress for fire-wood, and wish the Doctor would let one of your workmen come with a team and help me two or three hours.

I sent word last Monday early in the morning to the college that I was sick, and for somebody to keep my school, but I have had no opportunity to

hear what is done. To leave my school so long has been a great trouble to me, and I have been concerned of coming under blame; but I have done the best in my power. I am very sorry to lose any time, being sensible of the great need of being in business. But since I am so unwell, and it is so uncertain when I shall be able to keep the school again, I shall be willing to have some other person take it till some time in April; and what makes me the more willing is on account of not having clothes fit to wear in all sorts of weather, and Shugar time being near at hand, the whole of which time I shall want to improve in making shugar if my health will admit it. But I shall esteem it a privilege to take the school again in April; and as the days will then be long, I can easily be at school in good season, and will endeavor to be faithful in the business.

Rev^d and Honored sir, with much esteem and regard I subscribe myself your humble and obedient servant,

KNIGHT SEXTON.¹

At the March meeting, 1769, the town instructed the selectmen "to write to the Propriety to provide us with a preacher;" and the proprietors at Lot Dimmick's, in Coventry, voted, March 17, "upon the request of the inhabitants of the town, and chose John House, Jr., to engage Mr. [Bezaleel] Woodward, of the Crank, to preach in said Hanover two months; and on failure to take advice of the Rev. Mr. Wheelock, and pursuant thereto procure some suitable person for said time." The proprietors at

¹ Knight Sexton was a son of Knight and Elizabeth (Skinner) Sexton (or Saxton), and was born at Colchester, Conn., May 31, 1743. He graduated at Yale College in 1759. While a student he was admitted to full communion in the church at Westchester, Oct. 8, 1756. He was licensed to preach by the Hartford South Association, June, 1761. Before coming to Hanover he married Rebecca Olcott (born in 1743), a daughter of Capt. Josiah Olcott, of East Hartford, and second cousin to Gov. Peter Olcott, of Norwich, Vt. The Olcott Genealogy states that at the time of his marriage Mr. Sexton was pastor of the Congregational church at East Hartford, and that his wife never had children. This is an error, as a first child was born to them at Hanover in the autumn of 1772, on which occasion Dr. Crane, though successful, fell under condemnation of the elderly ladies on a charge of malpractice in the treatment of Mrs. Sexton. By his father's will, dated Dec. 8, 1787, Mr. Sexton is described as of Middletown, Conn., and receives £5, in addition to previous gifts. He died at Middletown in 1792. The following are recorded on p. 45 of the original proprietary records:—

COVENTRY, April 14, 1768.

Received in full for preaching in Hanover, of Lieut. John Ordway, committee. Eighteen pounds, twelve shillings, lawful money, for the year 1766.

KNIGHT SEXTON.

(Also a similar receipt, of same date and amount, for 1768, running to John Walbridge.)

HARTFORD, March 28, 1772.

Received of Mr. John Walbridge, committee, for preaching in Hanover, twenty three pounds, one shilling, and nine-pence, I say received by me,

KNIGHT SEXTON.

their first meeting in Hanover, Oct. 17, 1769, appointed John Wright and John Ordway a committee to agree with some meet person to preach, and laid a tax of nine shillings for the support of the gospel the ensuing year, to be paid by the last day of June. But in July, 1770, one third of the tax was diverted from this object to the roads, and the support of the gospel was left thenceforth to the town; save that on June 22, 1772, the town having after several trials selected a permanent minister, the proprietors voted to give to the first settled minister all the land belonging to them in the town plot, excepting what was wanted for highways.

For several years the people were much indebted to Dr. Wheelock for aid in filling the pulpit. After his removal to Hanover, in 1770, preachers were from time to time furnished, under his direction, from among his pupils. David McClure is known to have thus officiated, and no doubt Mr. Woodward and others did so.

The town, as it is said, first from the proprietors, first definitely assumed the independent support of religious ordinances in March, 1771. A tax¹ of £25 was then raised to support preaching and defray the town charges the ensuing year. It was voted to call a candidate to preach on probation; a committee was chosen to procure preaching at some place, and another committee "to pitch a place for a meeting-house where they shall think most convenient within two hundred rods of the two-mile road, where the centre of the same is between Lebanon and Lime." A previous vote in March, 1769, not carried into execution, had located the meeting-house "on or near the 9th lot, near where the road comes out from town to the half-mile road."² The committee appointed in 1771 (consisting of Deliverance Woodward, Jonathan Curtice, John Ordway, David Woodward, John Wright, and John Tenney) reported at an adjourned meeting, May 6, 1771, a location about forty-five rods distant from the rear of the 10th lot east of the two-mile line. But the spot was again twice changed before the work was finally begun, two

¹ The law at this time (Provincial Act of 1714) permitted the freeholders of the town to employ a settled minister and levy taxes for his support. None could be excused from payment except those conscientiously of a different persuasion and constantly attending a different worship on the Lord's day. The State Constitution, when formed, recognized similar powers. Not until July 1, 1819, did they disappear from the statute-book

² This would be near where Mason Fay now lives.

years later. All the later selections were near the centre of the town. That made in 1769 would have placed it near the river, though central from north to south.

We have Wheelock's authority for the statement that a church was organized in Hanover by Rev. Peter Powers, wholly unassisted, August 25, 1770, upon a tour in which he also set up a church in Lyme, and, on the 27th, one in the central part of Orford. In this church the people near the College were not included; but in January, 1771, President Wheelock, acting independently of the town, gathered a church in the College district, which will be spoken of in another place. With the matters here to be related, the people of that section had no concern. They never claimed any benefit from the official support of the town in religious matters, and were at an early date excused from taxation by the town for these objects. On the other hand, the influence of President Wheelock guided to a great extent the affairs of the official church.

For some reason the church set up by Mr. Powers did not retain its organization,¹ and on July 17, 1771, it was organized anew under the supervision of Dr. Wheelock, upon a covenant signed by twenty-five persons, of whom fourteen were females.² They at that time, as attested by Wheelock, "unanimously made choice of Lieut. John Ordway to be a standing moderator while they should continue without a pastor or until they should see fit to appoint another, to call the brethren of the church together, and lead them in any affairs they should find necessary and suitable to act in as a church." Where this meeting was held, does not appear. By virtue, no doubt, of the organization of 1770, this church was styled the "First Church" of Hanover, and its successor still retains that designation.

¹ Perhaps this was owing to the fact that, like the other churches set up by Mr. Powers, it was on a Presbyterian platform. Lyme organized anew on a Congregational plan May 22, 1771, though it afterward, like the Hanover church, returned for a time to Presbyterianism.

² Isaac Bridgman, Jonathan Curtice, Dorothy Curtice, Anna Durkee, David Eaton, Abigail Eaton, Josiah Goodrich, Mary Goodrich, Eunice Gillet, Ruth Lord, John Ordway, Eunice Ordway, Timothy Smith, Esther Smith, Gideon Smith, Rebecca Smith, Abigail Trescott, Isaac Walbridge, Hannah Walbridge, Ebenezer Wright, Rachel Wright, John Wright, Susannah Wright, David Woodward, Temperance Woodward. The first signers were Timothy and Esther Smith; but the alphabetical order is here used for convenience.

On the 16th of September, 1771, it was voted by the town "to give Rev. Mr. Pomeroy a call to settle in the work of the ministry in this town, provided he should have a dismissal from his people at Hebron, Conn., within six months." He was to have a salary of £70, payable half in grain and half in money. This was Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy, brother-in-law to President Wheelock, and a trustee of the College. Being present here at the first Commencement in August, he had preached with acceptance to the people of this church, and had a fancy for removing into the neighborhood of Dr. Wheelock. The latter was of course desirous to have him here; but after some delay he declined the call early in January, 1772. Otis Freeman was paid 6s. for going to Hebron in connection with the negotiations. John Tenney had 9s. for going to consult Dr. Bellamy, and John Ordway, £1 15s. for boarding a preacher.

As soon as Mr. Pomeroy's adverse decision was known, Rev. Eden Burroughs was, through Dr. Wheelock's influence, invited to come and preach as a candidate. He was at the time under invitation to settle at Hopkinton, but at Wheelock's solicitation he declined the invitation, January 29, and in March arrived at Hanover¹ His services proved acceptable to the Hanover people; and at a special town meeting, June 23, 1772, they gave him a call to settle, at a salary of £50, to be annually increased in the same proportion as the tax list until it should reach £80, "to be yearly paid to him in grain and money [one half in each], so long as he should continue a settled gospel minister in said town." He was allowed £12 additional for expense of removal.²

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Hanover, June 22, 1772, it was "voted that this town do appoint Messrs. Edward Smith and David Woodward a committee to return the thanks of this town to the Rev. Dr. Wheelock for his peculiar friendship, care, and kindness to us since a kind Providence has or-

¹ Eden Burroughs was born in Stratford, Conn., Jan. 19, 1738, graduated at Yale College in 1757, and was ordained to the ministry at Killingly, Conn., Jan. 23, 1760, as pastor of the Second Church, from which he was dismissed in 1763. Sprague's *Annals of the Am. Pulpit*, ii. 90. Mr. Burroughs's letter of acceptance, dated August, 1772, was written from Oxford, Conn.

² Mr. Burroughs in 1777 surrendered £20 of his salary for the benefit of the town, and received its thanks for doing so. In January, 1780, he gave up £23 more. At the March meeting, 1778, the mode of payment was fixed to be in wheat at 6s., rye at 4s., and Indian corn at 3s per bushel.

dered his settlement here, especially for his care in engaging the Rev. Mr. Burroughs to preach with us (which we hope will have a happy tendency), and ask his further friendship in this and other respects."¹ It must be said that Wheelock was not wholly disinterested in this matter. His relations with the neighboring clergy had not been altogether friendly, and he was naturally desirous to strengthen his position by having a devoted friend in the town pulpit. At the first opportunity Mr. Burroughs was also brought (in 1773) into the College board. "You very well know, sir," writes Burroughs to Wheelock, Feb. 7, 1769, "that I am under special obligations to obey you, and that I cannot refrain without doing violence to those emotions of gratitude which are operating in my heart toward you."

Mr. Thornton wrote, "I was glad to hear of your success in settling the Rev. Dr. Burroughs at Hanover. I hope he will be of abiding comfort to you."

Mr. Burroughs having accepted the invitation of the town, and the church on August 24th acquiescing in the call, he was duly installed on Tuesday, Sept. 1st, 1772, according to the vote of the town, at the barn of Isaac Bridgman; and any person in town had "liberty to set a tavern that day." The services were conducted by a "council of elders and messengers" from the College church and the churches at Orford, Lebanon, Cornish, and Claremont. A letter missive was also set to Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy. The council held its preliminary meeting at the house of Nathaniel Wright. Mr. Burroughs, in addition to the right of land assigned to the first settled minister, received by vote of the proprietors, June 22, 1772, all the land of the proprietary in the town plot, and numerous other parcels subscribed by private persons to encourage his settlement here. He pitched his house on the Wolfborough road about a half mile north of the town plot.

In March, 1773, the town voted that "meetings on the Sabbath shall be circular at the houses of Mr. Burroughs [at the centre of the town], Ens^d Woodward, John House [on the

¹ The following vote, passed in 1775, is evidence that Dr. Wheelock continued to exercise a fatherly care over the church: "Voted that the clerk of this town be directed to write a letter of thanks to the Rev. Dr. Wheelock for his repeated favors to the town, and particularly for his care to supply us with preaching in the Rev. Mr. Burroughs's sickness and absence; and to the gentlemen which have kindly bestowed their labors among us on those occasions."

river two and a half miles from the College], and Asa Hill [near Etna]." On May 10, 1773, liberty was given to eleven persons to build a meeting-house for the town, upon condition that they could sell the pew ground for enough to complete it within two years from the ensuing December. They began the work upon an extensive scale for a very large house, and entered into obligation to complete it according to the conditions, but finding it to be too great an undertaking, soon abandoned it; and on the 16th of October the town voted to build a meeting-house of less size, 40 feet by 30, of 10 feet posts, to allow Tyxhall Cleveland £15 for lumber already provided, and to "take the same for the less house," and to remove the location to the intersection of the Wolfborough road with the road leading from Edmund Freeman's to Asa Hill's. A tax of £45 was laid for this purpose, and Jonathan Freeman, John Wright, and David Woodward were chosen a building committee. £50 additional were voted the next year. At a subsequent meeting, December 7, it was "voted that the particular spot for building the meeting-house should be at the corner of land now belonging to Mr. John Wright, where the line between said Wright and Deacon Ordway intersects the line of the highway leading from the northerly part of the town to the mills." The previous votes were in other respects ratified, and the obligations given by the eleven undertakers¹ for building "the great meeting-house" were given up. Forty shillings more were voted

¹ "At a meeting of the undertakers of the meeting-house in Hanover, Nov. 1, 1773: Present — John Ordway, David Woodward, John Wright, Isaac Walbridge, Edm^d Freeman, Jonathan Freeman, Russell Freeman, Gideon Smith, Nath^l Wright, Stephen Benton.

"After the warning read, it was motioned by a number of the members of s^d meeting to Gid^a Smith, clerk, for s^d undertakers, to proceed in said meeting to choose a moderator, who, after some debate, refused, by absenting^g himself from s^d meeting, about 4 o'clock P. M. D^a John Ordway and Stephen Benton likewise absented themselves from s^d meeting. The s^d undertakers then proceeded and chose Jonathan Freeman clerk for s^d meeting; chose M^r John Wright [chairman].

"Voted, that whereas there seems a gen^l dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of Hanover respecting the building the Meeting House by the undertakers in the manner proposed, and as it seems it may contribute much to the peace of the town not to proceed further in this method; therefore voted, that this body of undertakers do conclude and determine not to proceed any further in said method, but that the Town are wholly acquitted from all demands from s^d undertakers, and that each and every person who have bought pew ground are discharged from their obligation given for that purpose, and have good right to demand and receive s^d notes from

to Tyxhall Cleveland for lumber he had furnished, and enough of it was given to Mr. Burroughs to build him a barn.

During the winter the meetings were held at the house of Jonathan Freeman, close by Mr. Burroughs's; but in March, 1774, the arrangement of the previous summer was restored until the meeting-house should be ready. This meeting-house stood near the southeast corner of the parade at the centre village, and east of the highway as now travelled. The ground was given to the town for this purpose by Dea. John Wright, Nov. 17, 1775. He gave also to the town three quarters of an acre west of the meeting-house for a burial-lot, — the same, in part, that is now in use.¹

Though still unfinished, the meeting-house was opened for use probably in 1774. The town meeting was first held there in March, 1775; on which occasion it was voted to raise £25 for repairing the meeting-house and to defray other town charges. In March, 1777, it was voted by the town that the vacant ground on the east side of the house be allowed to the use of the singers, and that the northeast corner be made into seats for the benefit of the town. The construction of pews in general seems to have been first left to private enterprise, — each man for himself, — and to have progressed but slowly; for in May, 1778, it was voted "that the town will take at an appraisal the pews now in the meeting-house, and build pews on the vacant ground, and will seat the meeting."

Five years later the house appears still unfinished. June 10, 1782, Edward Smith, Otis Freeman, and James Murch were appointed a committee by the town to finish the outside, lay the floors, and make seats in the galleries; and a tax of £20 was raised for that purpose. In April, 1792, a committee was appointed by the town "to seat the meeting-house,"² and four

the Committee in whose hand they are kept. The said town fulfilling agreeable to their vote in paying Tyxhall Cleaveland for the Timber got for s^d House.

"Voted, that those of us here present will pay the cost for the liquor drank at landlord House's, the [word illegible] Vendue, and that Lieut. David Woodward is hereby appointed to settle with s^d House, and to collect the equal proportion from each one of us.

"Voted to dissolve this meeting and community."

¹ Grafton County Land Records, book xi. p. 310; book xxxiv. p. 335.

² This means, no doubt, to assign the seats according to the rank and dignity of the members, agreeably to the custom early used in Connecticut. See vote of Lebanon, Conn., North Parish, 1733, 150th anniv. pamph., 1867.

"Quiresters" were chosen. The town also annually elected a "key-keeper." Lemuel Dowe was thus honored from 1776 to 1778, and then, for a series of years, Solomon Jacobs. Twelve shillings a year was voted to the latter in 1784 for sweeping the house.

This church, like that at the College, had at the beginning no relations with any other ecclesiastical body either in its formation or government. There is reason, however, to suppose that Dr. Wheelock when bringing Mr. Burroughs here, cherished a design to strengthen clerical influence in this region by the formation of an ecclesiastical body in which he himself would naturally be a controlling spirit. We accordingly find, almost immediately after the settlement of Mr. Burroughs, the "Grafton Presbytery" organized, with Mr. Burroughs as scribe and Dr. Wheelock as chairman. The official records of the Presbytery are not preserved; but the date of its formation is approximately indicated by a vote of Mr. Burroughs's church, March 4, 1773, "unanimously to adopt the word of God as the only perfect platform for the order of God's house, understanding it as explained in the Directory for Orders and Discipline by the Church of Scotland." Jonathan Curtiss and John Ordway were at this time elected deacons, and on April 8, Nathaniel Kendrick, John Wright, Isaac Bridgman, and David Woodward were chosen elders "for the order and discipline of this church according to the directions of the Presbyterian platform." On Dec. 27, 1775, five additional elders were chosen; namely, Edmund Freeman, Edward Smith, Nathaniel Wright, David Eaton, and Thomas Page, and June 20, 1782, Solomon Jacobs and Joseph Curtiss. For all that appears, matters went on smoothly for several years, until after Dr. Wheelock's death in 1779. We shall have occasion to speak further of the Presbytery when we come to treat of the College church.

In 1780 there appeared a remarkable religious interest among the people. It began early in the winter and continued with great power until spring. "It was attended with much animal excitement. There were great outcryings, and all mirth and recreation among the youth were struck as with palsy. The schools were deeply affected. The intermissions were changed to prayer-meetings. If two or more happened to be out together in school hours, they would engage in prayer." Many of the neigh-

boring ministers visited the town and aided the work. One of the most active of these was Rev. Jacob Wood, then recently graduated from Dartmouth College, and at that time preceptor of Moor's Charity School. He was a most terrific preacher. "He appeared as if fresh from Mount Sinai, laden with thunder and lightning with which to alarm his hearers. . . . Some thought he knew more about Sinai than Calvary."¹

A large number were admitted to the church. But within a year came a sad reaction; many of the younger converts returned to their sports and their dancing. Discipline was attempted, but the older members were divided in opinion. Similar troubles existed elsewhere. Church discipline was "generally very languid, and in some places almost extinct," and on the 2d of January, 1781, a general convention of churches met at the house of William Heaton, in Thetford, "to come to some measures for the revival of the true spirit of discipline in our churches."² A system of rules "for the discipline and order of God's house" was there framed, which, being presented to the Hanover church March 8, 1781, was approved, with the exception of the 8th article, involving the meaning of Matt. xviii. 15 *et seq.* Respecting this the church sought advice from the Windham County (Conn.) Association, and further explanation from the convention at an adjourned meeting in Orford, Sept. 4, 1781.

There is no official account of the beginning of the troubles. Mr. Kendrick tells us that there was a man of influence in the church who acted the part of an ecclesiastical attorney in behalf of the offenders, and encouraged appeals to the Presbytery. The causes of discipline, so far as we get a glimpse of them in the later proceedings, were certainly rather puerile, and the Presbytery found itself in several instances unable to countenance the severity of punishment. Mr. Burroughs and his party became greatly incensed against the Presbytery and against their adversaries in the church, and discipline assumed more and more a party aspect. The troubles culminated with the case of Rachel

¹ From "Sketches of the Life and Times of Elder Ariel Kendrick, written by himself, Ludlow, Vt., 1847." Mr. Kendrick was born in Coventry, Conn., in 1772, and brought to Hanover by his father, Ebenezer Kendrick, while still a child, and was nine years of age when this revival began. He soon after joined Mr. Burroughs's church, but later became a Baptist and a preacher, and was settled in that capacity many years at Cornish.

² See Mr. Ripley's account, N. H. Hist. Soc. Colls., ix. 115.

Murch against Samuel Hase, which arose upon a complaint made by Rachel, April 26, 1783, "for browbeating and insulting me when attempting to admonish him for forbidding his family to come to my house unless of an errand, and telling me I was doing all in my power to undo his family; that I was meddling most of the time with what I had no business with; . . . that I had almost broke up our school by my conduct," and other matters of like importance. On appeal, the sentence of the Presbytery, Nov. 6, 1783, was that they "heartily acquiesce with the sessions of the church with regard to the nature of such offences in general as they are stated in the complaint and proved; yet considering some disadvantages and impediments under which this man labors, we are not clear that they are censurable in the present case." Aside from the provocation, it appeared that the man was very deaf.

The liberal party, taking courage from the attitude of the Presbytery, soon after presented to Mr. Burroughs, to be laid before the church, a memorial signed by Deacon Ordway and thirty-three others.¹ What follows is mainly derived from a book of copies written out by Mr. Burroughs's own hand. The whole is characterized by endless prolixity. In this, declaring themselves "fully sensible of, and deeply affected with, the prevailing divisions and contentions in the church," they proceeded to state what appeared to them to be the cause of all the trouble:—

"That there are certain principles of discipline adopted and practised upon in the church that are contrary to the divine directory and sound judgment; as,—

1. That the grief of any one member with the conduct of his brother is a sufficient cause for bringing forward a prosecution against the supposed offender, whether the offence be a real breach of divine rule or not.

2. Although a complaint is brought ever so carelessly against any brother, the complainant ought not to be admonished therefor, but rather commended for his faithfulness.

¹ John Ordway, Stephen Benton, Joel Brown, Ezra Carpenter, David Chandler, Nathan Cobb, Bezaleel Davis, John Durkee, Abijah Durkee, Roswell Fenton, Russell Freeman, Asa Hill, Eleazer Hill, Samuel Hase, David Hase, Eleazer Hase, Nathaniel Heaton, Solomon Jacobs, Jr., Benjamin Plumley, Gideon Smith, John Smith, Lemuel Slade, John Tenney, Eldred Taylor, John Wright, John Williams, —twenty-six members in full communion, and the following eight baptized persons: namely, Eliada Brown, Nathaniel Lord, Asa Parker, Timothy Parker, Gideon Smith, Jr., Silas Tenney, David Tenney, Delano Wright.

3. That whenever a brother is brought to trial for an offence, he has no right to exculpate himself, or even extenuate his crime, though ever so justifiable, if in doing of which he thereby necessarily exposes the fault of any other person, and even if he be complained of for charging a brother of any crime, on tryal ought not to be allowed the privilege of defending himself by proving the allegation to be true.

4. That in dealing with offenders the previous steps as described in the 18th of Matthew are not necessary, except it be an offence against some particular person.

5. That whenever a brother is legally convicted of a crime by the testimony of witnesses, although he be ever so innocent in his own conscience, it is his indispensable duty to confess himself guilty."

From which it came about, they said, "that the weakest and most indifferent¹ members of the church became the chief persons in bringing forward prosecutions even to a degree vexatious; . . . that the main purpose of dealing with offenders seemed to be rather to make them do penance by way of public confession than to reclaim them from their errors, and that no proper difference was made in disciplining members for mere failings or errors of judgment and atrocious crimes." They proposed as a remedy: —

"1. That a judicious committee should be chosen by the church, so often as they shall think proper, to inspect into all matters of grievance and complaint, and by their assistance to endeavor a settlement between the parties, if may be, otherwise to prepare and conduct the matter so as to bring it to a fair and impartial trial.

2. That the ruling elders of the church be elected so often as the church shall judge it necessary and convenient.

3. That when any person shall be complained of for any crime, he shall have liberty to be tried by the church at large if he desires it."

This petition Mr. Burroughs wholly refused to lay before the church, but after some delay published to church and congregation, December 21st, in behalf of himself and the elders, a long reply, very bitter and arrogant in tone, wherein he avowed and defended, to their fullest extent, the principles of action complained of, and objected to the proposed reforms. He said that the appointment of such a committee —

"Would be substituting a rule of conduct in the matter of solemn duty in the room of the rule which Christ has given, and would be a sinful adding to his word;" that it "would empower a committee to make void the execution of the command of God. . . . That to set aside the elders now in

¹ This word was afterwards explained as a clerical error for "indiscreet."

office by choosing others in the manner proposed, or to indulge those who may choose it to be tried by the Church at large after the elders now in office have been solemnly ordained and set apart to their office, would be a solemn mockery and openly trifling with our most solemn covenant engagements.

"To call a meeting of the church to adopt the measures proposed, for the express purpose of remedying the evils which are said to have originated from the wicked conduct of the church, is not the way which Christ has instituted to recover the church by repentance from that wickedness which is said to be upon us; nor could it in any measure atone for our having gone contrary to the divine directory. Under such a view of the matter, we fully apprehend that to call a meeting of the church for the purpose as is requested, would amount to the same thing as to call them together to renounce their covenant, and that to adopt the articles proposed would constitute us an apostate church."

At the same time he called on the petitioners either to withdraw and disavow their petition, or to make "regular complaint to that board to whom we are subject."

To their credit, be it said, two of the elders, John Wright, Jun., and Solomon Jacobs, dissented from this reply, because — 1st, the matter was not brought by way of complaint, but petition; 2d, the petition accuses of no moral scandals; 3d, a committee such as proposed would not have such control as to be subversive of any gospel rule, "but rather a compliance with that of the wise man that in the multitude of counsel there is safety;" and 4th, as to the election of elders, "we do not conceive the charge can be perpetually binding on them, as no provision is made for the support of church officers of that character."

The petitioners thus challenged had no retreat from an appeal to the Presbytery, which they accordingly took, in a temperate and dignified manner, in a communication dated Jan. 30, 1784, and laid before the Presbytery (Rev. Samuel Todd, Moderator) at Orford, February 5th. Mr. Burroughs, evidently unwilling to meet fairly the issue which he had forced, took refuge in the transparent device of a counter-charge, dated Feb. 4, 1784, signed by himself, with Thomas Page and Joseph Curtiss as a committee of the sessions. This took the form of a violent attack upon the Presbytery itself for their action upon the former appeal, wherein they were charged with "an open violation of those bonds you are under to our common Lord." One of the grievances was that the Presbytery suffered Deacon Wright in his plea before them, in behalf of Mr. Hase, "to cast reflections

upon our brother Rudd by insinuating that he was overmuch righteous and over wise." It should be added that Mr. Burroughs himself was by when the remarks were made, and did not then object to their being heard, or call attention to their character. The Presbytery was also taken to task "that you should hear a plea from said Deacon Wright which we apprehend was an open and manifest wresting the scripture, and had an awful tendency to pervert the hearts of those that heard it; namely, that it is the duty of churches to hold their members in charity whilst they are guilty of no greater sins than were in the churches of Asia that were owned by Christ." It was further charged that the Presbytery in the previous June had declared by implication, without legal evidence, "that the sessions refused to suffer Mr. Slade to give his reasons before them;" and at the same time had ordered Mr. West to be publicly reprovved for certain evidence which he gave before them, unobjected to, "when he was sacredly bound by his oath to say whatever he judged related to the matter."

The Presbytery took an adjournment to the house of Jonathan Freeman in Hanover, March 2. On considering this document at that time, it made reply the same day through Rev. Peter Powers, clerk *pro tem.*, that "although sensible, they hope, of their weakness and great imperfection, yet they profess they have acted on those matters according to the best light they had, and see no reason to alter." The complaint was at first not inappropriately characterized as "grievous, hard, and unreasonable;" but that remark was the next day, in a cooler moment, disavowed and withdrawn; though we do not find anywhere a withdrawal by Mr. Burroughs of his harsh and injurious language toward the Presbytery. On the contrary, being informed that the Presbytery was ready to go upon the hearing of the matters for which it was called together by the petitioners, he gave in the following:—

TO THE REV. GRAFTON PRESBYTERY.

REV. & BELOVED,—As the sessions of this church have declared their apprehension that your result in relation to the appeal of Mr. Hase's case is an open violation of covenant bonds, unless such an apprehension is removed, we cannot make answer to any matters lying before you, consistent with a conscience void of offence towards God.

EDEN BURROUGHS.
THOMAS PAGE.
JOSEPH CURTISS.

HANOVER, March 3, 1784.

There followed, without any favorable result, a conference between the session and a committee of the Presbytery. On being twice again cited to appear and join issue with the petitioners, and to lay any matters before the Presbytery for which they were called together, Mr. Burroughs served them with a declaration, signed by himself and seven of his elders,¹ announcing that "under a full and painful apprehension that this Presbytery are not governed by a regard to the word of God as their ultimate rule in their proceedings, we are constrained, though with much grief and sorrow of heart, to declare that the reverence which we owe to the authority of God's word does sacredly bind us to come out from among them, and we accordingly declare that we are no more of them."

This declaration of independence was publicly read in the meeting-house the next Sabbath, and at a special meeting of the church, on March 8th, at Mr. Burroughs's house, received the written assent of fifty-six members of his church,² comprising, however, it was said, but a minority of the whole number. It would appear that they at the same time withdrew from further use of the meeting-house. This action was followed up with a vote, May 6th, declining for the future ("in view of the awful neglect of the discipline of God's house among churches in general") to receive any persons to membership upon letter from any other church without such examination as should satisfy the church that their uniting with them was "upon genuine Christian motives."

The Presbytery, on the other hand, proceeded, March 4, 1784, to hear the petitions *ex parte*, and resolved that Mr. Burroughs and those persons who had joined him under the style of the sessions of the church in Hanover could no longer be considered as being connected with the Presbytery, but that the church itself was not withdrawn. And they appointed a meeting of the church, to be held at the meeting-house, March 16th,

¹ Jonathan Curtiss, Ichabod Fowler, Jonathan Freeman, David Eaton, Nathaniel Wright, Thomas Page, Joseph Curtiss.

² Isaac Bridgman, John Bridgman, Isaac Babbitt, Ebenezer Crane, Jonathan Curtiss, Jr., Ebenezer Curtiss, Zenas Coleman, Benjamin Davis, Otis Freeman, James O. Freeman, Stephen Fuller, Asabel Fowler, Daniel Jacobs, Joseph Ketchum, Zophar Ketchum, Samuel Kendrick, Jonathan Kinne, Luther Lincoln, Barnabas Perkins, Eleazer Porter, Gideon Rudd, Daniel Reed, John Upham, Samuel Wright, Samuel Wright, Jr., Ebenezer Wright, Nathan West, Jun. (27), and 29 females.

“to chuse a moderator and to adopt such regulations in respect to judicial proceedings (consistent with the word of God and the rules of this Presbytery) as shall be agreeable to them; and particularly that they proceed (if they judge necessary) to the election of a proper number of elders; this Presbytery being convinced by the evidence laid before them that the term is expired for which the elders already elected were appointed.”¹ Elder [Prof.] Bezaleel Woodward was appointed to serve as temporary moderator of the church, and Rev. John Smith, pastor of the College Church, was requested to preach a sermon on that occasion and assist in conducting the meeting.

On the 8th of June the Presbytery met again at Orford.² Mr. Burroughs and his elders had been cited to appear, but again declined. The Presbytery, after reviewing the case, declared its opinion that Mr. Burroughs and his elders by their refusal to appear to the citation, and by their abandonment of the administration of the ordinances at the usual place of public worship, had been guilty of a breach of their covenant obligations; but as Mr. Burroughs had laid charges against the Presbytery, which there was no synod to try, and as the Presbytery admitted themselves to be “subject to that human frailty which is the common lot of mankind, and liable to err in judgment notwithstanding their utmost endeavors to conform to the line of truth and duty,” they proposed to join in calling a mutual council to determine the dispute. At the same time they ordered “an exhortation” to be sent to Mr. Burroughs, urging a reconciliation for the sake of the cause of religion. This was done in a kindly and affecting manner by Mr. Cleaveland, the moderator. But the overtures were promptly and summarily rejected by Mr.

¹ There were present, of the Presbytery, Rev. Messrs. John Richards, *Piermont*, MODERATOR; Aaron Hutchinson, *Pomfret*; Ebenezer Cleaveland, *Bath*; William Conant, *Lyme*; Lyman Potter, *Norwich*; John Smith, *Dartmouth College*; Asa Burton, *Thetford*, CLERK; and Silvanus Ripley, *Dartmouth College*; and the following delegates, John Richards 2d, Hon. Joseph Marsh, *Hartford*; Beza. Woodward, *Dartmouth College*; Mr. Walter Fairfield, *Lyme*; Dea. Abner Howard, Dea. John Burnap, Mr. Chapman, Dr. Taintor.

² Present, Rev. Messrs. Samuel Todd, *Orford*, MODERATOR 1st day; Aaron Hutchinson, *Pomfret*; Jonathan Searle, *Salisbury*; John Richards, *Piermont*; Ebenezer Cleaveland, *Bath*, MODERATOR 2d day; William Conant, *Lyme*; Lyman Potter, *Norwich*; and Elders Samuel Phelps, John Patterson, Esq., Dea. John Ordway, Dea. John Wright, Professor Woodward, and James Bailey. The copy of the record is signed by Asa Burton, *Presbytery Clerk*.

Burroughs, with the concurrence of his elders and people; and at the next meeting of the Presbytery in Hanover, September 21,¹ having been again cited to show cause why they should not be treated as covenant-breakers, Mr. Burroughs filed a communication of great length, dated September 12th, conceived in the same spirit as previous ones, but far more injurious and insulting.

The Presbytery at its June meeting had denounced upon Mr. Burroughs's church a suspension of association and of communion, and now in September declared that if they refused to listen to a further proposition for a council which Mr. Ripley was directed to make, the people of the town should be considered absolved from obligation to Mr. Burroughs as their pastor, and at liberty to select another. Professor Ripley discharged his duty in a long letter, dated Dresden, Oct. 11, 1784, drawn partly in a vein of sarcasm which, though perhaps deserved, was ill calculated to soften the animosities of the Burroughs faction. In the course of a long and earnest appeal to Mr. Burroughs to join in a council, he puts the matter in this way: —

“You charge the Presbytery with scandal, and withdraw communion from them and all their churches in the course of about eight and forty hours. . . . We wish you to consider that though you are so exceedingly positive and confident that you are right, yet it is possible that you are wrong; and if you are, is it not of great importance for you to know it? We would also ask whether truth is oftener the attendant of strong, positive, and vehement assertion than of cool, candid, and dispassionate reasoning and inquiry? Is not a godly heart a jealous heart and exceedingly afraid of error? Can a professing Christian with propriety make this inquiry, ‘Who can understand his errors?’ or with sincerity make this prayer, ‘Search me, O God, and know my heart, try me and know my thoughts, and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting,’ while he is suspected of being wrong, and rejects human means that may have a probable tendency to afford light and instruction, and asserts in the most peremptory manner that he knows he is right? Who were more certain and confident that they were right than Job’s friends; who so severely censured and condemned him, and set themselves up as very wise and holy; and who occasioned Job to adopt that ironical expression, ‘No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you’? How very positive were the scribes and Pharisees

¹ Present, Rev. Messrs. Aaron Hutchinson, *Moderator*; Sylvanus Ripley, *Clerk*; and Asa Burton; Delegates, Dea. Nathaniel Brown, John Richards, Gershom Hinckley, and Samuel Phelps.

that they were a very wise and holy people, confident that they were guides to the blind, a light to them that are in darkness, instructors of the foolish, etc.; yet in all their boasted knowledge they were never taught Christian humility and a godly jealousy over themselves.

"But we will suppose that *you* are led into the truth in these matters, and see them with so much clearness and evidence that you need not that any man teach you your duty: have you no compassion for the Presbytery? Is not a spirit of truth a spirit of benevolence? If we understand the meaning of your piece, you view the Presbytery in a most shocking state, a very unclean body, holding principles as plainly contrary to Scripture as if they should set up a gold image like Nebuchadnezzar, and that, like the man of sin, they have attempted to exalt themselves above all that is called God or worshipped. Is it of no importance to them, to their churches, and to the interests of religion to have them recovered out of this awful state? Has not Mr. Burroughs published to the world how the great law of love will operate toward an individual brother to recover him when he is gone astray? And won't it operate with equal force and energy toward an ecclesiastical judicature whose error must be of such pernicious and extensive consequences, whom you apprehend to be going to swift destruction, and carrying the churches with them? Was it not the great law of love and a sense of covenant obligation that induced you to exhibit the charge? Would not the same great law have induced you to carry it to a synod, had one then been actually formed, that you might have left no means untried for their recovery?"

"We now propose a council to act in the room of a synod. We profess to be open to conviction; and though we are not sensible that we have been guilty of that open violation of covenant bonds that you have charged us with, yet we are sensible of great infirmity, and don't think by any means that the results of the Presbytery are free from error."

This appeal proving, as might, perhaps, have been expected, ineffectual, the Presbytery at an adjourned meeting, Nov. 24, 1784, confirmed its former decision, and declared the pastoral relations of Mr. Burroughs dissolved. The town in its corporate capacity adhered to the Presbytery, and, Dec. 30, 1784, appointed Dea. John Ordway, Dea. John Wright, and Solomon Jacobs a committee to supply the pulpit.

The plan of supporting a religious establishment by taxation as a part of the corporate machinery of the town had, apart from this controversy, come to be odious to many. The injustice of taxing for this object the people of the College district, who maintained separate religious ordinances at their own expense, was so obvious that they were expressly exempted from the levy as early at least as 1777, and probably earlier. Heretofore the members of Mr. Burroughs's church had had no occasion

to quarrel with the tax. But the vote of December, 1784, recognizing another body as the official church, developed scruples which found expression in a written protest, filed in open town meeting. These were reiterated upon similar votes in April, 1785, and March, 1786. The first, signed by thirty-seven persons, is not preserved. The second and third were as follows: —

HANOVER, April 26, 1785.

The subscribers hereto hereby openly enter our protest against the vote of the town passed that day, for the purpose of raising money for the support of preaching in the town, as also against a vote of the town passed in December last, appointing a committee to supply the pulpit, and for the same reasons which were given in by way of a protest entered by a number against the last-mentioned vote.

OTIS FREEMAN.

EBER KENDRICK.

HANOVER, March 20, 1786.

The subscribers, being conscious to themselves that the manner of maintaining and supporting the gospel and ministry by established incomes and taxation is not warrantable in religion or reason, where the measure is contrary to the free act of any individual upon whom such tax is levied, we therefore advertise all civil officers, and others whom it may concern, that our religious persuasions differ from the aforesaid common received method of raising money by taxation, in particular for those who are of the general establishment, as differing from us in point of sentiment. Therefore we avail ourselves of the benefit of the Constitution of the State, and that all may have due notice, we leave this in the office of the town clerk.¹

For several years after the secession of Mr. Burroughs the pulpit of the town church was filled by occasional preachers from the College and elsewhere. Professor Ripley, though still nominally one of the pastors of the College church, supplied it for a considerable period, terminating with his death, Feb. 5, 1787. Matters seem to have rested about two years in comparative quiet. The desire of the new church to settle a pastor was the signal for a fresh outbreak. On Dec. 5, 1786, the Presbytery being once more in session at Hanover, at the house of Captain Slade,² a petition was filed by John Wright and Russell Freeman

¹ The signers were John Bridgman, Jonathan Bearce, Joseph Curtiss, Ezra Carpenter, Israel Camp, Joshua Cushman, Jeremiah Gillett, Asher H. Hurlbutt, Nathaniel Hurlbutt, Jr., Eljah Hurlbutt, Dier Hastings, Samuel Karr, Samuel Kendrick, Luther Lincoln, James Murch, Solomon Trescott, Jeremiah Trescott, Gideon Tiffany, Benjamin Tiffany, Silvester Tiffany (20).

² Present, Rev. Messrs. John Richards, *Moderator*, Sylvanus Ripley, and Lyman Potter, *Clerk*; and delegates, Thomas Russell, Esq., Nathaniel Brown, Esq., Dea. John Ordway, Major Thomas Slade, with Dea. John Richards and Capt. William Heaton, casually present as counsellors.

in behalf of the new official church, setting forth that "whereas the Presbytery did on the 24th of November, 1784, declare the relations between Mr. Burroughs and that church to be dissolved, and that the church and people in town were under no further obligation to him as their pastor, and the situation of the church and people being such in consequence of Mr. Burroughs leaving the people in the manner he did, as he continued to hold the settlement which was given him, leaves us under difficult circumstances in regard to settling another candidate." Taking this into consideration, under a review of all the circumstances, Mr. Burroughs being again cited in vain to appear and defend, the Presbytery conceived it "to be indispensable in us to publish to the Christian church and to the world that in our view Mr. Eden Burroughs has forfeited his title to our fellowship and communion as a minister and as a Christian; that those whose names are above mentioned, and all who have covenanted with them, have also, we apprehend, forfeited their right to our Christian communion." This result, accompanied by a statement of the facts in order of occurrence, was communicated to Mr. Burroughs and to the churches in this vicinity, and to the Trustees of Dartmouth College. The next day a warning was posted for a town meeting to call Mr. Ripley to the vacant pastorate, and the town on December 20 voted it. This action was made the occasion of still another protest, filed in open meeting, as follows: —

HANOVER, December the 20, 1786.

TO THE TOWN MEETING ASSEMBLED:

Whereas, in consequence of a warning for a legal town meeting of all the legal voters of said Hanover, as by said warning may appear, to see if the town will raise money for a yearly salary for Mr. Ripley to settle as their minister; and as you the said inhabitants of said town have voted to raise a certain sum for the support of the said Ripley, and other votes relative to the said Mr. Ripley and his support, — these are therefore to declare before this meeting that I believe this way of supporting ministers is not agreeable to the gospel of Christ, but that it is a mark of the beast, and that I cannot in conscience assist in supporting any man in this way; and I must tell you that I shall have recourse to the Constitution in a way of law if you take any estate from me to support your worship. This I give in to this meeting as my protest against the vote that have been passed this day.

JAMES MURCH.

Professor Ripley did not immediately come to a decision, but finally named Sunday, Feb. 5, 1787, to announce it from the pulpit.

At the close of the services he said to the people that as it was extremely cold, and the congregation suffering, he thought best to defer it. He set out upon his return to his home at the College in a sleigh with three other persons. There was a very high wind and a blinding snowstorm. The sleigh had two seats, and Mr. Ripley, being in delicate health, seated himself on the forward seat facing the rear, to get shelter from the storm. When passing through the Mill village, down the little pitch, north-eastward from the present town hall, by what was then, as now, a saw-mill yard, the sleigh, driven rapidly, struck a log that projected into the road, and the heavy jolt threw Mr. Ripley backwards to the ground, breaking his neck. The weather was so thick that his absence was not perceived until the sleigh had passed on quite a distance. Returning, his companions took him up and carried him into the house opposite the mill, where he died.

At a special meeting in July the town appointed a new committee to supply the pulpit. They had voted, June 19, 1787, that those in covenant with Mr. Burroughs should be left out of the tax bills made for preaching, if they would furnish a certified list of their names, and agree on their part to desist in future from voting in the raising of money for that purpose. The next year it was voted explicitly to leave out Mr. Burroughs's church and the College district.

In July, 1788, Rev. Samuel Collins, formerly of Sandown, N. H., began preaching here at a compensation of twenty shillings for each Sabbath. A call was extended to him by vote of the town Sept. 22, 1788, and accepted Nov. 17, 1788, and he was installed as settled pastor on November 25 by a council that met at the house of John Tenney. His salary was to be £60 the first year, and was to rise in proportion with the list until it should reach £80, to be paid in wheat at five shillings per bushel. He was also to have, by way of settlement, £100 in grain or neat cattle. Owing to the division of the church and the reluctance to pay taxes for this purpose, the salary was always in arrear, and Mr. Collins suffered much from poverty. In 1790 the town voted to pass by the article relating to his salary, but in 1791 voted the necessary tax, excusing those from levy who had joined Mr. Burroughs, and the people of the College district, and all persons who "make it known that they are

conscientiously scrupulous of supporting the preaching of the gospel by a tax." In March, 1792, the salary and allowance for settlement were still unpaid in part, and the question of dissolving the pastoral relation was agitated on both sides. It was not done at that time, and the salary was voted; but in January, 1793, having received but £120 all told since coming to the place, Mr. Collins was under the necessity of suing the town for what was due him, amounting to £265. A special meeting was warned for May 17, 1793, to take measures toward a final settlement and his dismissal. A committee was appointed and an agreement in writing made for a dissolution of the "civil contract and pastoral union," subject to the approval of the Presbytery. But Mr. Collins nevertheless continued pastor of the church for several years, under temporary employment. There was a meeting March 4, 1795, to hire him, and Feb. 22, 1796, the town voted "to have Mr. Collins continue in service with us." He was finally dismissed June 3, 1796, and bade the people farewell on the 3d of July.¹ After this the church was for eighteen years without a settled pastor. Mr. Burroughs and his people after quitting the old meeting-house in March, 1784, held their services for a while in barns and at private houses. Prior to 1791 they built a new and larger meeting-house on the westerly side of the road, a little north of the parade, on land devoted to that purpose by Jonathan Freeman. It was known as the North Meeting-house, and the old one as the South Meeting-house. Town meetings were held usually in the latter, but in 1791, and occasionally thereafter, in the Burroughs house. It must have been at that date very incomplete, for the church in 1794 made provision, at a cost of \$400, "to finish the outside,

¹ Rev. Samuel Collins was born at Lebanon, Conn., 1747. He worked at a trade until he had passed his majority. He was admitted to Wheelock's school as a charity scholar preparing for a mission, March 26, 1770, and accompanied Wheelock in his removal to Hanover the ensuing autumn. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1775. He was ordained, Dec. 27 1780, and installed over the church at Sandown, N. H., from which he was dismissed April 30, 1788. On leaving Hanover he was exceedingly poor, "apparently forsaken by God and man." He removed hence to Craftsbury, Vt., and remained there till his death, under the generous patronage of General Crafts, who having been a parishioner of Mr. Collins at Sandown, and hearing of his destitute condition at Hanover, invited him to come and labor with him. From 1797 to June, 1804, he was pastor of the Congregational church in Craftsbury. He died there Jan. 7, 1807, at the age of 59. He married, in 1779, Betsy Hackett, of Salisbury, Mass.

build a pulpit, plaster the inside walls overhead, make pews on the lower floor, and lay the gallery floors." It had no steeple. On the 2d of July, 1797, it was struck by lightning and suffered considerable damage.

The Collins church continued to occupy the old South Meeting-house until the fall of 1796. With the departure of Mr. Collins in July, 1796, the last relic of town supervision of religious matters disappeared. The old house, owned, in part at least, by the town, having in the distracted condition of affairs been suffered to fall into ruin, and being no longer fit for use, a new one, larger in turn than that of Mr. Burroughs, was built by private subscription on the westerly side of the parade, a few rods north of the graveyard. The Universalists, who had at this time, by reason of the dissensions, obtained a foothold in the town, joined in this enterprise, and enjoyed in return the right to use the house every fourth Sunday. It is believed also that the Baptists had privileges there. The old house thus abandoned was, to the great relief of the people, set on fire by an incendiary on a night in February, 1797, and burned. The town in the following June voted to dispose of whatever interest it had in it, and to lay out the avails in fencing the burying yard.

This new "South Meeting-house," distinguished as the "large" one, was completed in 1797, according to the inscription upon a tablet which adorned its interior wall near the pulpit. It had a steeple a hundred feet high, with a most graceful spire, surmounted by a cock, which was popularly supposed to crow defiance on proper occasions. The house was raised June 10, 1796, and the steeple October 28. The peculiarities of ownership in this edifice gave rise to considerable difficulty, but it continued in use between thirty and forty years.

Notwithstanding all, Mr. Burroughs still claimed to be the legal incumbent of the town pulpit and entitled to the salary; while the town on its part laid claims against him for damages for abandoning his charge.¹ After several ineffectual attempts toward an adjustment, cross-actions were instituted, that resulted in a judgment for Mr. Burroughs, in 1801 (confirmed on review

¹ In April, 1785, the town appointed a committee "to endeavor a settlement with Mr. Burroughs for the damages he may be holden to pay the town in consequence of his leaving the pulpit in the manner he did," and in case of failure to sue him.

in 1802), for \$597.47, which was paid by the town, besides costs of \$40 upon the review.

It is necessary now to turn back a little and follow Mr Burroughs's struggles with the Presbytery. Upon the definite and final action of the Presbytery and the town in December, 1786, Mr. Burroughs began to look about him for outside support, and with that view applied to be received into fellowship with the "Windsor Association" of Congregational churches. In response to this, the Association, Oct. 4, 1787, invited Mr. Burroughs, with a member of his church, to attend its next meeting, the first Tuesday of February, 1788, in Cornish. This he did, and laid his case before them. In this connection the church at Newport, under the pastoral care of Rev. John Remmele, Feb. 4, 1788, directed the Association to take notice of Mr. Burroughs's affairs and to cite the "Grafton Presbytery to show reason why Mr. Burroughs and his church should not be accepted as a regular minister and church."

The Association took the matter up again at a meeting in Cornish, March 19th, 1788, and directed Mr. Remmele, as the scribe, to inform the Presbytery that the Association, if agreeable to all parties, would "attend their next meeting at Hanover to confer on the matters depending between the Presbytery and the Rev. Mr. Burroughs." To this Rev. Lyman Potter, of Norwich, in behalf of the Presbytery, replied, May 29: —

"That it does not appear for what purpose they desire the conference. The Presbytery cannot conceive you have it in view to take up the matter as a judicature to form a result on the subject, as there is no suggestion of your being called to council for that purpose. If the object of the conference is to obtain information of the grounds and line of procedure of the Presbytery, . . . it has been open to public view, and the various resolutions specify the reason of steps taken. A summary statement of the whole matter is as follows: Mr. Burroughs was a member of this Presbytery from its first formation till March, 1784, at which time he was desired by his church to attend to some matters before the Presbytery, which then labored among them, with respect to government, which he declined, which made it necessary for the Presbytery to send a citation to him, which was not complied with; and after sending a second time, Mr. Burroughs, with a minority of his church, laid in a paper purporting their withdrawal from and renunciation of communion with the Presbytery, and refused to appear respecting matters of difficulty in the church, on account of which Presbytery were convened at that time. At the next meeting Mr. Burroughs was cited to appear and answer for his withdrawal, but refused; whereupon the Presby-

tery proposed that the whole matter should be laid before a council mutually chosen for a decision, and appointed a committee to agree with Mr. Burroughs on a council for that purpose, which proposal has been repeatedly made, and is now open to him, and he has as often refused. Should you wish for more particular information on the subject, the journals and records of Presbytery are open for the information of every inquisitive mind.

"I would remind you that Mr. Treadway came to Presbytery with sore complaints of your unchristian treatment in laying him under censure, and asked for our aid, whom we directed to restore himself to your charity by manifest repentance, or ask for council, that the matter might be judged in a regular way. Perhaps you think Mr. Burroughs's cause is so just there needs no council. I have only this to say, that I suppose Presbytery have full and sufficient grounds to justify their proceedings, and that they are ready to do at any time before a board properly called for that purpose."

The Windsor Association met, nevertheless, in Hanover, June 2, 1788, and "judging that the principal part of the tedious dispute had been managed in writing," after hearing the papers on both sides read, *ex parte*, declared their conviction that Mr. Burroughs had been injured; that he deserved to be treated as a Christian and a minister, and his church as a gospel church, and to be commended for their faithfulness; and "that whatever they may suffer in this world the rewards of the faithful will be their reward."

Mr. Remmele, in communicating the result to the Presbytery, took occasion to reply to Mr. Potter's letter that the object of the Association was to obtain satisfaction respecting the real state of Mr. Burroughs and his church; that having received from Mr. Burroughs and read a transcript of all the proceedings, they had no doubt he had been grievously injured; and that they did not enter into the affair as a judicature, "but as advocates for the injured. . . . Why I am reminded of Mr. Treadway [he observed] I cannot conjecture, unless it be to urge the conduct of the Presbytery as a rule for Association. If it be right to have such a maxim generally established, for aught that appears, the injured must be in this world forever friendless."

Mr. Burroughs and his church would appear to have continued in relations with that Association for a number of years; but no further steps were taken in regard to these matters until, in May, 1793, after passion had had time to subside, the Grafton Presbytery itself set on foot efforts for a reconciliation. Its membership had in the mean time, by death and otherwise,

materially changed. It met at the old meeting-house in Hanover, May 28th,¹ for a conference with Mr. Burroughs and his church. Satisfactory records of proceedings in 1784-86 were found to be wanting, and the clerk was directed to procure authentic copies. Certain votes of a conciliatory nature were passed, and the offensive petition of 1784 was withdrawn. Mr. Burroughs and sixteen of his church then present thereupon declared that "if the declaration now made by the Presbytery had been made previous to their withdrawal, it had not taken place at that time." This was accepted by the Presbytery as tantamount to a revocation of the withdrawal, and the decree of excommunication was "disannulled." Committees² were appointed from all sides to prepare, in the course of the summer, a basis for a full reconciliation.

The committees met at the house of President Wheelock, Oct. 17, 1793. Each side presented its grievances in the form of questions. Those exhibited by Mr. Burroughs were six in number, demanded a categorical condemnation of the former action of the Presbytery in as many specific points, and wound up with an objection to being restored to communion unless upon open repentance by themselves (which they did not offer), or open acknowledgment of error by the Presbytery.

The committee made a report to the Presbytery, at the session in Hanover on the following Tuesday, October 23, signed by all except Mr. Burroughs and his friends. This report, while entering into some explanations and admitting some errors of detail in the management of the affair on the part of the Presbytery, and also acknowledging a "reason to fear there has not been at all times on its part that meekness, moderation, Christian humility and love, as the gospel requires, as we are all liable to err in this imperfect state," yet main-

¹ We have no record of the members present. The clerk was Elijah Brainerd, of Randolph, Vt. At a meeting of the Grafton Presbytery at Woodstock, 1789, the following were present: Rev. Messrs. Aaron Hutchinson, Pomfret; Joseph Bowman, Barnard; Lyman Potter, Norwich; Samuel Collins, Hanover; Elijah Brainerd, Randolph, scribe; and Nahum Sargent (Hist. Woodstock, p. 431).

² On the part of the Presbytery, Rev. John Smith, pastor of the College Church, Rev. Lyman Potter, Norwich, President Wheelock, Professor Woodward, and Deacon Smalley; on the part of Mr. Collins's church, Russell Freeman and Captain Slade; and on the part of Mr. Burroughs's church, the pastor, Deacons Freeman, Wright, and Curtis, Colonel Freeman, Major Kendrick, Mr. Potter, and Rev. Thomas Page.

tained in full the substantial rectitude of the position of that body. This report having been "repeatedly read and considered," the Presbytery were *unanimously* of the opinion that the action taken in May covered the case "so amply that we do not know of anything further as duty on our part relative thereto." The Burroughs committee, while satisfied on some points, persisted in arguing over again questions long since dead. Although the petition of disaffected members filed in January, 1784, had been withdrawn, Mr. Burroughs and his party still insisted on a distinct condemnation of the principles therein propounded, and refused to accept the removal of the ban of excommunication unless they should be permitted to show that it was originally wrongful. The case was therefore at their request adjourned one year, until the next annual meeting of the Presbytery.

This was held at Rev. Mr. Potter's, in Norwich, Oct. 7, 1794.¹ After hearing at that time Mr. Burroughs and his supporters at great length, the Presbytery, still unconvinced of error beyond what had been already acknowledged, proposed once more, in behalf of itself and the Collins Church, a mutual council. This was ostensibly agreed to by Mr. Burroughs; but when it came to the selection of delegates, it was found impossible to agree, since Mr. Burroughs insisted upon having all the members on both sides selected from the Congregational order, and would accept but *one* of the clergymen named by the Presbytery and by Mr. Collins's church. Whereupon the Presbytery voted "that they most sincerely lament that the various measures they have taken toward a reconciliation had proved ineffectual; that there is no prospect remaining of benefit to the cause of religion by further deliberation at present on the subject; and therefore that we are under the disagreeable necessity to dismiss it until it return with more favorable prospects; . . . but that this Presbytery are ever ready to join in

¹ Present in behalf of their respective churches, Rev. Joseph Bowman, Barnard; Rev. Lyman Potter, Lieutenant-Governor Olcott, and Major Thomas Murdoch, Norwich; Rev. John Smith, Bezaleel Woodward, and Dea. Benoni Dewey, Dartmouth College; Mr. Hezekiah Hutchinson, Tunbridge. Also committees as follows: from "the church at Hanover under the pastoral care of Rev. Mr. Collins," Russell Freeman, Capt. Samuel Slade, Nathaniel West, Dr. Joel Brown; from Mr. Burroughs's church, Mr. Burroughs and Deacons Curtis and Page, and Major Kendrick. Professor Woodward was clerk *pro tem*.

mutual council relating to those difficulties when they can do it on equal ground." This was the end of the matter in the Presbytery.

The Presbytery itself became extinct about 1800, giving place to the Orange Association. In November, 1805, in the midst of the storm which attended the birth of the Congregational Church in the College district, the so-called Presbyterian "Church at Dartmouth College," under the direction of President Wheelock and Rev. Professor Smith, undertook to review Mr. Burroughs's case and censure the Presbytery. But as they seemed likely to have been acting for a purpose (that will hereafter appear), and assumed to pass judgment *ex parte* on men, some of whom at least bore a high character for candor and moderation, after the lapse of so many years during which many of the persons familiar with the circumstances had passed away, — particularly Professors Ripley and Woodward, both prominent actors in it, — the Presbytery being extinct and the records lost, the vindication carries little weight; still less when we remember that Messrs. Wheelock and Smith at certain important crises were themselves actively assenting to and conducting the action of the Presbytery which they now condemned.

After the departure of Mr. Collins in 1796 the idea of reuniting the parties began to be discussed. In 1798 committees were appointed by both religious bodies with a view to a qualified union, and held a joint meeting at the new South Meeting-house, June 20th, at which it was "mutually agreed that no objection remained upon the mind of any one against both societies meeting together in one place for public worship." Mr. Burroughs's church, however, declined to accede except upon condition that Mr. Burroughs should be retained as their pastor; that they should be at no expense on account of the new church; that they should retain separate church privileges and independent powers of discipline, and contribute in their own way to the support of the ministry and ordinances; "that in future no one should be settled in the work of the ministry without the mutual consent and concurrence of said church on the one hand, and said society on the other;" and that they should be at liberty to discontinue the arrangement whenever any of these privileges should be infringed. Mr.

Burroughs's people coming in this spirit, it is not surprising that the arrangement was not consummated. It is noticeable that Mr. Burroughs and his people throughout this negotiation styled themselves "the Church of Christ under the pastoral care of Mr. Burroughs," and the other party "the *society* assembling at the new meeting-house." The explanation may be that the latter represented, not the old Collins church alone, but the parties controlling the new meeting-house.

It would appear from the following paper that a few months later another, though still unsuccessful, effort was made for a final union of the two churches.

At a meeting of the church in Hanover under the pastoral care of Mr. Burroughs, March 28th, 1799, warned for the purpose of taking into consideration the report of their committee in relation to measures for a union between the churches in said town, said report bearing date on the 5th of March instant: In relation to the council nominated and recommended for the choice of the church for the purpose in view, the church manifested their non-concurrence for the following reasons. *First*, because the persons nominated as members of the proposed council have heretofore took an active part in the matters to come under consideration. *Second*, because the way is not open for matters of this nature to come before any council chosen in the manner as proposed in the report of said committee, on account that the church belonging to the South Meeting-house remains under the control of the Presbytery; and of course the Presbytery have it in their power to disannul the doings of a council in relation to such matters as we should lay before them.

EDEN BURROUGHS, *Pastor*.

MEMORANDUM. — The above is a duplicate copy, taken this 8th day of June, 1802, lest the first copy might be lost or misplaced in some future time. — *Pr.* EDEN BURROUGHS, *Pastor*.

In November, 1803, a quarrel arose between Mr. Burroughs's church and some of its members, growing out of a dispute with Mr. Lemuel Dowe as to his employment as singing-master, which continued a number of years, and resulted in several ecclesiastical councils. The first of which we have a record, held at Hanover Feb. 25, 1806,¹ after a two days' session found that though Mr. Dowe had some reason to expect that he should be employed, no encouragement had been given by the

¹ Present Rev. Asa Burton and Dea. Gershom Hinckley, *Thetford*; Rev. Thomas Page, *Hebron*; Rev. Thomas Worcester and Brother Jeremy Webster, *Salisbury*; Rev. David Dickinson and Brother Daniel Kimball, *Meriden*; together with Rev. Noah Worcester and Rev. Roswell Shurtleff. Mr. Burton was moderator, and Thomas Worcester scribe.

church that would amount to a moral obligation; that both sides had been in fault in the subsequent proceedings; and that they saw no reason why "all difficulties might not now subside and peace be restored." But that result was not attained.

Another council, held Sept. 8, 1806, advised a reunion of the two churches, and an attempt was made in November to accomplish it; but the existing turmoil in the church of Mr. Burroughs prevented. The quarrel being at last laid before the "Union Consociation," at a meeting held at Hanover, Oct. 13, 1807, the position of Mr. Burroughs was sustained, and in July, 1808, five of the disaffected members were cut off from the church. These were Lemuel, Rebecca, and Tryphena Dowe, and Nathan West, with Anna his wife.¹

In May, 1809, the subject of reunion between "the two branches of the church" was again revived, and received the assent of the Burroughs church. The other at first declined it, but after some hesitation indicated, on September 30th, their compliance with the advice of the council "so far as respects a union of this church with yours; but it appears to us that it would not be for the interest of Zion, under existing circumstances, to receive Dr. Burroughs as our administrator, there being a large number of our church who think they could not feel privileged under his administration." About this time Mr. Burroughs, through the influence of President Wheelock, was invited to take charge of the so-called "church of Dartmouth College" in its Dothan branch, in Hartford, Vt. A council² was called, which after submitting the matter to the "Union Consociation,"³ advised his dismissal, Nov. 15, 1809; and the union of the two Hanover churches was consummated on a Congregational establishment with sixty-nine members, by a council convened May 16, 1810, at the house of Otis

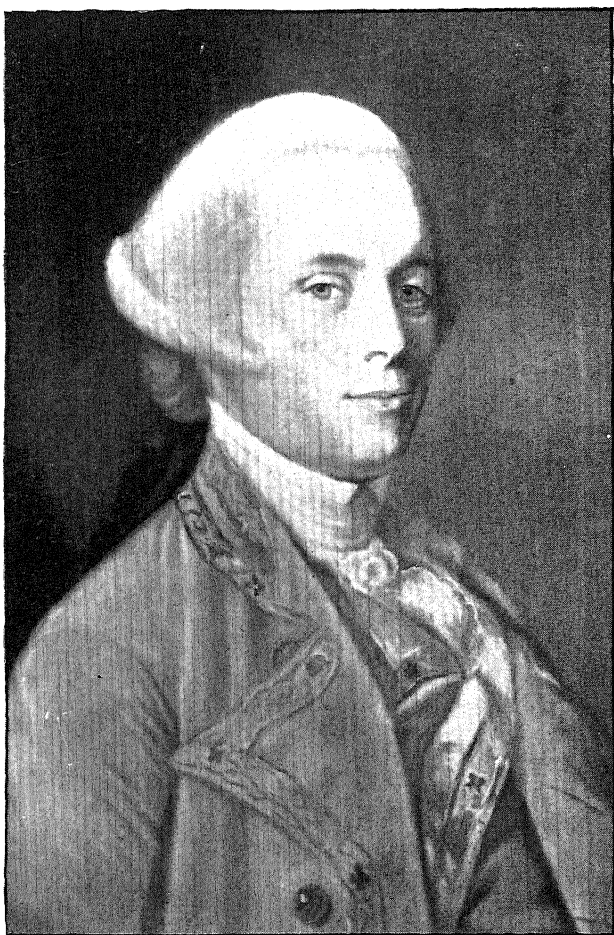
¹ It is told as an incident of the closing scenes of this quarrel that under the influence of the revival of church music (led largely by the Handel Society of the College) a new choir was formed by young people, members of the singing-school taught at the Centre by Mr. Gould. The next Sunday the new choir repaired to the meeting-house to find the old choir, with Captain Dowe at their head, holding the seats. They took seats in the side gallery, and when the hymn was given out, both choirs sang it, — the old one to a fugue, and the new one to choral music.

² The churches present by pastor and delegate were of Royalton, Bath, and Windsor.

³ The council adjourned two weeks to take this advice, and "then to act on it."

Freeman. From this point the existing church at the centre village dates its origin, and has preserved complete records. The official records of neither of its predecessors can now be found.¹

¹ Mr. Burroughs died in service at Dothan, May 22, 1813, æt. seventy-five, and was buried under a tablet in the graveyard on "Christian Street" in Hartford. His wife, Abigail, died four days before him. Of five children, three lived to adult years. Two were daughters, who were born and spent their lives in Hanover. Nabby, born May 23, 1780, married Richard Foster, and Irene, born Oct. 5, 1786, married, 1st, Stephen Kimball, and 2d, John Wright, an eccentric man popularly known as "Elder Wright," from his having posed in that character in some of his travels. Mr. Burroughs's eldest child, born in Connecticut, was the notorious Stephen Burroughs, whose great but misdirected talents were wasted in a distinguished career of infamy, as shown in his "Life," written and published by himself at Hanover, in 1798. Dr. Burroughs himself, with many eccentricities, possessed a strong mind, unusual power of extemporaneous preaching, and those qualities which make firm friends and bitter enemies. Apparently he loved controversy, and was rarely without it (Sprague's *Annals of the Am. Pulpit*).



JOHN WENTWORTH.

CHAPTER V.

THE COLLEGE UNDER GOVERNOR WENTWORTH.

1770-1775.

AS soon as the location of the College was fixed, it became for many reasons desirable that preparations for its removal should be made without delay. Within a month after his return from Portsmouth, Wheelock set out again, accompanied by young Ripley and Dr. Crane, with laborers and teams. They reached Hanover early in August. The students followed in detachments in the course of the next month.¹ Arrangements had been made with neighbors in June to open a clearing and put up temporary buildings, but the work was scarcely begun. The nearest house on the New Hampshire side was distant two miles to the northward from the place of the new settlement, "through one continued and dreary wood."² Easterly lay a tract of rugged hill and unbroken forest several thousand acres in extent, through which ran the only highway yet opened in this quarter, — the so-called "half-mile road," skirting the western slope of the hill parallel to the river, and nearly a mile away.

The chosen tract, comprising, with the Governor's lot and contiguous lands, a thousand acres or more controlled by Wheelock, was heavily wooded with white pines of extraordinary size. The central portion was an elevated plain, and the

¹ Dean, Grover, Gurley, Frisbie, and Huntington came in September. Kendall went by way of Boston to bring young Thomas Walcott, and arrived about October 1, — nearly at the same time as McClure, Hebbard, and others, and as Wheelock's family.

² *Memoirs of Wheelock*, by David McClure and Elijah Parish, 1811, p. 54. To avoid repetition, it is proper to note that we are indebted to this book for many interesting facts of this period, the authenticity of which, considering that McClure was an eye-witness and participant, is beyond question. Much is drawn also from Wheelock's own printed narratives and correspondence.

rest of it much broken. The rocky knob that lifts itself in the midst of the plain, on which the Observatory now stands, was also densely covered, though mostly with hard wood, to such a degree that the ground was entirely hidden under a deep growth of moss, saturated with water at all seasons. The southeastern portion of the plain was a hemlock swamp, across which, at a later time, a corduroy road was made to the mill neighborhood. This swamp supplied two or three small but unfailing streams. Of these the largest,¹ called from a very early time "Girl Island Brook," and more recently "Girl Brook," rising in the valley at the foot of the high, wooded hill which we call "Pine Hill," a half mile east of the College, passed to the north and reached the river through the "Vale of Tempe" over against "Girl Island." Another smaller stream drained the southeastern portion of the plain to Mink Brook through what is now "Dry Hollow." The third, taking its rise in the immediate neighborhood of the College, at the foot of Wheelock's garden, where the gas-works now are, reached Mink Brook by the same winding valley through which the "Path from Lebanon" climbed to the plain. This last, though smaller than "Girl Brook," gave a steady supply of water for the village potash works, brick-yard, and laundry. The soil about the base of the Observatory hill is of gravelly loam, but the rest of the plain has a rich, dark mould over a subsoil of heavy clay, excepting the western side, which is sandy.

A spot was selected on the drier and more level part of the plain, about sixty rods from the river, close to the northerly line of the College land. It proved, indeed, to be outside of the College limits, on land belonging to Wheelock himself. A hut of logs was built for Wheelock's use, about eighteen feet square, without stone, brick, glass, or nails. With a force of laborers, varying from thirty to fifty in number, many of them volunteers from this and the neighboring towns, Wheelock "betook himself to a campaign."

"I set some," he says, "to digging a well, and others to build a house [of timber and boards] for myself and family, of 40 by 32 feet and one

¹ These and many other curious particulars and facts are drawn from memoranda left by Mr. William W. Dewey, who at the age of two years was brought to this village, in 1779, by his father, Dea. Benoni Dewey. He had a great fondness for local antiquities.

story high; and others to build a house for my servants of 80 feet by 32, and two stories high. They had so near finished my house that by advice of principal workmen I sent for my family and students [August 27]; but when they had dug one well of 63 feet and another of 40, and found no prospect of water, and I had found it therefore necessary to remove the buildings, I sent to stop my family, and tried for water in six several places, between 40 and 70 rods [away], and found supply for both buildings. I took my house down and removed it about seventy rods. The message I sent to my family proved not seasonable to prevent their setting out, and they arrived with near thirty students. I housed my stuff, with my wife and the females of my family, in my hut. My sons and students made booths and beds of hemlock-boughs; and in this situation we continued about a month, till the 29th day of October, when I removed with my family into my house. And though the season had been cold, with storms of rain and snow, two saw-mills failed on which I had chief dependence for boards, etc., and by a series of other trying disappointments, yet by the pure mercy of God the scene changed for the better in every respect, — the weather continued favorable, new resources for the supply of boards, etc., till my house was made warm and comfortable, a school-house built, and so many rooms in the College made quite comfortable as were sufficient for the students which were with me, in which they find the pleasure and profit of such a solitude. And since the settlement of the affair, all without exception are sufficiently engaged in their studies.”¹

The following letter was written before the change of plan:

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, Sept. 10, 1770.

MY DEAR WIFE, — By the last of this month I expect by divine Favor to have the satisfaction of seeing you, our children, & Family here in these woods. I would have you let me know your motions, & what I may expect, as soon & as often as you can.

I think I have found a good steward, and have a prospect of a good supply of Provisions. I hope the wildness will be agreeable to you; the most I regret is, that it will not be long, nor much, that I shall be able to do for you. My absence from you & my Family I find to be very burdensome to me. I hope I am in God's way. I wait upon him to direct my way, & perform for me & by me the thing that is right in his sight.

I have many things to say, — can only throw out hints. I believe it will be best that Jabez & the team should stay some time when he comes, in order to do some work with them before he returns. I shall endeavor to make provision for them. It will not be best for Exeter to bring his cow unless she gives milk; it will cost 40s. at least to winter her here. Let some factor buy 100^{lb} or more of tobacco, & bring. I can't determine how many teams must be had to come with the Family. You are better able to judge of that than I am. I believe it will be best that Brister should stay & make

¹ Wheelock's Narrative, 1771, p. 28. Besides Murch's mill, on Mink Brook, four miles out, there was a saw-mill, built also in 1769, at the falls of Blood Brook, west of Norwich plain.

the hogs very fat, before Jabez returns. If you have a barrel of Old Pork, bring it with you. I want £100 money as soon as may be. I meet with difficulty about a good well, but hope it will not retard the business long; they expect to get water to-morrow. I hire upward of 20 men to work for me; they appear in good spirits. You would do well to bring a gross of Pipes. I purpose to meet you, if I can hear when, at number 4. People are kind, & very civil & courteous. Mr. English was here this Day, and forgot the letters he brought, so that I can't answer them. Accept Love in abundance to you and all ours.

I am your constant, loving Husband,

ELEAZ^R WHEELOCK.

I leave it with you to determine who had best stay with Brister, — I don't know but Exeter & Cloe¹ till Jabez returns; if Molly inclines to stay & come in the winter in a sleigh, she may, tho' I don't think any of you will feel very well while the place is in its present temper. I am crowded with business. I pray God direct you and all of you in this important affair. E. W.

Dr. Crane was the messenger sent to delay the journey. He bore the following credentials: —

This may certify that the urgency and importance of the journey of Dr. Crane the Bearer is such as that I suppose will be tho' suff^t to justify his riding upon the Sabbath in order to accomplish the Design on which he is sent, which is to prevent my family & the members of Dartmouth College setting out from Lebanon on Tuesday next according to appointment, which by reason of some unforeseen providences will be earlier than provision can be made for their reception, — the occasion & circumstances of which the Doctor is able to relate, and therefore his encouragement and countenance in his journey is humbly requested of all concerned by their humble servt.,

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

Madam Wheelock, however, with a portion of her family and of the students, had set out from Lebanon on or about Tuesday, September 16th, accompanied by Wheelock's son-in-law, Rev. William Patten (one of the trustees), and others. They met Dr. Crane on the way, but too late to turn back. Indeed, they were anxious rather to brave the hardships of the wilderness than to remain longer among their old neighbors, who were estranged to such a degree as to make their situation very unpleasant. The students travelled on foot, and Madam Wheelock in her husband's English coach, — the first vehicle of its kind ever seen in this region. It long survived, to excite the wonder and admiration of the settlers.

As the party proceeded northward, the roads grew rough, and

¹ Exeter, Brister, Chloe, and Peggy were his negro slaves.

in many places were passed with difficulty. The travellers were attended by a baggage team driven by Wheelock's nephew, Jabez Bingham, who had accompanied Wheelock himself in the same capacity.¹

Soon after their arrival in Hanover Mr. Woodward arrived with others, by way of Boston. His experience is thus reported by himself:—

"It was near the close of the day; there was scanty room in the Doctor's shanty for the shelter of those who were on the ground, and none for us who had just arrived. All constructed for a temporary residence a tent of crotched stakes and poles covered with boughs. It was soon ready, and we camped down wrapped in our blankets, and for a time slept very comfortably. During the night, however, a storm arose of high wind and pelting rain. Our tent came down and buried us in its ruins. After mutual inquiries, we found no one injured, and as the storm raged with unabated fury, we resolved to abide the issue as we were, and wait for the day. When fair weather returned, we made more substantial booths for our protection till better accommodations could be provided."

Dr. Crane returned about the middle of October, bringing "Miss Polly," afterward Mrs. Woodward.

The first site of the log-hut is still marked by a depression in the land lately owned by the Scientific Department, some ten rods west from the "Rope Ferry Road," in the rear of the house of Miss McMurphy, and near the hedge of spruce which marks the old governor's line. The trace of one of the unsuccessful wells was till recently visible at the western end of Professor Parker's garden. At the bottom of this, under more than sixty feet of clay, the workmen were brought to a stand by a huge pine-log, perfectly sound, lying across the shaft.²

¹ Bringham wrote in advance, September 5th: "I have procured boxes of glass at Old Hadley. It is six by eight, and no other is to be had. Sir Cluet has got a barrel of rum & a barrel of molasses, a cag of wine, and half a barrel of shuggar, and sundry other things. The knives and forks were put into a box of books left at No. 4. Exeter is very high in the instep, and says he won't go without Peggy goes and all his things. Madam is willing to go the journey as soon as may be." The scarcity of glass continued many years, and the inhabitants were accustomed to eke out with panes of mica and squares of oiled paper. Mr. Dewey tells us that a house in which all these were used was his home for a time in 1780.

² In sinking a well some years later, at the house of Professor Smith, where the Episcopal parsonage now is, on Main Street, there were found, twenty feet below the surface, a quantity of pitch-pine knots, and two feet lower, wood coals. The strata there opened were these: loose earth, two feet; sand and gravel, five feet; clay, eight feet; heavy, moist sand, mixed with clay, five feet; and blue gravel, four feet.

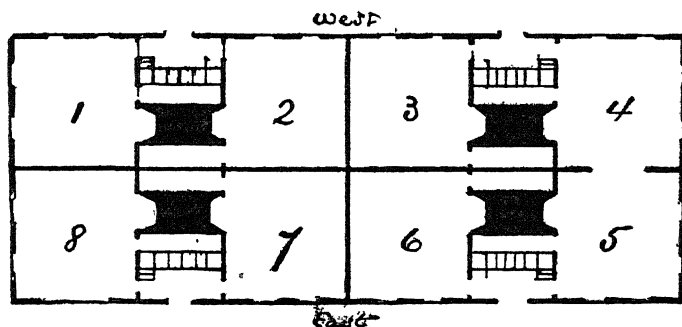
After its removal, the log-hut stood just within what is now the College yard, in front of Thornton Hall, close to the fence where the path enters northward of Reed Hall. It remained there about twelve years, and was finally occupied by the President's servants. Dr. Belknap saw it there in 1774. "I saw," says he, "the hut where the President first lived: it is a log-house, about twenty feet square, but will soon rot, being built mostly of beech sticks. This is called the *first sprout of the College*. The scholars built huts round it to live in."¹ The hut was cherished as a relic, and at Wheelock's death was honored by special mention in his will, being devised, with other things, to his son and successor.

The spot finally selected for the principal College building was near the southeast corner of the Green, just within the present fence, marked now, as we suppose, by a depression in the ground. The building stood, with its longest dimension north and south, facing the east, upon the road or "path" to Lebanon, before described. Being twice the size of the other buildings, and two stories in height, with several rooms in the attic, it contained, as finished in 1771, sixteen rooms, besides kitchen, hall, and store-room. Here provision was made for the commons department until this was transferred to the other building in 1774, and during the same period, as we understand it, for the Sabbath services of the church and for other public exercises. When relieved of these, the entire building was divided into twenty rooms of about equal size. The preparatory department—"school," or "academy," as it soon began to be called—was accommodated in one, and afterward two, rooms on the ground floor; and after a while a room on the second floor was appropriated to the library. Aside from this the building was devoted to dormitories for students. This building, like the other, being for no more than a temporary purpose, was built in the rudest manner and unpainted. It began to fail almost as soon as completed, and required annual repairs. Besides other defects, the foundations were upon clay and very meagre, so that the frost heaved it badly. In August, 1779, it was painted on the outside a reddish brown.

The frame building in which the President and his family

¹ Life of Rev. Jeremy Belknap, p. 71.

wintered, and where they remained about three years, stood northwest of the other, and some two rods southwest of the well now on the Green. It had its end to the road and fronted the south, so as to form, with the College building, the north and east sides of an incipient quadrangle. The family found it a



PLAN OF THE FIRST COLLEGE HALL.

very comfortable habitation. It was thirty-two feet wide, forty feet long, and ten feet high in the posts, comprising a single story, with an attic, where the President had his office. It was designed for a store-house, but the family were obliged to remain in it till their mansion house was finished, in 1773.

The first successful well is now covered by the sidewalk on the eastern side of the road, over against the southwest corner of Reed Hall. That now on the Green, which for so many years has supplied the College pump, was dug three or four years later, when the President's first house became the commons hall. What the "school-house" was, and where located, cannot now be determined.

A serious difficulty was encountered the first season in a scarcity of food. Partly on that account, and partly because of the unfinished state of the larger building, Wheelock was obliged, before winter, to send a portion of his students back to Connecticut. "I did," he says, "but just get here myself so seasonably as to secure my family from the weather before winter, and make rough, though comfortable, provision for part of my students. The rest of them, viz., about ten in number, are not here only because I ha'n't room to accommodate them. I am forced to support those I have from Northfield, North-

ampton, etc., and by reason of the drought and worms last year every article of provisions is held at the dearest rate."¹

The worms here spoken of began to appear in June or July, 1770, and continued their ravages in places until September. They seemed to pass from the northwest to the east and south, travelling in great haste, except when halting to feed, but did not cross the heights into the Merrimac Valley. Rev. Mr. Burton, of Thetford, spoke of seeing fields so covered that he could not touch the ground with his finger without touching a worm; he said that he had seen more than ten bushels in a heap. The body of the worm was brown, striped on the back with black, like velvet, and on either side with yellow. The worms varied in length from one to three or four inches. They covered the houses within and without; sometimes when on the move going up the side and over a house in a compact column, so that neither boards nor shingles could be seen. Pumpkin-vines, peas, potatoes, and flax they avoided, but left no wheat or corn behind them. They would climb the wheat-stalks and eat them off close to the head, which would then fall to the ground and be at once devoured. Ineffectual attempts were made to prevent this

¹ A Catalogue of the members of Dartmouth College and More's School, ranged alphabetically, according to their respective classes. February, 1771. [From a contemporary MS.]

N. B. — Those mentioned as absent [marked ϕ] are so for want of accommodations here.

[‡ indicates charity students.]

‡ David Avery, A. B., at present missionary to the Indians on Long Island.

David Maccluer, A. B., master of y^e Grammar School.

<i>4th year in College.</i>		‡ David Huntington.	‡ Elisha Hutchinson.
‡ Levi Frisbie.		* Joel Loomis. ϕ	‡ Andrew Judson.
Samuel Gray.			‡ Benjamin Snow.
‡ Allyn Marther (now resident at Yale College).	<i>1st year in College.</i>		Eleazar Wheelock.
	‡ Thomas Kendal.		James Wheelock.
‡ Silvanus Ripley.	‡ Elisha Porter.		‡ Daniel Dana. ϕ
John Wheelock.	Cornelius Waters. ϕ		Levi Willard.
	John White. ϕ		‡ Thomas Wolcott.
<i>3d year in College.</i>			
‡ Ebenezer Gurley.	<i>Preparing for College.</i>	<i>Indians on charity, over 20 years of age.</i>	
‡ Augustine Hebard.	Eleazar Conant. ϕ		
Ebenezer Cleveland. ϕ	‡ Samuel Collins.	‡ Abraham Symons.	
	‡ William Crosby.	‡ Daniel Symons.	
<i>2d year in College.</i>	‡ Abel Curtiss. ϕ	‡ Samuel Squintup.	
‡ James Dean.	‡ Noble Everett.	‡ Caleb Watts [mulatto].	
‡ Joseph Grover.	Abraham Fowler. ϕ	‡ Ebenezer Mitchell.	

by "drawing the rope;" that is, by constantly sweeping the worms from the stalks by a rope stretched taut and drawn back and forth across the field. Trenches, eighteen inches deep, were also dug about the fields, but being speedily filled with the bodies of the foremost, the others passed rapidly over. The only method that gave any degree of success was to make holes in the bottom of these ditches, and passing around constantly with stakes, to crush the worms as fast as caught. Some persons in this way, by great labor, saved corn enough for seed the next year; but most of the fields were thoroughly destroyed. In ten days the rich fields of corn on the meadows of Haverhill and Newbury were stripped to the bare stalks. The worms disappeared suddenly about the 1st of September. What became of them was a mystery, for no carcasses were seen.¹ Worms of the same kind appeared again after eleven years in 1781, and excited much alarm; but they were then few, and did but little damage. At this time, however, much suffering ensued. The nearer settlements were put to great straits for food during the winter, though the pumpkins, untouched by the worms, and freed from the corn in which they had been planted, yielded enormously, and proved an invaluable resource. They were transported on the river in large quantities, being floated on frames of logs. There was also a remarkable flight of pigeons, of which four hundred dozen were taken in Haverhill by three men in three days. The next year the settlers on the river bottom suffered terribly from a flood.

The winter of 1770-71 set in earlier than usual, with some severity, before the College building was quite covered in. The pines had been felled, where now is the College Green, "upon a circular area of about six acres, and in all directions covered the ground to the height of about five feet." They were of extraordinary dimensions. A specimen measured by David McClure registered *two hundred and seventy feet* from butt to top. "Paths of communication were cut through them. The lofty tops of the surrounding forests were often seen bending before the northern tempest, while the air below was still and piercing. The snow lay four feet in depth between four and five months. The sun was invisible, by reason of the trees, until risen many degrees above the horizon." But after a time "the gloomy face

¹ Powers's History of the Coos Country, p. 103.

of winter assumed for a season a milder aspect, so that the workmen had opportunity to render the buildings more convenient and secure." On the whole, the winter temperature was "very moderate, and the sky clear and serene." They were agreeably surprised to find the climate better than had been expected. Wheelock wrote, December 29th: —

"Contrary to all expectation, I find the winters here are much more pleasant than in Connecticut, both for man and beast. We had a cold storm, in October, of rain and snow, since which I can hardly say I have been cold; am sure I ha'n't suffered so much as my young men say they did in one hour in Connecticut last month, nor so much as I have often suffered there in an hour in the month of November. Cattle will live here and do well with half the fodder which they commonly require in Lebanon [Conn]. However, I don't know what we may find before spring. Yet the inhabitants say the coldest of the weather has commonly been about this time."

"Sometimes," says McClure, "Dr. Wheelock presented to God their morning and evening prayers standing at the head of his numerous family [about seventy souls] in the *open air*; and the surrounding forest for the first time reverberated the solemn sounds of supplication and praise." There followed an uncommon revival of religion in the College and town. "The 23d day of January was kept as a day of solemn fasting and prayer, on which he gathered a church of twenty-seven members; . . . and a solemn, joyful day it was."¹ At the opening of the new year Frisbie, in behalf of the College, indited to Governor Wentworth a poetical address of considerable merit, which drew from the Governor a handsome acknowledgment, and was by his direction given to the public, with prominence, in the Portsmouth paper.²

The first meeting of the Board of Trustees under the charter was called for the second Tuesday of October, at Hanover; but the requisite notice having failed, a new call was made, and the meeting was held for general convenience at Keene, Oct. 22, 1770. Notice was sent by the President to every trustee, and published in the "New Hampshire Gazette" and in a Connecticut paper. Seven members (a bare quorum) were present.³ Of

¹ Memoirs of Wheelock, pp. 56-7; Narrative, 1771, p. 29.

² N. H. Gazette, Jan. 4, 1771.

³ President Wheelock, "the Honorable Peter Gilman, Esq., the Honorable William Pitkin, Esq., and the Reverend Messrs. Benjamin Pomeroy, Timothy Pitkin, William Patten, and John Smalley." Mr. Patten was chosen scribe.

the New Hampshire members only Mr. Gilman appeared. The Governor was detained at home by the death of his uncle, the ex-Governor, who died October 14th, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. Provisional authority was conferred upon "the Rev. President, with the advice of the Tutors, to make and execute such orders, laws, and regulations for the good government and well being of this College as he shall think proper, until the next adjourned meeting of this Board, or till the Corporation shall order otherwise."¹ Bezaleel Woodward and Ralph Wheelock were appointed tutors,² and the annual meeting was fixed for the fourth Wednesday of August till otherwise ordered. Steps were also taken toward the settlement of Landaff.

It had been made by the Connecticut trustees a condition of their assent to the location that Dr. Wheelock should be conveniently accommodated with a farm. Pursuant to the proprietary vote of October, 1769, confirmed Nov. 12, 1770, certain Hanover proprietors gave to him three hundred acres next east of the College lot, including the rocky hill, a half mile south-east of the village, which from this circumstance received and still bears, no doubt in derision, the popular name of the "President's Garden." By a vote of Oct. 1, 1770, the proprietors in their collective capacity added four hundred acres besides,—located, however, at the extreme northeastern corner of the town, more than ten miles from the College, and on the farther slope of Moose Mountain. This latter tract was plainly not available for his purpose, and Wheelock forthwith conveyed it to the College, and requested the trustees to give him in exchange two hundred of the five hundred acres in the College location. Jonathan Freeman, of Hanover, and Capt. Francis Smith, of Plainfield, a committee appointed by the Board of Trust at its first meeting, in October, valued this mountain land at three shillings an acre, and the land near the College at six shillings an acre, and on their report the exchange was confirmed in August, 1771. It was carried into immediate effect by setting off to Wheelock the eastern portion of the College lot by a line substantially par-

¹ A quarter of a century elapsed before this order was fully superseded.

² On account of failing health, Ralph performed but little service as tutor. After a year he gave place to Sylvanus Ripley. The next year also others assisted without formal election. "I am happy," writes Wheelock in January 1772, "in having a number of youths who were graduated last year, and some years before, who have taken each their class, and tutor them for their board and privileges here."

allel to its eastern boundary and to the course of the river. This line of division, starting on the border of Lebanon, near the present house of Mr. Tilden, ran diagonally through the village east of Main Street, crossing what is now College Street near the Gymnasium, and if produced in the same course would have passed to the eastward of the present College buildings, leaving on the portion retained by the College all the public buildings then erected. But for some reason not explained, the line was varied at that point in such manner as to embrace within Wheelock's portion a parcel ten rods square, cut bodily out of the College part, and comprising the southeast corner of the Green, with the buildings standing there. Incidentally, by the consequent shifting of the general line of division, Wheelock acquired also the whole of the elevation where the present College buildings are. It is probable that the doubtful attitude of the English trust may have furnished one motive to this arrangement, since the first buildings had been constructed with money drawn from them. At the same time it gave to Wheelock the greater part of the valuable meadows on Mink Brook, and entire control, independent of the trustees, of the tributary streams above described, as well as of the College buildings themselves, present and prospective. This matter being arranged, no time was lost in laying out on the northern part of what remained to the College a series of village lots, surrounding the open square, which were given out to settlers, and several houses were built in the same season, — of 1771.

Doubts having lately arisen respecting the title of Benning Wentworth to the "rights" reserved to himself in the townships granted by him as Provincial Governor, which if well grounded would endanger the College title, a new grant of the five hundred acre lot was procured from Gov. John Wentworth, with the assent of the Council, Dec. 19, 1771, by which, in pursuance of the foregoing arrangement, the three hundred acres west of the line thus established were confirmed to the College, and the easterly two hundred to Wheelock.¹ To this, besides the "gar-

¹ The northeast corner of the "Governor's lot" is at this time indicated roughly by the large barn of the Agricultural College farm, and its northerly line more accurately by the tall spruce hedge that marks the northern boundary of the mansion home lot of Mr. Hiram Hitchcock. The four hundred acre lot was many years later sold to Jonathan Freeman, Jr. It turned out to be of little value, not only on

height that separates the Connecticut from the Mascoma. To it was applied, in token of the object for which it was given, the name of "Mount Support," which it still bears.¹ Other isolated parcels in Hanover and Lebanon were derived by the College from private subscription, so that its total interest in those towns amounted to near four thousand acres, besides what Wheelock had in his own right. The whole landed endowment of the College, exclusive of Landaff, was estimated at seventeen thousand acres.

During the summer of 1771 "numerous hands were employed in cutting and piling the timber [that had been cut on the plain] with a view to burn it; but the fire could not consume it until the second year, when it was more thoroughly dried. After the trees were removed, the ground remained covered with stumps, the digging of which and conveying them away presented a still greater task than that already accomplished." Wild beasts were of course abundant. Their cries at night reached the ears of the inhabitants in their houses, and sheep and cattle were far from secure in barnyards, even in the near neighborhood of the College.²

The first Commencement occurred on Wednesday, Aug. 28, 1771; and on the day preceding it the trustees assembled for the first time in Hanover. The Governor was present with a retinue of gentlemen from Portsmouth and its vicinity, said to have

¹ This, like the other lands, was very heavily timbered, but very rough and stony. It was lotted and leased under the second President. The building of a stipulated length of stone wall each year was a common condition imposed upon tenants. One who had contracted for some work of this sort on Mount Support fulfilled the condition by building the walls up and down the fields wherever most convenient to the stones, and without regard to boundaries. The President when he came to inspect the work saw that he was caught, and offered to give the land in payment for the work; but the prudent tenant declined it.

² In connection with these and the blackened stumps that long adorned the College Green, the following anecdote, of a few years later date, is handed down to us. It is said that Professor Smith, who was a timid man, and perhaps a little near-sighted, in passing across the Green early one foggy morning encountered, as he supposed, a she-bear with her family. Badly scared, he rushed to the chapel, with gown streaming in the wind, shouting, "A bear and three cubs! A bear and three cubs!" The students, hastening pell-mell to the rescue, found but a large black stump and three small ones near it. It happened soon after that the professor, in the course of a rhetorical exercise, called for an example of the gesture of fright, which the student rendered with great effect by striking an attitude and shouting, "A bear and three cubs! A bear and three cubs!"

been sixty in number.¹ They came by way of Wolfborough and Haverhill, camping out a night, or more, on the road. The candidates for the first degree in arts were four; namely, Levi Frisbie and Silvanus Ripley, both "educated for missionaries among the remote Indians," and Samuel Gray and John Wheelock, "independent students." All of them had left their classes at Yale to finish the course here. The public exercises were:

1. A Salutatory Oration in English, by Ripley, upon the Virtues, succeeded by an Anthem.

2. A Clysophic Oration in Latin, by Frisbie.

3. A Syllogistic Disputation, wherein Gray held the question, *An vera cognitio Dei Luce Naturæ acquiri potest?* Opposed by Frisbie, Wheelock, and Ripley; and

4. A Valedictory Oration in Latin, by Wheelock, "followed by an anthem, composed and set to music by the young gentlemen, candidates for a degree."

The words no doubt were by Frisbie, and the music by Ripley, who had some talent in that direction. The President assures us that the "performance met with universal acceptance of great applause, Ripley's oration producing tears from a great number of the learned."

From a less authentic source we learn that Frisbie also recited a poem,² and that the stage was erected in the open air, of rough boards, and ascended by a single inclined plank of hemlock. It is also said that some of the under classes participated in the exercises, and that one of the Indians, scorning the stage, spoke—in his native language, no doubt—from an overhanging pine.³

An ox provided by the generosity of the Governor was roasted whole on the Green, and served to the assembled multitude, with a barrel of rum and the usual accompaniments.

That the occasion was one of good cheer in the higher walks of life is attested by a magnificent silver punch-bowl with a movable crown, weighing altogether sixty-six ounces, which

¹ Rev. Dr. Langdon is said to have shown his interest by an earlier visit. See Smith's Hist. Dart. Coll., p. 65.

² The same probably that appears in the Memoirs of Wheelock, p. 164.

³ See The Dartmouth, 1867, pp. 202, 263. The account there given is probably derived from Gray, who attended Commencement in 1827, when he was seventy-six years of age and the oldest living graduate of the College, and pointed out the localities and related many interesting reminiscences. See also Boston Evening Post, Sept. 9, 1771, and Wheelock's Diary.

was afterward presented to the President by the Governor and his companions, and remains to this day.¹

On August 29th, the day after Commencement, the ministers present united in ordaining David Avery "in order to his immediate departure as a missionary among the Indians." This is memorable as the first service of the kind celebrated at Hanover. Wheelock notes in his Diary: "Mr. Avery appears to be well turned for the business. He is a zealous, faithful, and powerful preacher."

Notwithstanding Madam Wheelock was sick and confined to her room, and the chief cook at the College lay asleep, as was said, by making too free use of the bottle, the Governor and his company were invited to dine at the President's; and though for the most part well pleased with their reception and treatment, some of the gentry turned up their noses at the plainness of the surroundings, and made so much talk of it that, two years later, it came back to Wheelock's ears.

"We were indeed," says he in reply, "in very trying circumstances; but we got along as well as we could, depending on the candor and clemency of our friends. As to the table-linen which I hear is complained of, that must come, I suspect, wholly upon me, through my poverty. My expenses having been so long inadequate to my means, I had provided no better, though I did not know till then that their want was so great as not to be able to appear decent in home-made, till the Commencement was over. As to the College, it owns but one [tablecloth], that was lately given by a generous lady in Connecticut, and of her own manufacture. But we are getting along, and things are growing better."

Among those who made the tour with the Governor on this occasion was Dr. Samuel Moody, of Dummer Academy, of whom McClure relates the following anecdote: When the party was ready to leave, "the Governor being in conversation

¹ The following inscription, by Nathaniel Hurd, of Boston, was put upon it:

His Excellency John Wentworth, Esq^r,
Governor of the Province of New Hampshire,
And those friends who accompanied him
To Dartmouth College the first Commencement, 1771,
In Testimony of their Gratitude and good wishes,
Present this to the
Rev^d Eleazar Wheelock, D D., President,
And to his successors in that office.

Dr. Pomeroy urged that the word "founder" should be added to the President's title. The bowl was not actually finished and presented until March, 1773.

with Dr. Wheelock, Mr. Moody stepped to him in his usual earnest manner, holding his whip erect, to inform him that the company were waiting. Some person pleasantly asked Mr. Moody whether he observed that he held his whip over the Governor's back. 'I beg his Excellency's pardon,' said he; 'I believe he deserves the whip less than any governor on the continent.'"¹

The number of trustees being insufficient for a quorum, by reason of the absence of all the Connecticut members but Dr. Pomeroy, they were unable to act with authority, but proceeded nevertheless to express their "sentiments and advice" upon some matters of immediate importance, all of which were afterward adopted and ratified. Tutor Bezaleel Woodward was chosen permanent clerk of the board. A simple certificate, signed by the six members present, took the place, for the time being, of diplomas to the graduating class.

The trustees also declared their willingness to confirm the exchange of lands with President Wheelock, to which reference has been made, and to grant twenty acres of land on the College plain in parcels to encourage and accommodate settlers. Two acres each were offered to a steward, an "approved physician," and an innholder, and one each to a "taylor" and a shoemaker, besides one acre to Tutor Bezaleel Woodward "to accommodate his building place," and the remaining eleven acres for "other suitable settlers, to be disposed of at the discretion of the President." Mr. Woodward's acre had been set off to him northwest of the College, where Senator Patterson now lives. Wheelock's "young book-keeper" and agent, Aaron Storrs, had been accepted as the innholder, and had received a choice parcel of two acres, where Mr. Joseph Emerson lately lived, diagonally opposite to the southwest corner of the Green. Each of these gentlemen in the same season (1771) erected a two-story dwelling-house on his lot, — the first of that description on the plain.² Upon request of Wheelock in May to the Court of Quarter Sessions, a tavern license was issued to Mr. Storrs, at the session in Exeter in September. The next year, much to Wheelock's disgust, a

¹ Memoirs of Wheelock, p. 61.

² The house then built by Mr. Storrs was removed about 1820 to the rear of the same lot. It is now, very little changed, the second house from the corner on the road toward the river. Mr. Woodward's house was burned about 1833.

tavern license was granted also to John Payne, at his house in the northeast quarter of the village, where Amos Dewey lately lived.

*Dartmouth College for Honors in the
Province of New Hampshire August 25th 1777*

W^e the Subscribers being the only Trustees of Dartmouth College warranted do hereby certify, that we were present this Day at the public probationary but performed by Levi Tristie, Samuel Gray, Silvanus Shipley and John Wheelock Students in D^r College, and we adjudge and declare that the D^r Levi Tristie, Samuel Gray, Silvanus Shipley & John Wheelock are fully and sufficiently qualified for be admitted to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts; and it is our unanimous Vote that a Diploma for such Degree be prepared and presented to each of the D^r Levi Tristie, Samuel Gray, Silvanus Shipley & John Wheelock; at the first convenient Meeting of the Trustees after this Date —

*Wentworth
Pleazar Wheelock Professor
Geo: Jaffrey
Danburie
Peter Gilman
Benj: Bomeroy*

THE CERTIFICATE OF THE TRUSTEES.

The "approved physician" was Wheelock's friend and companion, Dr. John Crane, to whom was given, as a part of his

allowance, an acre for a house-lot opposite the middle of the south side of the Green, where he built, in 1774, a house that was burned in the great fire of January, 1887. The shoemaker and tanner was Wheelock's nephew, Joshua Hendee, who came from Connecticut late in 1770, and built a house in 1772 on the south side of the present Lebanon Street. Other parcels were disposed of from time to time, as indicated below.

The village had of course been laid out substantially in its present shape before any of these lots were appropriated. This must therefore have been done early in 1771, probably by Jonathan Freeman, at the same time that he surveyed and settled the division line between the College and Wheelock. The plan bears evidence of skill, judgment, and foresight. The central feature was a rectangular parcel of seven acres and a half, having its sides squared as near as possible to the cardinal points of the compass, set apart in the most eligible portion of the plain and "opened for a Green." Around and near it were laid rectangular lots varying in size from a half acre to an acre. In the rear of the lots west of the Green an acre was at the same time set apart for a burial-ground, and consecrated to that use by the interment, first of all, of Wheelock's beloved stepson, Rev. John Maltby, who died here, Sept. 30, 1771. The parcel was formally sequestered and confirmed for that object by the trustees in 1774. By way of confirmation of the rest, a vote of May, 1773, put at the President's disposal sixteen acres for house-lots "for the accommodation of inhabitants for the convenience of the College;" and in September, 1780, upon the adjustment of matters after Wheelock's death, the results were confirmed and recorded as follows: —

"Out of which tract of 300 acres the following lots have been disposed of, —

Seven acres and a half opened for a green: Given by Dr. Wheelock as agent: —

1 acre to Bezaleel Woodward, north part, Dec. 14, 1773, Tutor.

2 acres to Aaron Storrs, Southwest corner of the Green, 1773, Taverner.

1 acre to John Crane, South of the Green, 1773, Physician.

1 acre to John Crane, east side of the road to Lebanon, 1773.

1 acre to Patrick Field, south of the College building, 1773, Taylor.

1 acre to Comfort Sever, West of the College Green, 1774, Carpenter.

$\frac{1}{2}$ acre to William Winton, west of the College Green, 1774, Mason.

- 1 acre to Jabez Bingham, east of the road to Lebanon, 1774, Husbandman.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ acre to Samuel Macclure, north of the road to the ferry, 1776, Barber.
 1 acre to John Smith, west of road to Lebanon, 1777, Tutor.
 1 acre to the Rev. Silvanus Ripley, north of the Green, 1777, Tutor.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ acre to Capt. E. Brewster, south of the Green, 1778, Steward.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ acre to Capt. E. Brewster, west of Mr. Macclure's, 1778, Steward.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ to Alden Spooner, between Captain Brewster's and Mr. Bingham's, 1778, Printer.
 $\frac{3}{4}$ acre to Eleazar Wheelock, Jr., N. E. Corner of the tract, 1778, Settler.
 1 acre to Barnabas Perkins, west of the road to Lebanon, 1778, Shop joiner.
 1 acre to Charles Sexton, west of the road to Lebanon, 1778, Blacksmith.
 Total $15\frac{1}{4}$ acres, given and disposed of by Dr. Wheelock."

At the opening of the second College year President Wheelock wrote the following characteristic announcement for the Press:—

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE IN HANOVER, Oct. 10, 1771.

The Rev. Dr. Wheelock, through the surprising smiles of Heaven upon his unwearied endeavors, has now so nearly effected his great and arduous undertaking to settle and accommodate his Indian school and college in a howling wilderness that he has the fairest prospect in a little time to be able to support an hundred Indian and English youths upon charity, and all with a view to the first and grand object of the Institution, viz., the spreading the blessed gospel of the Redeemer among the savages. This solitude hitherto proves most favorable and friendly to the studies of the youth, as they are thereby free from a thousand snares, temptations, and divertisements which were and would have been unavoidable if this seminary had continued where it was, or been fixed in any populous town in the land; and he hopes in the allwise Governor and Disposer of all things that he will mercifully so direct and overrule in the settlement of the new parish now forming here that his students, both Indian and English, may still have no example here to influence them except to virtue and religion. And though it has not been practicable to keep more than four or five of his Indian children with him while he has been removing, settling, and building, to accommodate so large a number in the wilderness, he hopes in a very short time to have convenient studies in the buildings which are now finished for an hundred students; and accordingly has sent by his missionaries—the Rev. Mr. Avery, whom he has sent to be colleague with the Rev. Mr. Kirtland at Oneida, and Dean, a member of this College—for twenty boys of the Six Nations, if they may be obtained, and is seeking for proper agents to fetch as many more from the northern tribes, where he hears there are a number desirous of an education.

And as the honorable London Board in Boston have with great cheerfulness and a laudable generosity lately undertaken to support the Rev. Mr. Kirtland in his mission, it is hoped they will also support his worthy colleague, the Rev. Mr. Avery, in the same services; and as the Doctor has two more prepared to be missionaries to Southern and very remote and numerous tribes, as soon as the season will permit next spring, under the direction and conduct of the Rev. Mr. Brainard, it is also hoped that the honorable Board in Boston or some others, who have money in their hands sacred to such use, will generously support them in their mission. He has also two others who are prepared for a mission among northern tribes as soon as a door shall be opened for them, which he also hears will be next spring. The Doctor has others preparing for the same service, and hopes there will be no more occasion of complaint of money in any public fund, or more private store, lying unimproved for want of proper agents to spend it in the glorious cause. And it is much to be desired and hoped that all parties will agree and unite in this great and most interesting cause of the Redeemer; and that there will be no boasting of one against another, nor any undermining or unmanly plotting, or endeavoring of one party to overthrow, discredit, or obstruct another in the presentation of the same glorious design.

A similar statement appeared about the same time anonymously in the Boston papers, so oddly expressed that Wheelock himself was in doubt whether it came from a friend or an enemy. His friends at a distance were much concerned at the ridicule which it brought on the College, aggravated by equally eccentric replies.¹ The indiscreet friend proved to be a godly minister, Rev. Aaron Hutchinson, of Grafton, Conn., afterward of Pomfret, Vt., "eccentric in habits and unpolished in manners," but sincerely desirous to help the cause.

Among the preliminaries arranged by Wheelock in advance of his arrival was the building of a saw and grist mill for the College upon the lower rapids of Mink Brook. "But by some failure of construction, they did not answer any valuable purpose." Another saw-mill was built for him in the summer of 1771, by Israel Woodward, of Lebanon, Conn. This stood on Mink Brook, near the half-mile road, south of "Sand Hill," in

¹ See "Philosullogor" and "Plain-dealer," Boston Evening Post, Oct. 21, Nov. 11, and Dec. 2, 1771. Wheelock himself seems at last to have been drawn into retorting in kind. He records in his Diary, Dec. 30, 1771, "Sent anonymous to Dr. Whitaker a satire on the revilers of Dartmouth." "I think [he writes to a friend, March, 1772] I have some occasion to suspect a large combination of such as we used to call Arminians wait only for an opportunity to unite their forces against me and this College."

"Sleepy Hollow," with a dwelling house near it. It was at the start so successful that it seemed likely within a year to clear all the expense of building it. The next season a grist-mill was erected close by, and after a while one or two very comfortable dwelling-houses, which will by and by be prominent in our narrative.¹ The brook was then adequate at all seasons; when, after a time, other mills were built in more accessible spots, and the stream diminished, the grist-mill was first abandoned, and later the saw-mill. The last of the houses was burned, while occupied by a family, on a dark, snowy Saturday evening in winter, before the memory of any person now living. The foundation of the ancient flume that supplied the mills with water may still be seen on the south side of the brook, and the cellars of two of the houses on the broad flat north of the brook.²

After a while it occasioned remark that the mills were not upon College land, but on the three hundred acre lot given by the town proprietors to Wheelock. This, coming to the ears of the Governor, drew from him a remonstrance, just before Commencement, Aug. 18, 1774:—

"There are many things," he writes, "I wish to consult with the gentlemen about, and much with you. Particularly upon a report I've heard that the mills are included in the two hundred acres you received in exchange out of the College lands. As this was not intended, but the contrary expressly, if it should have accidentally happened so, I have no doubt you will take this public opportunity to execute a conveyance thereof to the College. I may not enter into any reasons upon this matter, presuming it to be your intention to do so."

The fact was, that not only the mills and the two larger College buildings, but a number of minor structures, erected with the money of the School, stood upon Wheelock's private land. Nine months before, although, as he said, there had never a word passed on the subject in the College board, he stated the case in part to the English trust, in a letter of Nov. 10, 1773, at a time when the failure of his hopes of further endowment in

¹ Wheelock notes in his Diary, Dec. 31, 1771, "Mr. Follett arrived with his wife and *nine children* to y^e little house by y^e mill."

² The rotting timbers now visible in the flume are relics of a rebuilding of the saw-mill by Capt. Ebenezer Symmes, about 1830, on the old foundations. He had also one or two little houses south of the brook.

America was turning his thoughts to a closer connection with the foreign board.

"It so happens," he wrote, "that the store-house, the brew and bake house, and also the mills which I have built, stand upon my own land. The mills I supposed to have been on the School's land [*i. e.*, the one thousand acre tract of the College] till a surveyor lately ran the line, and finds them to be upon mine. All which I would secure to the College and School in a manner which shall be safest to the institution and most effectual to secure it from perversion in future times. And as these buildings were at the expense and are the property of the School, and not at the disposal of the trustees of the College, and as there is yet no provision made or like to be made, that I know of, for the support of the College, . . . I should be glad if it might be as closely connected with you and as much under your control as may be reasonable."

But nothing was actually done to adjust the matter till it was settled in a measure by the provisions of Wheelock's will.

It will be readily seen that the operations begun and contemplated by Wheelock involved the expenditure of a very considerable sum of money. A few subscriptions had been procured, pending the determination of the site, to be paid mostly in labor and materials for building; but from one cause or another little was realized. The endowment in America consisted almost wholly of wild lands not yet productive nor salable to advantage. The English and Scotch funds afforded the only available resources, and Wheelock showed no hesitancy in using them for the present requirements. It does not appear to have occurred to him at first that there could be any difficulty about it. He had been for many years in search of an Act of Incorporation for his School. He had now obtained it, as he wished, under the new and more advantageous form of a college. It is plain that everybody connected with the affair on this side the water understood at the first that the School was merged in the College, and the two titles were habitually used as interchangeable. The language of Wheelock's public announcement, in August, 1770, is conclusive on the point, and his acts in other ways were consistent only with that view. Landaff and the lands in Hanover and elsewhere, though intended for the College, were treated and spoken of by Wheelock as belonging to the "School."¹ The English funds were freely

¹ The landed subscriptions were made in terms to "Dr Wheelock's School," as was the vote of Lebanon, but when carried into effect by final conveyances were

used in their improvement, and their products were applied indiscriminately in the support of the Indians and the maintenance of the College. This method of administration was continued as long as Wheelock lived, notwithstanding that the unexpected attitude of his foreign correspondents compelled him to observe with respect to them a nominal distinction in the application of their remittances. But the question became in the next generation a very important one, and was much discussed.

We learn, indeed, from Wheelock's narrative of 1771 (though nothing of the kind appears in the official records) that at the first meeting of the College board of trust, in October, 1770, "it was proposed to them whether something could not be done by them to perpetuate the name of Mr. Joshua Moor; and it was resolved that they had by the charter jurisdiction only over the College, and that the School remained under the same patronage, authority, and jurisdiction as before the charter was given." In this conclusion, when he learned the views of his friends on the other side, Wheelock himself rejoiced as at "a mercy;" and it was made by his successor the foundation of a revival of the ancient School as a separate and independent affair, in some undefined way connected with the College, but wholly removed from the control of the College board. But circumstances indicate that the vote, if any vote was actually reached, was not intended to play the important part afterward assigned it; it probably had relation to the property given by Moor, which stood absolutely in Wheelock's name, and was no doubt considered at the time of too little importance to be recorded. Not unlikely it was a mere informal expression of individual views. Whatever it was, it is not to be supposed that in the absence of a record, the precise phraseology is preserved; and the fact that the decision was afterward deemed providential makes it plain that its effect, as subsequently interpreted, was not contemplated at the time of making, but was an after-thought, induced by the unexpected attitude of the English and Scotch trustees. This we are now to explain.

granted to the trustees of the College; the printed blanks prepared for the purpose by Wheelock himself expressly recognizing the College as the successor of the School.

We have seen how averse these gentlemen were to a charter, and how carefully Wheelock abstained from mentioning to them that part of the New Hampshire plan until after its accomplishment. When he could no longer be silent, he broke the news in as favorable light as he could. He had all along entertained, it is true, misgivings as to their attitude, and appreciated that the affair required "delicate" handling; but he evidently expected to arrange it by a little tact. He was therefore surprised and dismayed by the vehemence of their disapproval. To his first announcement, in March, 1770, Dartmouth made no reply. The following from Mr. Keen, the secretary, arrived at Boston, October 8th, and reached Wheelock's hands at Hanover, November 4th:—

LONDON, July 30, 1770.

REV. SIR,—Your packet of letters, with the charter, etc., came just time enough for Lord Dartmouth and John Thornton, Esq., to peruse them before the former went to his country seat, and the latter to Amsterdam, etc.

They, as well as the other trustees, see clearly that by the affair of the charter the trust here is meant to be annihilated. It was certainly a very wrong step for you to take without consulting us. It is the sentiments of us all that by lodging the power in other hands, it has superseded the trust here, and we shall desire to have done with it.

Our original design in forming ourselves into a trust was to satisfy those who should contribute (after that period), and to whom we pledged ourselves to undertake the custody of their money, and to see to the due application of it to the purpose for which it was given. This is the object we have hitherto, and what we propose hereafter, carefully to attend to; and you must transmit your accounts, annually or oftener, properly authenticated, as you have done, to March 31st, as the last narrative shows, that they may be properly [audited]. And while the accounts continue to give satisfaction to the contributors, we shall act faithfully on all [sums] fairly and properly expended.

As there will be no meeting of the trustees till Lord Dartmouth comes to town, we must postpone the further consideration of your letters and our full answer thereto till then. That the Lord may direct and prosper you in all things, is the desire and prayer of,

Rev. and dear sir, yours, etc.,

ROBT. KEEN, *Sec.*

With this came a letter from Thornton, dated August 30:

"I am afraid the step you have taken to get a charter will prove the ruin of your School to all valuable purposes. I wish it may prove otherwise, but you seem to have taken it out of the hands of the trust here to put it into those that I wish may not oppose instead of forwarding your design.

As soon as it takes place I shall be very ready to relinquish any further say in the affair, which I think necessarily must be the case with Lord Dartmouth and every one of us. I heartily wish I may be mistaken, and that it may flourish in true gospel simplicity more than ever. As you observe, the great enemy of the Redeemer's cause is very busie; but indeed his masked batteries are the most dangerous. I wish I may not prove a true prophet in saying, 'How is the gold become dim! How is the most fine gold changed!' I am afraid there is too much worldly wisdom in this charter, and that it is trusting man instead of resting on the living God. . . . The event will sufficiently evince whether it was the produce of much prayer, humility, and an entire resignation to the whole will of God. . . . I have been very free with you, perhaps in some particulars unduly so; and I wish my apprehensions may have shown me matters stronger than they are. I shall only assure you none wishes you better than myself, and would more cheerfully give you every possible testimony of it."

Two months in advance of the letters the state of feeling had been learned from Whitefield, who arrived in Massachusetts early in September, and visited Dr. Whitaker at Salem. He "expressed a concern for the welfare of the cause," but "thought the College would finally become a seat of learning only for the English."

"I set the matter [wrote Whitaker, September 8] in the best light I could, and he was more satisfied. About the estate in lands he never understood how the matter lies, and says that he and every one of the trust in England conceive of the matter as though you had a farm of one or two thousand acres, and were to make the best of it by building, and buying or hiring help, with the money in England, to improve it, — something like his estate in Georgia; but I told him the design was to lease out, etc., these lands, by which a much larger support for the design would soon be obtained than all the money in England. This pleased him. I give you the hint; you see the necessity of seeing him."

A few days later, Mr. Woodward met Whitefield by arrangement in Boston. Kirkland also was there with a view to a conference that should adjust his relations with Wheelock. But all hope of help from Whitefield was lost by his sudden death at Newburyport, Sept. 30th, 1770.

Occum, too, who next to Wheelock and Kirkland stood highest in the confidence and regard of the English board, was restive under the new arrangements.

"He complained [writes McClure, May 21, 1770], but in a friendly manner, that the Indian was converted into an English school, and that the English had crowded out the Indian youths. He instanced one Symons, a

likely Indian, who came to get admittance, but could not be admitted because the School was full. He supposed that the gentlemen in England thought the School at present was made up chiefly of Indian youth, and that should he write and inform them to the contrary, as he must if he wrote, it would give them a disgust and jealousy that the charities were not applied in a way agreeable to the intention of the donors and benefactors, which was to educate Indians chiefly."

An incident in May, 1771, further illustrates the critical condition of affairs. The Narrative was in process of publication at Hartford, and it had been arranged to append the charter. But this was hastily countermanded.

"It must not be connected with the Narrative [wrote Wheelock to Patten]; if it be, it will give me a fatal blow in Europe; nor can I give the least encouragement to pay one farthing toward the doing of it; and if anybody should do it of their own head, by no means let it be connected with the Narrative. The affair I know to be very delicate, as I could easily convince you if I should only disclose some things lately come to hand, which make me at present more afraid of my friends than of my enemies. If they let me alone, I believe I shall get through; but if they act in the dark, they will ruin me and my cause. . . .

"P. S.—It is a mercy the board did not consider the School as being under their patronage and control, as you will see when I can show you."

On the contrary, Wheelock took pains in the Narrative itself (intended chiefly for circulation abroad) to give prominence to the distinction between College and School by reviving, after a dozen years' abandonment, the name of Moor: "That this Indian Charity School connected with Dartmouth College be constantly hereafter and forever called and known by the name of *Moor's School*." But Wheelock's persuasive talent did not fail him in this emergency. With a little delay, he was able so to explain matters to the English gentlemen as to restore their confidence and personal good will, and to enable him to continue the drafts on the principal of the fund until, in the course of four years, the whole was expended. But their jealousy of the College was never subdued. They would recognize Wheelock only, and that in his private capacity. They required of him accounts rigidly distinct from those of the College, and refrained from saying anything on the matter of the incorporation. Their views were conveyed in the following terms:—

LONDON, April 25th, 1771.

REV. SIR,—We have lately taken into our serious consideration the affair of your charter, and the matter appears to us in the same light as it did when

we wrote to you the 30th July last. When we consider that the money collected here was given for the express purpose of "creating, establishing, endowing, and maintaining an Indian Charity School and a suitable number of missionaries to be employed in the Indian country for the instruction of Indians in the Christian religion," and for no other purpose whatever, we cannot but look upon the charter you have obtained and your intention of building a college and educating English youth, as going beyond the line by which both you and we are circumscribed. The motives that induced the subscribers to contribute so generously to the undertaking were doubtless the hopes of spreading the knowledge of the only true God and his Son Jesus Christ. . . . We think ourselves bound to adhere invariably to this original plan, and must therefore insist upon it that you do not deviate from it. We shall expect that you keep a regular and distinct account of all the moneys laid out in erecting the School, educating Indian youths, and employing and maintaining missionaries agreeable to the design of our institution, and that you do not blend them with your College, and other matters foreign to and separate from our undertaking; that you do not attempt to draw bills on us upon any other consideration, but that you keep the accounts as before mentioned clear and separate, and annually transmit them to us properly authenticated, with the seal of the Province annexed; and moreover that you endeavor to compile and draw a fresh narrative or a continuation of that drawn up by us and printed in 1769. It is high time there should be one, and the public expect it. We have no materials by us since your unhappy divisions with Mr. Kirtland. His separation from you renders the accounts we have from him abortive, and we have no others, so that it entirely rests with you. And if you mean to stand fair in the eye of the public, or hope for any further assistance from them, do not neglect nor delay sending over such a narrative. And be as open and explicit as possible. We are desirous of strengthening your hands and furthering the design while it appears to be well executed, and no longer. With regard to Mr. Kirtland, and your misunderstanding one another, as you are parted, our interfering will not avail. Dr. Whitaker has sent us a long letter in your behalf, and others have informed us favorably on Mr. Kirtland's. All we can say of him is to wish him well, and that the Lord may own his labors among the Indians and abundantly supply his place with other missionaries in your connection. You have and will continue to have our earnest wishes for your success in the great and important work of bringing Indians to the faith of Christ, and you may depend upon having our best support in anything that comes within the limit of the design; beyond which we do not think ourselves at liberty to apply the money that has been deposited in our hands.

Your obedient servants,

DARTMOUTH.

S. S. SMYTHE.

JOHN THORNTON.

CHARLES HENDY.

DANL. WEST.

SAML. SAVAGE.

ROBT. KEEN.

A year later, they re-stated their position in another letter:

LONDON, May 1st, 1772.

REV. SIR,— We have now before us your letters of June 20th, September 3d, and December 3d, 1771, and have deferred writing to this time because we found nothing in them that seemed to require an immediate answer. We have great satisfaction in hearing as well from yourself as from other hands of the success with which the great and difficult work of your removal has been attended hitherto, and of the support and encouragement which your important designs have met with in America, and we flatter ourselves that it is not necessary for us to repeat to you the assurances of our entire confidence in the disinterestedness and steadiness with which they will be conducted as long as they remain in your hands. In regard to that particular part of them in which we are immediately concerned, the instruction of Indians in the knowledge of Christ and his Gospel, we have nothing to suggest to you for the furtherance of that object in addition to what we have intimated in our former letters; trusting entirely to your care and attention to go on as you have begun, in keeping a separate account of everything that relates to that design, that we may at all times be able to give a clear and explicit account of our proceedings to those who have intrusted us with the management of their contributions for that excellent purpose. As to what concerns the charter of incorporation, we avoid saying anything on that subject, which is a matter of more general concern, and does not relate to the business of this trust.

We have been lately taking into our consideration the accounts we have received of the present condition of Mr. Occum, whose past eminent services in the prosecution of our purpose, as well as the peculiar advantages which the circumstances of his birth and situation give him for promoting the design, entitle him to a very particular regard and consideration from us. We have therefore agreed to order him immediately the sum of fifty pounds, and to continue the same to him annually during our pleasure. We lament with you the offence that, in two instances of his conduct, Mr. Occum has unhappily given, but we cannot help imputing them in some degree to the great difficulty of the circumstances he was then in, and depending upon the account you gave us of his sincere remorse and the shame he has taken to himself, which is corroborated by a certificate we have received signed by a considerable number of respectable persons at Norwich of the 19th of November last, of his good behavior since that time, we flatter ourselves that this provision will greatly contribute to prevent any repetition of the same misconduct.

Nothing can be more pleasing to us than to hear of the return of good understanding between you and Mr. Kirkland. We cannot but admire the indefatigable zeal and assiduity of that worthy man, as well as the uncommon instance that he has lately given of his disinterested regard to the good of the cause in which he is engaged. We promise ourselves the happiest effect from your concurrent labors to promote the same good end, and we wish him the same prosperity and success under the direction of the Boston board as we could do if he was still employed by us. The Lord of the harvest is the same, and we cannot but bear the same good will to all the labor-

ers whom he shall think fit to honor with employment in his vineyard. We shall depend upon your promise of continuing to give us from time to time accounts of your further proceedings and of any occurrences that may happen that you may think material for the information of, Rev. Sir, your obedient, humble servants.

[Signed, as before, by Dartmouth, Smythe, Thornton, Hendy, West, Savage, and Keen.]

Mr. Thornton, though sharing fully the general distrust of the new measures, and several times pointedly disapproving Wheelock's conduct in matters of importance, stood, in spite of all, his hearty friend in every emergency. He wrote, April 26, 1771, —

“That as the gentlemen of the Boston board testified opposition, and as so much had been said in England about the trust being abused and the money applied to very different purposes from that for which it is collected, and there has been almost an outcry about it, you must let the benefactions on your side be employed toward the building of both School and College, as we really have not a power vested in us to apply our moneys to any building.” [But he added] “If this should put you to any difficulty, I am ready to assist you with £400 to £500 out of my private fortune, or the double thereof if you judge it needful. . . . Many things have been said on this side to hurt the cause. . . . I really believe all the gentlemen of the trust have a just opinion of your conduct, and as far as they consistently can, they will go hand in hand with you; but when they cannot do it without infringing on the trust, it can't be expected, and they will not depart one tittle therefrom.”

On the eve of Wheelock's removal, Thornton, hearing that he was personally in debt to the amount of £150, had “begged to be allowed to clear him,” and the generous authority now given for further drafts was repeatedly exercised, during the next three years, to an aggregate amount of more than £1000. He was also active in refuting the current slanders. “It has been surmised [he wrote], but barely so, that you had changed your sentiments, and were disposed to those of Sandiman. I trust that, like every other calumny, it is believed by few that are acquainted with Jesus, and those who do pretend to believe it don't know what it means.”

But the most serious of these unkind suspicions came from the Scotch board, which remained implacable. Their suspicion was adroitly shaped to bring Wheelock into a dilemma among his patrons. “The Doctor [wrote one of the Erskines, February, 1772, to Thornton, who promptly forwarded the extract],

instead of employing missionaries, schoolmasters, and catechists, has alienated the greatest part of the moneys collected in England to erecting a new college in New Hampshire, the charter of which, where he is named first President, is conceived in such artful terms that that College will soon fall under Episcopal management; and had not this been in view, the ease with which he procured a charter when Mr. Whitefield was refused it, can hardly be accounted for." Again, a few days later, the same person wrote:—

"My apprehensions that Dartmouth College will contribute little to the conversion of the heathen, and after the Doctor's death may fall into Episcopal management, are not barely founded on letters from Dr. A, B, C, D, but on the terms of the charter, a copy of which I have procured. On pretexts no more plausible than these it affords, donations in New York designed for Presbyterians have been seized upon by the Church of England. I doubt not that a majority of the present twelve trustees are men of the most upright intentions. Five of them, however, are gentlemen whose high offices in New Hampshire may hazard their being biassed by court influence; and as these five make the majority of seven, which is the quorum for choosing a president or trustee, it is surely to be dreaded lest solicitations from those in the administration lead them to choose Episcopal, as they are restrained by nothing in the charter."

In reply to this, Wheelock assured Thornton that "there are but three of the trustees of this College that so much as bear the name of Churchmen, and but one who is thought to be so in heart; and he is a very honest man, and far from party spirit and bigotry." He resolutely declined to abandon the charter and all the interests that depended upon it, but professed himself willing to admit any alterations that could with safety be made to bring it more into accord with their notions. Not unreasonably he ascribed the whole trouble to "the indefatigable endeavors of Dr. Chauncey and his party in Boston." He alludes to it in the Narrative of 1773, and thus defines his position:—

"I don't remember to have heard any objection made against the establishment of this College, or School, or the plan or manner of executing it, of a long time on this side the Atlantic, excepting what I now and then hear from the sea-coast, above a hundred miles distant from me; . . . and the objections or slanders they have sent abroad have come to me through various hands, *via* Edinburgh and London,—a crooked road indeed, which has occasioned some trouble and expense of postage that would easily have been prevented had their objections been exposed to the light before they

left America. I think these calumnies in general to be unworthy my notice. . . . I shall only in general say that as to the insinuations given that there is a secret plan laid to get this College and School and all the donations made it into other hands, I have never had the least suspicion that such a resolution . . . was ever desired, or so much as thought of, by any one in connection with it on either side the water; . . . I think I can sufficiently demonstrate to any rational man that this seminary is more effectually secured against such a design, if it should ever be thought of, than any college in the land. But at the same time I detest its being considered or improved as a partial design to establish and build up one denomination of Christians and crush another professing the essentials of the same faith, and I hope that universal and impartial charity toward all denominations of people professing godliness and disinterested benevolence toward all mankind may always be the distinguishing character of Dartmouth College."

It will be remembered that it was made by the Governor and other trustees an indispensable condition of the location that the towns of Hanover and Lebanon should previously consent and petition "that a contiguous tract of at least three miles square, in and adjoining to these aforesaid towns of Hanover and Lebanon, be set off and incorporated into a separate and distinct parish, under the immediate jurisdiction of the aforesaid Dartmouth College." In order to the fulfilment of that stipulation, Hanover promptly, at a meeting held October 1st, 1770, chose a committee¹ "to treat with Governor Wentworth and the trustees of Dartmouth College respecting setting off a part of said town as a distinct district to said College." At the March meeting, 1771, the matter came up again; and at an adjourned meeting, March 26, 1771, at the house of David Mason, a letter from Wheelock was read, and it was put to vote "to see whether the town will comply with the [foregoing] condition of fixing Dartmouth College in the town of Hanover required by the trustees of said College;" and it passed in the affirmative. Whereupon it was "voted that we do agree that said tract may be set off as a parish or town, as shall be thought best;" also, "Voted that said tract be bounded by a line to begin in the south line of said Hanover three miles from Connecticut River, and to run northerly to the river in such a manner as to include a tract equal to three miles long and one and a half miles wide." Wheelock's letter was as follows:—

¹ John Wright, John Ordway, David Woodward, Jonathan Freeman, and Isaac Bridgman.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, March 23, 1771.

To the Inhabitants of the Town of Hanover, at their Town Meeting to be held by adjournment on Tuesday, the 26th instant.

GENTLEMEN, — In the enclosed form you have the very words of the honorable board of trustees in the instrument by which they fixed the place for Dartmouth College, so far as concerns this condition of location on your part. Perhaps you will think it proper to use the same words in your vote. I see no danger of your being led into any snare, or put under any disadvantage by it, either as a town or individuals; and as I have not the least suspicion that any concerned have the least design, desire, or inclination to lead you into any snare, if they had an opportunity for it, so you may rely upon my honor and fidelity that if any such design or grounds of suspicion of it should come to my knowledge, I will faithfully advise you of the same; and as the College will not be central in the parish, I believe it will best suit the trustees, as it will be more convenient for the College and the new parish, if you should vote, or by your vote show your willingness, that the east line of said parish should be shorter and the west line longer than was proposed; but as to that, please to do that which will be most agreeable to the town.

I cannot tell how his Excellency proposes to endow the new parish. I suppose it to be out of his power to interfere with the rights and privileges granted to the town by charter. If there be any prevailing fear of that, perhaps you may effectually secure yourselves from all jealousy in the matter by joining with Lebanon in giving your consent that it shall be made a distinct town. This would doubtless be as agreeable or more agreeable to the trustees than to make it only a parish, as I understand the parish is designed to be furnished with all necessary officers for the benefit of the College, and the College to have a representative in the General Assembly; and upon the whole I don't know but it will be best for you, as it may save you great expense for roads, which must soon be made. However, I am far from desiring to influence you in this affair. I wish you peace and unanimity under the Divine direction in all that is before you, and shall be willing to serve your interests any way within my power, as I am your hearty well-wisher and humble servant,

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

On a similar letter the town of Lebanon, March 19th, —

“Voted, to request the General Court that the Lands Included within the following Lines, viz., From the Northwest Corner bound of Lebanon, Running Easterly upon the Town line three miles; thence southerly a Perpendicular line one mile and half; Thence Westerly a Parallel line with the first Line to the Great River; thence abutting Westerly on said River to the above-mentioned Bound, — may be incorporated into a Town or Parish.

“Voted, Doc. Eleaza Wheelock to be an agent to Represent the Town at the General Court in favor of the above Request and for the Obtaining of the same.”¹

¹ The people of Lebanon were in general very friendly. Quite a fulsome address from the pen of Rev. Isaiah Potter was numerously signed by them and

Wheelock himself, as the common agent of both towns, duly presented the matter to the Governor, and it was favorably acted upon by the Council, April 4th, 1771, and sent down to the House recommended.¹ But it failed of enactment, owing most likely to a prevalent jealousy of the College and a reluctance to enlarge its prerogatives. The subject was several times brought forward, with no better success. In December, 1773, Wheelock applied to his friend William Smith, of New York, to procure a draft for this incorporation, whereby it might be in the power of the College to keep out bad inhabitants, prevent licentiousness, regulate taverns and retailers of strong liquor, prevent the corruption of students by evil-minded persons, encourage and support religious ordinances, etc. He suggested that he would like to include a mile or more on the western (or New York) side of the river, as "they have there at present but little law or gospel."

In August, 1774, the trustees directed an application to the Assembly, and it was made in November. On March 14, 1775, it being for some reason thought necessary, the town of Hanover renewed its consent by the following vote: —

"That we are willing and hereby give our consent that all that part of the town of Hanover bounded southerly on the southerly line of said town, easterly by the two-mile road and Murch's Meadow (so called), and the second hundred acre lots drawn to the right of the first minister and Prince Freeman, northerly by the second hundred acre lots drawn to Joshua Sherwin, Stephen Walcott, Nathan Wright, and Otis Freeman, and the fifty-fourth river lot, and westerly by the town line, be taken off from this town, and with the northwest part of Lebanon be erected into a distinct town, under the jurisdiction of the authority of Dartmouth College."

The area of the proposed new town was estimated at 5,760 acres. About a half of it was owned by the College, and nearly all the remainder, save a few hundred acres in Lebanon, by the President and his family connections. He was again named as agent to prosecute the affair. But Frisbie, whom he had already despatched (February 27th) to Portsmouth on that errand, reported, March 9th, that many of the members were unfriendly, and that the requisitions were considered too high,

presented to Wheelock in September, 1774, and considerable subscriptions came from there for the new College in 1773.

¹ N. H. State Papers, vii. 280.

and not apt to be granted. This occurred in the last months of the provincial government. We find no evidence that the Exeter Congress was approached on the subject, the controversy with that body concerning town representation thrusting all other matters aside. But the cherished object was not abandoned, and took after a time still greater prominence in a more ambitious shape.

In January, 1771, the Governor appointed Wheelock a justice of the peace, and sent him a *dedimus potestatem*, by which, said he, "you may be qualified to act therein without the trouble of coming to Portsmouth for that purpose. I think it will be expedient, not only for the County, but more especially for the College, that this power be under your administration; whereby all internal regulations may be duly effected, and every pernicious intrusion suppressed upon its appearance." On the separation of the counties of Grafton and Rockingham the appointment was renewed, with consent of the Council, May 29, 1773, to extend throughout the Province. But Wheelock's other duties proved too exacting to allow him to pay the requisite attention to this important function; and on his request Tutor Bezaleel Woodward received a similar appointment in June, 1772. Mr. Woodward was also nominated on the 18th of May, 1773, one of the justices of his Majesty's Inferior Court for the County of Grafton, and confirmed on the 28th.¹ From the time of this appointment, in 1772, until his death, in 1804, in one capacity or another he presided over a local tribunal of great importance on both the civil and criminal side. His records, most methodically kept, are still extant and full of curious interest. They will be referred to more at length hereafter.

The river was brought under the control of the trustees for certain purposes by "a patent of large extent" granted by the Governor, June 22, 1772. It conferred upon them the sole privilege of maintaining ferries at points over against the township of Hanover. Wheelock solicited the grant the previous year, but it was delayed in consequence of existing jealousies that made it prudent for the Governor to postpone it. As in the case of Landaff, the Governor waived the customary fees. The

¹ N. H. State Papers, vii. 16, 32.

regular ferry was of course where the bridge now is. Of this, further particulars will be given in a subsequent chapter.

The second Commencement fell on the 26th of August, 1772. The Governor came, with a considerable following, by the new State road from Wolfborough. In returning he went "up the river to the 45th degree of latitude, and thence [in the discharge of his duty as royal surveyor of forests] by an easterly direction through the pathless wilderness down to the sea-coast."¹ He thus announced his coming to Wheelock: —

WENTWORTH HOUSE, 17th August, 1772.

REVEREND AND VERY DEAR SIR, — I have this day rec^d your kind letter by my servant, Hersey. The polite intention of the gentlemen connected with Dartmouth College gives me great pleasure, and is gratefully accepted.

I propose to set out from this place the first fair day after the 20th instant, accompanied by Mr. Jaffrey and Col^o Gilman of the Trustees, also The Speaker, & as many members of Assembly & other Gent. of consideration as I could prevail on, in great hopes to interest their hearts where their duty has long since called them, & thereby obtain a proper support for Dartmouth College, already too long delay^d.

At Plymouth we shall make due enquiry, & if tolerably practicable prefer the College road lately laid out by authority. Col^o Atkinson's age, & Mr. Pierce's fatally increasing infirmities, prevent the possibility of their making the journey; but I am still in hopes the gentlemen from Connecticut will make up y^e Quorum of Trustees, that the College affairs may not suffer a repeated disappointment. I am, etc.,

J. WENTWORTH ²

REV. DR. WHEELOCK.

Of the public exercises on Commencement day we have no account. Two only were graduated, — Ebenezer Gurley and Augustine Hebbard, both of them being of those who came

¹ See his letter to the Admiralty, Jan. 13, 1773, from his copy-book.

² The following list accompanied the letter: "The company expected to attend Commencement at Dartmouth College, Aug. 26, 1772, with his Excellency Governor Wentworth; namely, the Honorable Mark Hunking Wentworth, Esq., George Jaffrey, Esq., Daniel Rogers, Esq., Peter Gilman, Esq., the Hon. John Wentworth, Esq., Speaker of the Assembly, Major Samuel Hobart, Esq., John Giddings, Esq., Col. John Phillips, Esq., John Sherburne, Esq., Member of Assembly, John Fisher, Esq., Collector of Salem, Col. Nathaniel Folsom, Esq., Rev. Dr. Langdon, of Portsmouth, Rev. Mr. Emerson, of Hollis, Dr. Cutler, Dr. Brackett, Samuel Penhallow, Esq., William Parker, Jun., Esq., Benjamin Whiting, Esq., High Sheriff of Hillsboro' County, Hon. Samuel Holland, Esq., Surveyor-General of the Northern District of America and a Councillor of Canada, Thomas McDonogh, Esq., Secretary to the Governor. About ten more are invited, but I think uncertain whether they'll undertake the journey."

with the School from Connecticut. The board, still without a quorum, "agreed to give each of them a commendatory testimonial of the same tenor with those given to the candidates last year."

From one of the Governor's guests, John Phillips, of Exeter, an old patron of the School, a donation of £175 L. M. was received, to assist in procuring a philosophical apparatus for the College. The Governor was desired to return him thanks, and the President to write him a letter to the same effect. This donation passed through many vicissitudes. It was, the next year (May 26, 1773), put into the hands of the Governor, to be laid out, through his friends in England, in a mathematical and philosophical apparatus, and was in September intrusted by him to his kinsman, Paul Wentworth, of London. The Governor at the same time "entreated his influence in promoting a subscription in England to assist the College in this matter." In the autumn of 1774 Mr. Wentworth informed the Governor that the instruments were making, "under the inspection of Dr. Solander and Dr. Irvine, by Ramsay, who is incomparably the best hand in Europe." "I have," said he, "mentioned the subscription to Lord Dartmouth, who has promised me his support. These things shall be shipped in the fall ships or in the early spring, with something of my own toward a library." In communicating this the Governor adds, "I think we may rely on having the most perfect apparatus, and a liberal addition to Colonel Phillips's generous donation. I shall not cease to study the interest of Dartmouth College as the best service to the province."¹ The shipment was not, however, made in time to anticipate the sudden departure of the Governor in 1775 and the ensuing suspension of intercourse, and so the matter rested for the time, but it will appear later.

At a special meeting of the trustees in Portsmouth, May 24 and 28, 1773, a quorum was at last secured, and diplomas were ordered for the candidates of the two preceding years. John Phillips was chosen a trustee in the room of Rev. Mr. Lockwood, deceased. It was at the same time announced that Mr. Phillips had given £125 L. M., for the general purposes of the College. Bezaleel Woodward was elected trustee in place of Hon. William

¹ Governor Wentworth's letter of Oct. 28, 1774; *Memoirs of Wheelock*, p. 317; also Dawson's *Hist. Mag.*, 1869, p. 388.

Pitkin, resigned, and also permanent clerk. A letter was ordered to be written to the trust in England, expressing gratitude and good will and a hope of future co-operation. A treasurer was also elected, in the person of President Wheelock himself, "to receive for the use of the trustees all such moneys, donations, legacies, debts, or dues as have been or may be subscribed, engaged, or given toward the support of Dartmouth College," with authority to sue for delinquent subscriptions. To him was also entrusted for the present the management of the ferry. Jonathan Freeman was appointed to secure, by course of law if need be, deeds of landed subscriptions.

At the Commencement, August 25, 1773, Governor Wentworth attended, for the third and last time. He wrote in advance, as follows: —

PORTSMOUTH, August 4th, 1773.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR, — I am much obliged in your kind letter of the July,¹ and gratefully feel the affectionate disposition of the people in your part of the Province, which inclines them to meet me at the ensuing Commencement, as mentioned in your letter. I am very apprehensive it will be almost impracticable to attend at that time, altho^e my inclinations are much set upon it, if possible; at any rate it must be thro^e many difficulties, as I am in daily expectation of Dispatches from England, on his Majesty's service, that I judge shou^d meet me here. Besides, I find a very ungenerous difficulty has arisen at Haverhill about the ministerial lot w^h Mr. Powers scandalously, & highly to the injury of his profession, has presum^d illegally to enter upon, with a view to defraud & insult the Church of England, which I never can quietly permit. The candor and equity observ^d by the Establish'd Church in acquiescing with pleasure in many lots being taken up by others where they were actually & bona fide settled, ought to have secur^d us in an equal return from them; but Mr. Powers has rather set us an example of persecution, w^h tho' it will not be follow^d, shall not succeed or be endured. I am sure ev'ry candid, benevolent Christian must disapprove of such hasty, unadvised, & unworthy conduct. I therefore mention it to you in confidence as such & as my Friend.

My views have ever been to render equal justice here & Protection to all denominations of Christians in this Province, as such, considering indiscriminately my Brethren, and as British subjects rejoicing in their universal prosperity. But when I see some trying to destroy and devour others, divesting themselves of every idea of Charity, Law, or Love, it is my Duty to interfere in behalf of the oppressed. This affair may probably require me to be at Haverhill; if so, it disappoints my hopes of seeing Hanover this year, as both are impossible.

¹ Date omitted in the original.

If I can be with you, I at present purpose to come thro' Plymouth, and will endeavor to send you word, if opportunity presents. Mrs. Wentworth is extremely obliged, & no less gratefully acknowledges the intended politeness to her; but her health & strength are quite unequal to such a journey. We hope when the Roads are made better, to enjoy the pleasure of visiting Dartmouth College and its much regarded founder; for both we earnestly pray that divine Mercy will shower down ev'ry perfect good. I am, my dear Sir, with the most unfeigned esteem & affection, your sincere Friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

REVEREND DOCTOR WHEELOCK.

The meeting of the board was held August 25th. Besides other things, the College seal was adopted, agreeably to its impression upon a steel die, engraved by Mr. Nathaniel Hurd, of Boston, and presented, with a suitable screw-press, at this time by Hon. George Jaffrey.¹ It bears within, upon a shield projecting, a pine-grove on the right, whence proceed natives toward an edifice of two stories on the left, which bears in a label over the roof the words *Vox clamantis in deserto*; the whole supported by Religion on the right, and Justice on the left, and bearing a triangle irradiate with the Hebrew words *אל שדי*, El Shaddai, — God Almighty. The motto is the same that was proposed for this purpose by Wheelock to the English trust in March, 1770, when, ignorant as yet of their unfavorable attitude toward the College, he requested them to devise a seal.



THE COLLEGE SEAL.

¹ Mr. Hurd was the most eminent and skilful engraver of his day. He was a brother of Col. John Hurd, of Haverhill, and inherited his skill from his father (see Grafton County Bar Proceedings, 1888). The original die is still in use, and in perfect condition. The press given by Mr. Jaffrey, though still preserved, ceased to be used in 1876, when the seal was fitted with a male die by the successor of Mr. Hurd, and mounted upon a modern lever press. Since then diplomas have received the impression on the parchment itself, and the ancient blue ribbon has been discarded. For about two years (1817-19), the seal being detained by the university party, a temporary die, with a different device, was used.

The public exercises of Commencement had now become more elaborate. The programme is given in Wheelock's Diary: —

"Sir Dean began with a Salutatory in English.

Disputatio sequitur:

Quaestiones, — 1st. *An anima humana naturali generatione sit producta?*

2d. *An institutio publica, privata sit anteferenda?*

An Oration in Hebrew, by Sir Smith, on the Sublimity of the Old Testament.

(An Anthem, and Dinner.)

A Clysophical Oration, in Latin, by Sir Huntington

An Indian Oration, on the Manners and Customs of the Indians, by Sir Dean.

A Forensick Disputation, in English: Whether there be a Numerical Resurrection of the Dead; and

A Dialogue; closing with the conferring of degrees, and final prayer."

For Tutor Ripley the Governor conceived a great liking, and soon after returning to Portsmouth, proposed a plan for his advancement in the Church of England which was at the same time shrewdly adapted to counteract the hostile influences prevalent in Boston. In September and October he wrote as follows:—

PORTSMOUTH, 13th Sept., 1773.

REVEREND & DEAR SIR,—. . . If Mr. Ripley has no objection to take orders in the Church of England, I think there is now an opening for him in the most respectable parish in New England, where his attachment to our College may render him of the greatest advantage. I have so great an opinion of his merit that I can strongly recommend him, & have no doubt of his succeeding. I mean, to be Assistant, & afterwards, no doubt, Rector of King's Chapel at Boston. Providence seems to have open'd this door to establish a friend of Dartmouth in an important situation for its guard & defence against the unfriendliness in that quarter. I wish I could know his sentiments early, for I really think he will be an honor to the College and an ornament to the Church.

Mr. & Mrs. Woodward went hence for Boston the 11th inst. He was so kind to visit me. I forwarded letters of recommendation to your son, Mr. John Wheelock, wh. I hope will be useful. I am [&c.]

J. WENTWORTH.

REV^d DR WHEELOCK.

WOLFBORO', 7th Oct., 1773.

MY DEAR AND REVEREND SIR,— I have this day inclosed a letter from my excellent friend Dr. Canor to Mr. Ripley upon the subject mentioned to you in my last, which is enter'd on solely by my recommendation. I think it the most eligible thing, both for Mr. Ripley and for Dartmouth Col-

lege, & will be honorable to both. Inclosed is a copy of a diploma desired by Mr. Woodward. I am in much haste, but ever, my dear sir, your truly sincere & affectionate friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

P. S. I have this day perfect good news from London, dated 7th August.

REV. DR. WHEELOCK.

Advantageous as the offer was, Wheelock promptly declined it, on the ostensible ground that he could not spare Mr. Ripley. It may well be understood that the true reason lay deeper. Sectarian breakers encompassed him, and he dared not furnish so ready a confirmation of the suspicions of the Scotch society. The Governor was for the moment displeased, but his annoyance passed quickly away and left no cloud behind.

Turning now to matters of every-day life in the village, we find a prevailing spirit of growth and improvement, which in the course of five years accomplished a wonderful transformation. Toward the clearing of lands for agricultural purposes a beginning was made in the winter of 1770-71. During the summer of 1771 a barn was built, twenty-eight feet by thirty-two, and in the summer of 1772, besides a wash-house, a bake-house, and several lesser buildings, there was raised, on the 16th and 17th of July, "on the plain," a large barn fifty-five feet by forty, and fifteen feet in the posts. It was located, as we have reason to suppose, at the northwest corner of the Common, not far from the spot where the Congregational vestry now stands. In August there was also built a malt-house of thirty feet square on what is now the southwest corner of Professor Emerson's lot, on College Street, above the new chapel.¹

The pine-logs cut near the river were of value for sale, but by the charter of the town all the white pine was reserved for the royal navy, and none could be legally felled except such as was unfit for masts and spars, or by permission of the Governor as surveyor of forests. Of course in the present case there was no trouble on that score. The College logs to the number of fifteen hundred were got into the river during the winter of 1771-72,

¹ This building remained near the spot many years. It proved unprofitable for its original design, and being turned into a tenement-house, fell after a time into a ruinous state. It is believed to be the same that was destroyed by fire near that spot in 1830, having been in the mean time repaired for shops and for a store-house in connection with General Poole's store. At the time of the fire it was known as the "Fort," and occupied by students. See Prof. A. Crosby's pamphlet: *Reminiscences of the Class of 1827.*

and sold to parties at Springfield for ten shillings per thousand, and paid for in goods to the amount of about £300. The logs were marked "*D. C.*;" but through some oversight the "broad arrow" was omitted, and in spite of the Governor's orders, they were seized by his Majesty's agent in Massachusetts. Though eventually released, litigation ensued that ended, in 1774, with an adverse judgment for damages considerably greater than the price of the logs.

The Governor wrote in June, 1772: "I have many complaints that your mark is used to cover logs in Connecticut River which are unlawfully cut, and wish this circumstance may not circumscribe my power to render you services in this line." A second letter, Feb. 19, 1774, exhibits him as a lawyer: —

"I have conversed with Mr. Storrs about the suit at Law bro't against him for breach of Covenant relative to some logs, refer^d to in your letter, 14th inst. We are both at a loss; what certificate can be useful in the case? I am ready & willing to give him any that is consistent with Truth; viz^t, that between 16th & 26th Aug^t, 1771, 1,500 white pine trees & logs, between Haverhill & Lebanon, then lying & being upon or near to Connecticut River, which logs or trees were cut or destroyed by fire on the outside, or blown down, or broken by persons or accident to me unknown, and that I seized said logs or trees to his Majesty's use according to law, and then the s^d logs I did actually deliver to you, to be sold or disposed of to the best advantage, and to acco^t with me thereon. Also, that you were then and there put into full possession of s^d timber, & had full right & lawful authority to sell it and deliver it accordingly, it being forfeited to the K., as cut & destroyed without license. Also, that s^d timber was fit & proper to make deal boards, plank & joist, tho' utterly destroy^d & ruined for either mast, yard, or Bow sprit.

"But I apprehend the case is clear, without any certificate, and that it don't rest upon that point at all. Mr Storrs must prove that he had the quantity of timber upon the River, or on its banks, in time according to contract. If this is prov^d, the pl^{ttf}. cannot come into Court & say those logs or timber belonged to the King, or to the Church, or to the County, or anybody else. It is eno' both in Law & Equity that Mr. Storrs was in possession of the timber, or logs, at the time & place specified by contract, & there ready & willing to deliver them. The pl^{ttf}. to avail himself of his plea must prove that he was actually interrupted in law by claim or seizure of the Articles, whereby he cou^d not take or receive them. But as this was not the case, the writ must fall, tho' the Plaintiffs discover their principles of honesty are not more efficacious than the law makes them. The plaintiffs declare upon Covenant broken, the proof rests on them; now if Mr. Storrs was in undisturbed possession of the contracted articles at time & place, surely they cannot prove the breach declared, & it is law they shall not be avail^d of any other.

There can be no covenant broken as declared, unless the timber was not specifically procured, or that the plffs. were legally divested thereof, or so withheld from its use. That they say it belonged to the K., — nay, if they prove it did so, — yet it is nothing, for Mr. Storrs was in possession, & no claim or divestiture has arisen, and until there does there is no matter of complaint, neither in law or Equity can damages be anticipated. If they can, ev'ry Man that grows tir'd of his Bargains may easily find out means to break them, and contracts (thro' the ingenuity of Lawyers) pass thro' more monstrous metamorphoses than Ovid has fabled. I recommended Mr. Storrs to employ able Counsel, & advise me if any and what certificate was necessary.”¹

From the new lands little was harvested the first year, and supplies for the long, hard winter of 1771-2, were very scant. Says Wheelock, “The greatest and cheapest part of the support of my family has been transported above a hundred, and much of it near two hundred, miles through new and bad roads, which has made the expense of some articles equal to the first cost, and many of them much more. The cheapest fodder I had the last winter to support my team and a few cows was brought forty miles on sleds by oxen.” In April provisions ran very low, and men were sent to Walpole to fetch a supply by water. So great was the urgency that Wheelock, as justice of the peace, armed them with a pass in the nature of a dispensation to travel with their boats on Sunday. So backward was the spring, he records in his Diary, June 12, 1772, that “on clearing away the chips and dung from the college door” ice was uncovered an inch in thickness. A week earlier, under the chips of the wood-yard, it had been found six inches thick.

This season more than seventy acres were cleared and fitted for improvement, some fourteen tons of hay were cut, and notwithstanding an “uncommon rain in harvest and an untimely frost,” fair crops were got from twenty acres of English winter grain, and eighteen acres of Indian corn. The number of the “family” was from fifty to eighty, including from ten to thirty

¹ The following permit is preserved in another case, and shows how the thing was done: —

To His Excellency JOHN WENTWORTH, Esq^r: Surveyor General of His Majesty's Woods in America, etc.

These certify that I have viewed a small Lot of Pine Timber for Bezaleel Woodward, Esq^r, viz., the River Lot No. 58, in the Township of Hanover, in the Province of New Hampshire, and find no Timber on said Lot fit for the King's use.

JOHN HOUSE. D. Sr.

Dated at Hanover aforesaid, the 28th day of May, A. D. 1773.

laborers and from forty to fifty students, of whom between five and nine were Indians.¹ In February, 1773, eighty students were reported, including seventeen Indians. In the fall and winter above two hundred acres more were cleared and sowed with hayseed, — largely white clover; twenty acres of it also with English grain.

In the summer of 1773 the laborers for six months numbered from thirty to forty, besides those employed at the mills and in the kitchen, wash-house, etc. The crops were correspondingly increased; namely, about thirty tons of hay, with twenty acres each of grain and corn. A hundred bushels of wheat were also derived from the generosity of Colonel Bellows, of Walpole. Fifteen acres of new land "contiguous to the School" (north-west of the College toward the river) were cleared and fenced and sowed to wheat. The clearing of this had been begun the year before, but "was found, as expected, very costly, being very heavy timbered, though the soil was good and promising." For pasturing, near two thousand acres had now been enclosed with fence. The bulk of it lay to the eastward along Mink Brook. Upon five hundred acres of it, lying about two miles from the College, the trees had been cut and girdled, and a part of it sowed with hayseed. This was long distinguished as the "girdled land." The cost of hayseed alone for this use was estimated at £40 sterling. The live-stock comprised seven yoke of oxen and about twenty cows, all the property of the School. There began now to be questionings where to bestow the crops.

"Another barn [says Wheelock] will likely soon be necessary, as also a house and accommodations for a dairy, etc.; and though the expenses to accomplish these things must necessarily be great, yet the fund thereby laid will be lasting, and I hope sufficient to support a large number of Indians and pious youth, who shall devote themselves to the service of the Redeemer with their whole hearts, in a pleasing succession to the latest generation. I have [he adds], thro' the pure mercy of God, been blessed with a peaceable family, diligent and orderly students, and faithful laborers. I have not heard a profane word spoken by one of my number, nor have I reason to think there has been one for *three years past*; nor do profane persons expect to be employed in my service, or allowed to continue here."²

As to a considerable part of the lands, he estimated that twenty shillings would clear, stock, and fence an acre, and that

¹ Narrative, 1772, pp. 4-6.

² Ibid., 1773, p. 21.

an acre thus improved would be worth twenty shillings per annum. On the other hand, Jabez Bingham, the farmer, by the light of subsequent experience, in an affidavit made fifteen years later for another object, declared the cost of proper clearing and fencing to have been not less than £4 10s. L. M. the acre. This probably included the second clearing. The variety of work in progress is thus illustrated, Oct. 15, 1773: —

“Three men clearing land in Landaff to prevent forfeiture of the charter; one supposed to be returning with stores from Norwich, Conn. (two hundred miles distant), with a team of six oxen, with whom were expected one or two other teams, which were to be hired there; three laborers at the mills repairing breaches and fitting them for use; fourteen employed about my house to prepare for my removal into it as soon as may be; two employed as cooks in the College kitchen; three digging the cellar for the new College, and drawing away the dirt with a team; five gathering in the Indian harvest; four receiving, counting, and securing brick which I bought at Lyme. Several employed by my agent at Plainfield [ten or twelve miles distant], digging and preparing limestone to burn a kiln for trial.”¹

The common price of laborers in lawful money (they board-
ing themselves) was, for common men, 3s. a day; for master-
workmen of carpenters, joiners, and masons, from 4s. to 6s. Pasture-fed beef was 20s. a hundred, and pork 33s.; wheat, 5s. a bushel (6s. for the best); rye, 3s. 6d.; Indian corn, 2s. 6d. and 3s., and salt, 12s.; molasses, 5s. a gallon. Seasoned white-pine boards, 20s. per thousand, and 2s. 6d. for sticking; a canoe forty-two feet long and two and a half feet deep cost £3 3s.; the table monument to Mr. Maltby, the first ever placed in the village graveyard, cost £8, besides brick and lime. This stone and inscription are still perfect. Tuition and board of a student were £20 a year; silver at 6s. 8d. the ounce. But money was as scarce in Hanover as elsewhere. The minister's salary and other dues were paid mostly in produce. Wheat was the measure of value. As late as the last decade of the century, payment in that kind was usual in the stipulations of leases. Such was the habit in respect to College lands, leased for periods of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, and granaries were built at Wheelock and elsewhere to store the annual receipts. Debts

¹ Narrative, 1773, pp. 41-2. Work had also to be done to preserve rights in Dorchester, and in 1774, one hundred and sixteen acres of choice land there was ready for burning and sowing, “expecting to lease it for the benefit of the School” (Narrative, 1775, p. 21).

were slow of payment, and generally discharged by discount with third persons or by barter. Hard money was not only scarce, but what there was consisted of all sorts of odds and ends of the world's currency.¹

In 1774, in spite of a wet season which prevented the burning of the new ground, — a necessary preliminary to its sowing, — there was raised upon the College lands about three hundred bushels of choice wheat and two hundred and fifty bushels of Indian corn (which was, however, much short of the expectation), and sixty tons of good hay. A hundred acres of new land were cleared, but could not be burned. About a quarter of it was, nevertheless, sowed to wheat, and fifteen acres to rye. The next winter the clearing of sixty acres more was begun, to be ready for wheat the ensuing fall. For the first time the cattle were wintered without sending forty miles away for hay.²

The summer of 1775 brought a severe drought; but there were harvested eight hundred bushels of grain, and the same fall one hundred and fourteen acres (one hundred acres of it new land) were sowed with the same.³ In July, 1776, there was pasturage for two hundred cattle. But all these labors soon came to nought. Lands cleared for pasture and grass were in a year or two covered with a wild and exuberant growth of wood, particularly maples and cherry trees, and in a few years the labor of clear-

¹ The following extracts from Wheelock's Diary will serve for illustration:

"Jan. 2, 1772. Rec^d of Capt. Clark, 20 dollars and half a pistareen to keep for him.

Sept^r 30, 1772. Let Mr. Ripley have a guinea, half a jo, and 9 coppers.

Oct. 15, 1772. Del^d to Mr. Storrs, 5 half joes and two guineas for a yoke of fat oxen, 1409 lbs."

The next shows how a payment of forty dollars was compassed:

"March 23, 1775, sent to Mr. Nath^l Hovey, —

One guinea	£1	8	0
22 dollars		6	12 0
4 crowns		1	6 8
One half-crown		0	3 4
One quarter-crown		0	1 4
Ten pistareens		0	12 0
	£10	3	4"

A "jo" (Johanna) was a Portuguese gold coin of the value of \$8. The £ was of course "lawful money," — \$3.33.

² Narrative, 1775, pp. 20, 21.

³ Memoirs of Wheelock, p. 65, note.

ing the second time became greater than the first.¹ Aside from this, the wide extent of the lands made fencing expensive and wellnigh impossible; so that the crops were in daily jeopardy from wandering cattle and hogs. Constant efforts to maintain gates across the highways at certain points met determined opposition and occasioned much trouble. The town came to the rescue sometimes in regard to hogs, but did not in general approve the gates. One was several times erected across the road not far from where Senator Patterson now lives, and one on the road to Mink Brook, near the foot of College Street; but both were repeatedly torn down.

Early in 1774 Wheelock introduced and set up a blacksmith, with provision for three fires. The smith was Israel Curtis, who came from Norwich, Vt., about the 1st of March. Wheelock notes in his Diary: —

“February 16, 1774, agreed with Simeon Waters, of Sutton, to come and make brick; the same day Mr. Duguet came to be employed as a baker, brewer, and cook. March 8th, agreed with Frederick Earnest . . . to take the care of the kitchen, and inspect and conduct the prudentials of it; take care of the Hoggs, fat and lean; and take a prudent care of the disposal of the offal of kitchen and dairy; also, to inspect the conduct and see that there be regularity and prudence in and about their eating in the hall and in the kitchen; oversee the saving of ashes and the Boyling them to salts or potash [all for £30 for one year!].

“March 21st, Lieut. Moody Chase, of Cornish, came to make trial in the conduct of my husbandry affairs” [much to the disgust of the nephew, Bingham, who had conducted them two years, and was thus for the time suspended].

During the same year was also built for Wheelock a potash house, by Mr. Sever, at a cost of £57. It stood (we suppose) near the little brook, south of what is now Lebanon Street. Below it was the wash-house, and west of it then, or later, a brick-yard. Wheelock had been very anxious to set up a manufactory for potash in 1771, in order to forestall a similar enterprise then beginning at Thetford. But Mr. Penhallow, of Portsmouth, to whom he applied, through the Governor, for the necessary capital, seems not to have viewed it with favor. The enterprise was not indeed justified by a successful result.

The blacksmith's shop stood on the Green, midway between its northeast corner and the College Hall. It was burned in September, 1779. The fire began in a tailor's shop that occupied

¹ *Memoirs of Wheelock*, p. 58.

one end of the building, while everybody was at supper; and according to precedent, the men who first arrived spent their energies in saving a heavy mill crank, leaving the garments and the bellows to the flames, though the latter were saved by Mr. Dewey's father, Benoni, who, being a blacksmith himself, was very likely in charge of the shop.

The intrusion of unacceptable public-houses where strong drink was dispensed without discrimination, occasioned great trouble. The worst of these, according to Wheelock's account, was the inn of John Payne, at the northeast end of the village. Its license in 1772 was due to the animosity of Major Sympson, the sheriff, conceived from fancied slights to his magnificency at the first Commencement. No efforts were effectual to prevent its renewal. Even the Governor seemed powerless.

PORTSMOUTH, 19th February, 1774.

MY DEAR SIR, — Last night I received your favor of the 14th instant by Mr. Storrs, and note the contents.

Upon receipt of your letter, 24th January, I lost no time in inquiring into the reasons of granting license to Mr. Payne for taverning and retailing, or, in other words, for conveying means of vice and disorder among the Indian and other indiscreet youth at the College, which is not less against my earnest desire and positive resolution than it must doubtless be against yours. I have the pleasure to find Mr. Payne succeeded merely through it being unknown to the sessions that I had expressly desired that no taverner or retailer should be licensed within three miles of the College, but by your recommendation. On the contrary, many of the justices thought it was merely a contest between Mr. Storrs and Payne, tending to establish a monopoly to the former. This idea I have rectified, and in April sessions Mr. Payne's license will be suspended.

I rejoice to find that the justices I've seen are truly zealous to protect the College from every attempt or danger of vitiation, and will resolutely exert their legal authority to that end; and I am more particularly happy that this temporary inconvenience has excited the resentment of those that were misled into voting for it. Such accidents we shall, or may expect to, meet with from the unworthy stimulations of avarice. But while I am in authority such schemes shall wither and die as soon as you can communicate them to me, which I ever hope to receive from you with that warmth and earnestness that must and ought to flow from the bosom of a parent tenderly watching over the most important interests of a child that promises fair to be a glory and a blessing to many generations. . . .

I am very sorry, as a friend to truth, virtue, and literature, and affectionately attached to you, that any new trouble should arise to you, or dangers to the College. Yet, my dear friend, let me say to you, be comforted. It is surely the cause of One greater than all its enemies; it has been peculiarly

preserved by his mercy through every difficulty. Neither can falsehood and malice finally prevail against truth. For a time it afflicts, and humbles our hopes; it no doubt calls for our prudence, perseverance, and sometimes spiritedly to repel its assaults; but I hope and trust we are founded too deeply for the causeless blasts of malice. Possibly I may be thought sanguine, or even superstitious, yet I feel in my heart an inexpressible certainty that the enemies of Dartmouth College will be confounded, — nay, more, sir, that their malice will providentially be directed to establish and secure that institution. In this hope, and the certainty that our views are right, I rest the event with great steadfastness. I herewith return a letter of mine delivered to me by Mr. Storrs. Permit me to desire you'll give the enclosed books to Major Wheelock, who will present them as directed. I am, with unfeigned regard and much affection [etc.],

J. WENTWORTH.

REV. DR. WHEELOCK.

Payne, aware of Wheelock's sentiments, was naturally disinclined to go out of his way to oblige him, and there resulted a sort of feud that for a number of years showed itself in various ways, to the discomfort of all parties.¹ A like bad eminence distinguished the inn of John Sargeant, just over the river at the ferry, in Norwich, and that of Charles Hill, near the lower bar of the Falls of the Connecticut, in Lebanon. Sargeant indeed had a fair grievance in the College claim to the ferry, which he had conducted before the grant of 1772, and persisted in conducting it, in defiance of the College franchise. He, like the others, supplied at his house means of intoxication to the students, and, as we shall see, exasperated Wheelock beyond endurance. Payne, as highway surveyor, wreaked his vengeance on the gates. This was denounced as a riot, and Col. Elisha Payne was deputed by the rest of the

¹ We have a number of incidents illustrating the evils flowing from this tavern of Payne's. Among them, Rev. Noah Miles, late of Temple, N. H., is responsible for the following. It seems that Mr. Miles's chum, having indulged in a spree at Payne's tavern, came home very drunk and sick. He was sent for to the President's study, but being too sick to go, Miles went in his stead, rapped, and entered. The President was busy at his writing-table, with his great white wig on his head. The conversation was something like this: "Ah, Miles! it is you. But where is your chum? I sent for him; why does he not come?" "Sir, he is not able to come." "But he can walk, can he not?" "Sir, he cannot stand upon his feet." "Indeed, then he is badly done up. This is a miserable affair. That tavern is a nuisance. But can you tell me, Miles, whether my sons Eleazar and James were there?" "Sir, I understand that they were." "Ah! I suspected it. Bad boys of mine! I have some hope of James yet; but as to Eleazar, he will be damned, I believe" (The Dartmouth, July, 1843, p. 284). Hill was afterwards convicted by the Committees of Safety of passing counterfeit money (N. H. State Papers, viii. 115).

board, on Wheelock's request, to defend the College interests. Under the advice of Mr. Woodward, he determined on milder measures than a criminal prosecution, for which both were roundly lectured. In July, 1774, Wheelock laid the case out to the Court of Sessions at Plymouth, and urged that Dr. Crane be licensed as a retailer of spirits, and Captain Storrs to be the *only* taverner. As to the latter, certainly the prayer was ineffectual. We shall hear more of these troubles at a later period, when they came to be almost affairs of state.

The boarding of students in commons, as a branch of the "President's family," was a necessary incident to the first year of a settlement in the wilderness. The weekly charge was six shillings and sixpence. They were required to provide their own utensils, such as knives, forks, spoons, cups, bowls, etc.; and any student who should carry to his room any utensil belonging to the College kitchen or hall was fined the value of the article. As other houses multiplied, there grew up an inclination to leave the commons, and various enactments were made to prevent it. The frequenting of taverns was prohibited (on Payne's account) as early as 1772, and in 1775 it was enacted "that those students who board in the hall shall have rooms in the College (if they choose it), in preference to those who board elsewhere." In October, 1776, the trustees ordered "that no student board out of commons without a written license from the President," and the rent of the unoccupied rooms was apportioned among the students declining to use them.

In the same connection, there being at first no tradesmen here, the citizens too, all in one way or another dependent upon the College, looked to it to provide for their needs in every particular. This involved the maintenance of a general store in one of the College buildings. It was attended, with the aid of students, by Captain Storrs, the book-keeper, until, in January, 1773, he bought out the stock and set up as the first recognized merchant on the spot where Mr. Cobb now pursues a similar occupation.

All this was done under the immediate supervision and control of Wheelock himself, with infinite labor of detail. Not only did he carry the responsibility of the farming and provisioning, but a quarrel between the cook and the scullion

demanding and received his personal intervention as surely as the negotiations with the English trust. His Diary and Correspondence are full of these petty affairs.¹ It is not surprising that he was worn out with the fretting cares. In March, 1772, he writes that he had not been on his horse nor in his carriage more than three times in eighteen months. "I hope," says he in March, 1773, "Providence designs to deliver us from the plague of unskilful, deceitful, and unfaithful cooks, two of whom Mr. Woodward has lately *ordered to the whipping-post* for stealing." A steward had been talked of as early as 1771, and there were several candidates; but Wheelock could not bring himself to employ one until 1778, when failing health in the last year of his life compelled it. He was blessed, however, with some faithful assistants, whose help was invaluable, and who are entitled to be honorably mentioned.²

Respecting the growth of the village, Wheelock remarks,

¹ DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, April 6, 1775.

HONORED SIR, — Dont I was this morning determined to go awa; yet opon furthing considarition I thought not to live the Doctor, for he may [not] have the time to get another Baeger, and for that reson I will tary one month longer, Provided that I shall have my wood cut and splete at my door, and that Mr. Beegam [the farmer] shal have nothing to do nor say to me, nor me to him. if thes proposal pleas to the Doctor, I be glad to know as son as possible, so till I may go work in morning. Honored Sir, this are from your very Humble Servant,

MICHEL DUGUET.

R^D DOCTOR WHEELOCK.

Duguet in the event spent his life here; and his daughter Sally's pitiable life and sad death, but thirty years ago, moved the deepest sensibilities of the community.

² Capt. Seth Wright, of Lebanon, Conn., was the first and most trusted business agent abroad, until his death, Oct. 20, 1775. He had the refusal of the stewardship. Capt. Aaron Storrs came hither from Lebanon, N. H., in 1770. He was Wheelock's book-keeper and local agent, and aspired to the stewardship. He was prominent here for many years, but finally removed to Norwich, Vt., and afterward to Randolph. The husbandry affairs, after Bingham and Lieutenant Chase, came in 1776 into the charge of Joseph Loveland, of Hebron, Conn. For matron at the head of the housekeeping department Wheelock was favored at times with the services of several ladies of capacity, refinement, and social position. The first was Miss Zeruiah Sprague, daughter of Capt. Samuel Sprague, of Lebanon, Conn., who had served him several years before his removal, and came with the School to Hanover, performing the journey on horseback, in December, 1770. She married Rev. Levi Frisbie, Feb. 21, 1776, and removed to Ipswich, Mass., and died prior to 1780. Besides other ladies elsewhere mentioned, the Misses Elizabeth and Sarah Comstock, of Stamford, Conn., one or both, devoted some time to the work early in 1773, and were urgently entreated to return in January, 1775; and Miss Elizabeth Shields, who had a brother in Lyme, came on purpose, in 1775, from Dunsee, near Berwick-on-Tweed.

in the fall of 1773, "A little more than three years ago there was nothing to be seen here but a horrid wilderness; now there are eleven comfortable dwelling-houses (besides the large one I built for my students, and other necessary buildings), and some of them reputable ones, built by tradesmen and others, — the most of them finished, and all expected to be habitable before winter, and all within sixty rods of the College."¹ Chief among these new dwellings was the mansion-house of the President himself, situated on the rising ground where Reed Hall now stands. The one-story building which he first occupied was, as we know, intended, not for a permanent residence, but for a store-house; and Wheelock almost immediately found it too contracted for his proper accommodation. He writes to Mr. Thornton, May 10, 1773: —

"My necessities really call for help. I have had no other place for study, retirement, lodging, and to receive all my company on private business, but a little smoky room of about twelve or fourteen feet square, which I made in the garret of the one-story house (of which I have already informed you), which I originally planned for a storehouse for the school, and which is now used for that purpose; and I am in no capacity to build, not being able yet to make sale of the little interest I left in Connecticut, since the inhabitants are so many removed from that place, and so many would remove if they could sell their livings at almost any rate. I have therefore drawn a bill on you, of this date, of £100."

He says at another time that the roof of his garret was so leaky that the rain dripped upon his paper as he wrote. In a letter to the English trust in July he announced that he had begun to build, hoping to have the house ready for his family before winter, but knew not "how to support the expense of it, unless by the unbounded liberality of one of your number, by whom I have had the greater part of my support since I came into this wilderness." The new house was so far completed by the 18th of November that he moved his family into it, though barely covered in, and divided with rough partitions. It was forty-six feet by thirty-six, and of two stories, with a gambrel roof.² He describes it as "a decent and convenient house for two families," and capable of furnishing several comfortable rooms for students. He informed Mr. Thornton that

¹ Narrative, 1773, p. 23. For a plan of the village at that time, see p. 229.

² It was sold in 1838 for \$300, and removed to the south side of River Street, where it is now (much modernized) occupied by Mrs. B. D. Howe.

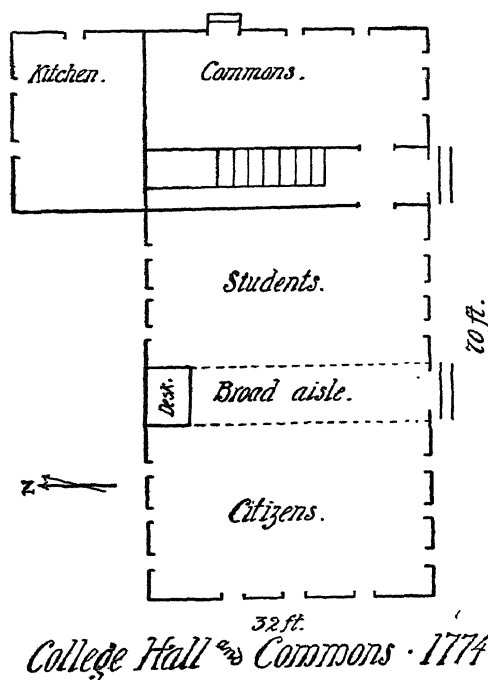
he had expended £250 sterling upon it,—a small part out of his own estate, and for the rest had used money put into his hands by the Province for building the new College, which must be refunded as soon as needed for that purpose.

The frame was constructed by Hezekiah Davenport, who arrived from Connecticut on a venture with tools and workmen, May 9th, and got leave to set up a shop. It was made of heavy timber, and was raised, according to the method then in use, broad side at a time, by main force. The students, with others, were called in to assist. Gen. Ebenezer Mattoon, of the class of 1776, was one of them, and was accustomed to tell in after years how the east side, when partly up, came very near overpowering the men; but they held it till help arrived, though by a supreme effort, which forced the blood from the nostrils of some of them.

After the removal of Wheelock's family into the new mansion-house the old one-story building in which they had lived was during the next season (1774) converted into a "College Hall" and commons, and by the help of the citizens enlarged by adding thirty feet at the west end, surmounted by a belfry. The eastern third was appropriated to the commons department, with a "lean-to" for a kitchen on the north side. The remainder was given up to a large room, used jointly by the College and citizens for chapel, meeting-house, and public hall. The entrance was from the south into a broad aisle, on the right of which were seats for the students, and on the left for the citizens. This was the "College Hall," famous in the political agitations of the next ten years. A bell was hung upon it about May, 1781. The building was unpainted without and within. The stage was made of bass-wood planks, hewed with an axe.

In these early years but few children were born in the village. The first was a daughter of Patrick Field, the tailor. The date of her birth is not preserved. The first marriage recorded is that of Bezaleel Woodward with the President's daughter, Mary Wheelock, Feb. 6, 1772. John Russell the cook and Mary Garrick were joined in matrimony on the 10th of May following, and Joshua Hendee and Lydia Woodward on the 21st of the same month. In 1773 daughters were born to Hendee and to Woodward; and to the latter, September, 1774, a son, William,

the same who succeeded his father as Treasurer of the College, and figured as party defendant in the great litigation of 1817-19. He was the first male child born on the College plain. The first death was that of a casual visitor, the Rev. John Maltby, stepson to the President, Sept. 30, 1771. He died of bilious colic, though long afflicted with consumption. The health of



the little community was in general excellent. About the 1st of June, 1773, there was an epidemic of measles. Madam Wheelock was very sick, and Heman Osborne, a student from Litchfield, Conn., died; but there were no other deaths. The small-pox being much dreaded, Dr. Crane made petition to the Legislature, May 28, 1773, for leave to erect a hospital in some remote part of the town for inoculation. It was read in the Council and dismissed.

The College building erected in 1770 was not designed for permanence. The original intention looked to a larger and more substantial structure. Wheelock wrote to the English trust in July, 1770, before a blow had been struck, "I propose

to build with bricks, and 't is generally thought best that the first building be as large as two hundred feet long and fifty wide, and three stories high. I shall endeavor to provide materials this fall and winter, as far as I can, if possible to be ready to enter upon the work in the spring;" and he urged then, as he had the preceding March, to send him from England glass, nails, colors, locks, and hinges, advising, as there was opposition elsewhere made to importation, to send them to the Governor, who would condescend to receive them. The building of 1770 being erected in haste, "just to serve the present emergency," until the permanent building could be set up, it became in a few years so much decayed as to be scarcely tenantable. Plans for the larger building were obtained between 1771 and 1773, in consultation with Comfort Sever, of Stillwater, N. Y., a carpenter who in 1773 settled near the College under the patronage of Wheelock. The names of William Gamble and Peter Harrison are mentioned as architects in the same connection. In March, 1772, Wheelock wrote the Governor:

"It looks at present as though there would be a necessity of entering upon the large building soon. We shall be much crowded for study-room next summer if all come who are expected, and the growth of the College must be much stinted without it; and accordingly I think it will be prudent to be making provision of materials immediately; and should be glad to have your Excellency's mind in that matter, and whether the temper of the Province be such toward this College that it might be thought expedient to desire their charitable assistance therein."

This was not the first time that the temper of the Province had been tested for the benefit of the College. The Governor, being always its ardent friend, kept it pretty continually before the Assembly, which was, however, very cold, and gave in general but scanty favor to his recommendations in its behalf. Many members were sore about the location, and some had other jealousies; but the Governor was credited with the threat to "break any man's commission" that acted unfriendly toward it. In his message to the Assembly, Jan. 10, 1770, the Governor urged particularly the making of roads, "that thus the greatest benefits may result from Dartmouth College being happily established in the Province, whence many hundred respectable families from other colonies are induced to settle in and cultivate the remotest district of this government; and above all others, that the great blessing of literature may there-

by be disseminated among the people, now destitute thereof to a degree well known." The House replied mainly with compliments, avowing that they considered "the settlement of Dartmouth College an event which *in time* will be a great advantage to the Province." At the December session the Governor definitely recommended a grant for the support of the College, and the House answered in a guarded way that they would "consider what encouragement they may (consistent with their fidelity and regard to the circumstances of those they represent) give to this infant institution, when they shall be duly informed of the constitution it is under."¹

At the adjourned session in March, 1771, the Governor transmitted a memorial from Dr. Wheelock, dated February 14th, and urged that it should have "a benevolent and meritorious place." The Assembly promised that "proper notice should be taken of Dartmouth College as far as the present circumstances of the Province will admit;" and on March 28th, "upon reading the memorial of Dr. Wheelock setting forth the necessitous circumstances he was in by leaving his parish and engaging in the business of Dartmouth College, and that he was wholly employed in the affairs of the College, and had no certain method of subsistence, therefore voted, in consideration of his great services for the interest of said College, that there be and hereby is granted to said Dr. Eleazar Wheelock the sum of £60 lawful money, to be paid him out of the money that is or shall be in the treasury, as soon as may be." This vote the Governor approved on the 5th of April. The town of Portsmouth on March 29th expressed approbation of the grant (calling it £100), and transmitted a copy of their vote to Wheelock. An Act providing for the laying of the Wolfborough road was

¹ N. H. State Papers, 232, 234, 260.

The Governor wrote of it Jan. 29, 1771: "I have not yet received your former letter referred to in your last. Col^o Gilman shew me his, with a copy of a memorial, but unsigned, and therefore not presented. I recommended D. College to the Assembly in my speech, and some time after gave them the charter, but could not procure a grant. I regret it much. Does it not prove the necessity of a College in a country where Legislators will not grant an encouragement to Literature? I should be sorry to carry this also to our Christian profession. Nevertheless we must not despair; for be assured, Sir, I never will omit an opp^y of enforcing it, and don't doubt but I shall succeed, for common-sense can't long be offuscated in covetousness."

passed at the same session; but the bill establishing the College parish failed.¹

At the June session, 1771, John Wheelock and Ripley (both members of the senior class) attended the Assembly with another memorial, but accomplished nothing. In December the Governor's message again called attention to the College, and the Assembly responded with generalities. A petition of the trustees, dated August 28th, asking for a salary to the President out of the Provincial treasury, and for the exemption from public charges of lands granted to several officers of the College, was sent down from the Council and laid on the table December 14th. The same requests came up again the following June, but the Assembly refused to consider either of them.² The zeal of the Governor was all this time as marked as the indifference of the Assembly, as shown by the following letters: —

PORTSMOUTH, Jan. 25, 1772.

REV. AND DEAR SIR, — I am obliged in your letter by Mr. Chace, who brings with him the College patent, which is so formed as to convey you the part intended. The patent for the ferry is in hand, but delayed by an unusual multiplicity of business in the Secretary's office. Notwithstanding my earnest recommendation of your memorial to the Assembly, and pressing it home both in public and private, they would do nothing, although they expressly acknowledged the propriety and usefulness of the measure in their answer to my speech. Those gentlemen who were friends to the cause of literature and Christianity spoke warmly in your behalf, but finding they were outnumbered, were compelled to refer it to April sessions, when hope for better success. Indeed, my good sir, I grieve and blush at this disappointment, as it reflects such shame upon those who ought to be emulous in forwarding a seminary of learning; but covetousness and ignorance are sad enemies to generous and noble institutions. I have consulted with Colonel Atkinson upon your affair. If you find the sum still eligible, and will send down your promissory note for an hundred guineas, payable in eight months to the Hon. George Jaffrey, Esq., Treasurer of New Hampshire, we will be security that if you have not a Provincial grant, you will repay the loan. This will save the interest.

I am waiting for some letters from Captain Holland, who is one of the Council of Canada, whose interest will much serve your cause. He is personally known to most of the Indian tribes, and is upon a very intimate footing with the present Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief. These cannot fail to help the cause so much that I may not omit them. They shall be sent you next week. In the mean time I have a prospect of

¹ N. H. State Papers, vii. 273-76, 283; *Memoirs of Wheelock*, p. 62.

² N. H. State Papers, vii. 288-92.

getting you six or eight Indians from the eastern tribes of Penobscot and St. John's, in the Bay of Fundy. I have instructed my surveying officers, now with a vessel stationed three months in that district, to procure me that number or more, and send them directly here in the vessel. He gave me great encouragement to hope they would be had; and as he is a very sensible, discreet man, I rely much upon it. This will open a natural intercourse with Canada, and to great advantage.

Dartmouth College has many bitter enemies, who stick not at the most horrid falsities to injure us; but perseverance will overcome their malicious snarlings. Truth will prevail. Their newspaper publications are infamous, and deserve no answer. Indeed, they are so flimsy and apparently spiteful that they are despised. After this year I think all your difficulties are done. My unalterable attachment constantly engages me to expedite and facilitate this event; for I beg leave to assure you that no man whatever can be more happy in the establishment of the College or in promoting your personal happiness than, dear sir,

Your very affectionate friend,

REV. DR. WHEELOCK.

J. WENTWORTH.

WENTWORTH HOUSE, June 24, 1772.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR, — Mr. Storrs has this moment called upon me earlier than expected, on his return to Hanover. I am unwilling to delay him, and therefore have only time to thank you for your two letters enclosing extracts from letters which undoubtedly originated in abominable falsehoods invented by the enemies of Dartmouth College on this side the water, with a view to its ruin. But happily for that institution, founded upon liberal charity, upon motives of universal, disinterested piety, it cannot be subverted but by a desertion of its own fundamental principles, which, worthily embracing the highest and unlimited good of mankind, will finally meet ample support. The conduct of our maligners is entirely disingenuous and utterly false. To Dissenters we are represented as the child of Episcopacy; to Episcopalians as a seminary of devoted sectaries, combining for the extermination of the Church of England. For a day they will impede and distress. Truth will not long be obscured; its radiance will discover their fraudulent practices, and establish those friendships that we shall find able and disposed to preserve us. Our original and true basis is universal charity, our interest forever to avoid any discrimination but virtue and vice. While such are our pursuits we cannot be radically injured, although the enemies of such views do continue, *fas aut nefas*, to oppose.

The St. Johns Indians are not yet prevailed on to send any youth for education. They have promised me a visit this summer at this place upon that business, when I hope to engage them therein. In the mean time my officers in the eastern country persevere in their invitation.

The Assembly would not consider either of the memorials presented in behalf of the College; they were laid over to the next session, which I believe will turn out advantageously, as many of the members are ashamed that so little has been done. Avarice is the rock that keeps this province down. Dartmouth College feels its weight in this instance. I hope it will

tend to spread wisdom and benevolence, and forever rejoice in its effects. If you can furnish me with a list of College lands, through their mutations to the original grantees, I will take care none shall be escheated. Without such information I am not able to do anything. It is said that Mr. Livius has sold to Colonel Moulton a right in Piermont that he subscribed to the College. If so, I am apprehensive you'll meet some difficulty in explaining the matter to the public, as you've given him credit for the donation in your last Narrative. . . . If possible, I will again come to Hanover to Commencement. But the disappointment of the trustees in Connecticut the last year will render me cautious of being exposed to the like circumstance.

I have the pleasure to enclose to you a patent for the ferry of large extent for the College, of which I desire their acceptance. Mr. Storrs suggested a convenience in Mr. Woodward's being appointed to the magistracy, which I have herewith presented him. In whatever I may have omitted writing you, you'll attribute it to my present haste, and be assured that all things which are useful or honorable to the College or to yourself hold a very firm place in my mind.

I am, [etc.],

J. WENTWORTH.

THE REV. DR. WHELOCK.

PORTSMOUTH, Dec. 18, 1772.

MY DEAR AND REVEREND SIR,—I have only a moment, amidst the hurry of despatching my private secretary, Thomas MacDonough, Esq., to London this day, just to thank you for your kind letter by Lieutenant Porter. Mr. Livius has preferred a memorial against me, which I've now sent a full and fair refutation of, attested by the oath of, I believe, forty of the first characters in this part of the Province, which must undeniably prove my adversary has charged me falsely in every part. Indeed, most of the cases he misrepresents have already had the Royal approbation. The others are groundless and of no import; yet I've refuted them only for my honor's sake, which being unimpeachable, I cannot submit to have wounded with impunity. As to the reported surmise of my removal, it is as groundless as Mr. Livius's calumny, and cannot be so easily effected. I have not the least suspicion of it at present, neither have my friends in England, but, on the contrary, very far, which will soon be made public [*sic*].

Mr. Livius sums up his malevolence against me thus: "Upon considering the whole of the Governor's conduct, there appears to be a deep-laid and connected system of injustice." As you are so kind to suggest, and my bosom rejoices in the candid testimony of good, understanding men, I shall be much obliged [if] you'll, as soon as may be, write your friends in England what is your opinion of the principles and effect of my administration in this Government, as far as you know,—whether I have, at any time or manner, corrupted the streams of justice, influenced judges or justices, preferred my own family, to the public or private detriment, have been haughty, imperious, oppressive, and cruel. In all these things Mr. Livius accuses me. And not content, he says the Governor, council, judges, principal members of Assembly, and all the wealthy merchants, are linked together in an alliance and bond of blood.

The post waits, and I must conclude, but first only say that Capt. Francis Smith (and he only at present) shall be appointed a justice of the peace. Enclosed is the petition returned. I think it will be best for the meeting of the trustees to be in this town any time before 10th February, because till that time I suppose our Assembly will be together, and much good for Dartmouth may be expected by the trustees being here at such a season. You proposed publishing an annual narrative of the College affairs. I should be glad to see that paragraph relating to my giving produce of sundry seizures before it is printed. I wish to you and your family every blessing, with the sincerity of a friend who participates with you affectionately, and is with real truth, dear sir, your much devoted and very faithful friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

REV. ELEAZAR WHELOCK, D D.

On the 25th of November, 1772, Wheelock sent in still other petitions seeking aid toward the support of his family and for the clearing of lands; and "the growth of the School being now stunted for want of room for the students," he solicited, besides an appropriation, the privilege of a lottery to raise £5,000, to be applied, among other things, to the erection of the "large house" which he had in contemplation. These came down to the Assembly January 29th and 30th, 1773, with a special message from the Governor urging that the College should be helped, and that a grant should be made for the support of the President. The Assembly, February 5th, undertook to shift the responsibility upon the Earl of Dartmouth in a congratulatory address upon his appointment as Secretary of State for the Colonies, wherein they "in particular implore your Lordship's patronage for the good people we represent, and especially for our established seminary of literature, to which we hope, if your Lordship be a nursing father, it will be a diffusive blessing, and thereby merit in some measure the exalted name of Dartmouth College." Notwithstanding these fine words, they were themselves in no haste to act, and all the matters were again laid over.¹ However, Wheelock writes the trust, Feb. 22, 1773, that he "understands it is likely the lottery will be granted." "So far as I can learn [says he], of late the opposition to this School is much abated on this side the water."

In the mean time the treasurer, seeing little prospect of being reimbursed in this way for the loan of a hundred guineas made

¹ N. H. State Papers, vii. 314, 315; Home Journal, viii. 140.

the year before, called for payment, and Wheelock met it by a draft upon Thornton, Feb. 11, 1773. The Governor wrote concerning it, —

PORTSMOUTH, 29 January, 1773.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have now written Judge Parker upon the subject of your last letter, and therefore have time only to say we will find some effectual remedy against the infamous avarice of those that no wonder would sacrifice the College, as they don't hesitate to endanger their own souls in its pursuits. The treasurer has applied to me for the redemption of Mr. Chace's note, £150 sterling, I think, given some time since in behalf of the College. He expects to be called to account for the sum by the Assembly, and is desirous to be repaid.

It is probable that improvements may serve for settlement duty on Landaff, if some few families are resident. I am, in great haste, . . .

J. WENTWORTH.

REV. E. WHEELOCK, D.D.

At the suggestion of the Governor, and for the sake of a final effort upon the Assembly, the trustees came together in special session at Portsmouth at the time in May to which the House stood adjourned. Being then resolved "that a new College building is of absolute necessity to accommodate the numerous students applying for an education," a renewed application was ordered, and presented accordingly by Mr. Patten, as clerk of the board, May 27th, and on the same day the Assembly made a grant of £500 L. M., to be paid according to desire in bills of exchange on the agent of the Province in London.¹ This, with the £60 granted in 1771, covers all that was ever obtained from the Provincial Assembly in favor of the College. Two days afterward that body was adjourned, and it does not appear that the College ever again came regularly before them, though memorials were prepared to be presented in January and in May, 1775.

Supplementary to the legislative grant, the trustees ordered a subscription for the new building to be set on foot. Ripley and John Wheelock were despatched to New York on that errand, and McClure and Frisbie, then just returned from the Mus-

¹ N. H. State Papers, vii. 323. The next day, upon the petition of Benjamin Pomeroy, Nathaniel Whitaker, and Ralph Wheelock, in behalf of themselves and their associates, the Council advised the Governor to grant them a township of land (N. H. State Papers, vii. 16). The Governor wrote, Oct. 28, 1774, "I have given the Rev. Dr. Pomeroy, my good friend, one or two rights of land in Millfield and Errol, or both. I wish more were in my power" (Memoir of Wheelock, p. 317).

kingum mission, were sent in other directions, while subscriptions about home were taken up by Bingham and others. Between four and five thousand pounds are said to have been subscribed,¹ but the details are wanting. The means being thus provided, preparations for building were diligently pushed. The project had been communicated to the English trust in 1772, and their advice solicited. In July, 1773, there was sent them a rough sketch of what was wanted, with the information that a skilful architect had been employed to prepare a plan. The building was to be of brick or stone, 175 feet long, 52 feet wide, and three stories high above a "rustic" or ground story.² The elevation and plan are still preserved. It was modelled after Nassau Hall at Princeton, and bears an intimate resemblance in its proportions to Dartmouth Hall, as finally constructed a dozen years later. It was intended to finish it in "the most plain, decent, and cheapest manner, after the Doric order," and if possible to build of stone, of which a considerable body, of quality deemed suitable, was found at a distance of about three quarters of a mile. Owing to the state of the times, the subscriptions failed of payment, and in March, 1774, the completed plan was sent to the English trust, and "wholly submitted to their judgment as to size of building, materials, etc." Wheelock at the same time wrote the Governor: "Nothing can be expected here; and as the means must come from the other side, I think it best to leave the details to them."

He was now so far convinced that nothing substantial in the way of endowment could be obtained on this side the water that he seems to have been ready to modify or cut loose from his franchise. He proposed to the English trust to unite with the College trustees in forming by royal incorporation a society for propagating the gospel in America which should furnish means and take charge of the College, and declared his intention to convey to the English trustees, by will, the lands on which the College buildings stood, since they had supplied the means for erecting them. He went so far as to send, in June, 1774, a special messenger (his nephew, Davenport Phelps) to procure from Judge Samuel Johnson, of Connecticut, a draft of articles of incorporation of that sort. Receiving no reply from his English friends, in October he reiterated the proposal,

¹ Narrative, 1773, p. 77.

² Ibid., p. 24.

offering to them, or to any one in England who should furnish means to complete the new building, to convey it absolutely, with the land on which it should stand.

During this time he had excavated a cellar for it on his own land, near the site of the present Dartmouth Hall, and gathered some materials.¹ In December, 1774, hearing still nothing officially from England, and finding his plans of building discountenanced by some of his best friends on this side, he curtailed them, with the approval of the Governor, so as to contemplate for the present the erection of only about one third of the edifice; namely, a section of sixty-four feet to the first transverse passage-way. Communicating his assent to this (by a letter wholly in his own hand), the Governor added a significant but unavailing protest against a repetition of the mistake made in locating the mills:—

PORTSMOUTH, Jan. 20, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been in vain trying to wrest an hour from the indispensable attendance on public affairs, more especially augmented by the late deplorable, outrageous, senseless, and precipitate excesses committed on his Majesty's castle and colors, that I might thank you for your two friendly letters yet unanswered. I entirely approve of your proposal to build one third part of the College at first, and accordingly return you the plan. But I can never consent to its being erected on any ground that does not actually belong to the incorporation. . . .

J. WENTWORTH.

REV. DR. WHEELOCK.

On the 14th of June, after a delay of fifteen months, the final reply of the English trust was received. It left no hope of aid from that quarter. The opening scenes of the war had already drawn off the laborers and caused the work to languish, and now the Provincial grant being expended and the subscriptions stopped, the work ceased till revived by Wheelock's son and successor, on a reduced scale, in 1784. The letter of the English Board, sent in duplicate, was as follows:—

LONDON, 1st February, 1775.

REV. SIR,—We duly received your letters of the 11th of March, the 1st of August, and the 1st of October last. You have been already informed that the money collected, for which we were guarantees to the public, is all expended. Our trust therefore of course ceases.

We are expecting your accounts and the further Narrative to satisfy the subscribers that we have fulfilled our trust faithfully.

¹ Narrative, 1775, p. 21.

Rev Sir

London 1st Feb 1775

We duly receive your letters of the 11th of March the 1st of April
and the 1st of October — You have been already informed that
the money collected for which we were guaranties to the public
is all expended; our Trust therefore of course ceases —

We are expecting your accounts and the further narrative to
satisfy the subscribers that we have fulfilled our Trust faithfully —

It was with concern that we were necessitated to lodge
above Five hundred Pounds of your Bills unpaid for want of Funds —

We can say nothing respecting your new proposed Building
or the carrying on the School in future except that you have our
best wishes; but it does not appear to us a time that any Aid can
be obtained from this side, or any grant of lands, nor do any of
us entertain a thought of engaging in any further — we are

Rev Sir

Your most Obedient Servants:

Dartmouth
T. J. Smythe
John Thornton
Dan West

Sam^l Savage
Jos. Proberts.
Rob^t Keen

To the Hon^{ble} Dr. Ebenezer Wheelock a
Duplicate of the last of

It was with concern that we were necessitated to leave above five hundred pounds of your bills unpaid for want of funds.

We can say nothing respecting your new proposed building, or the carrying on the schools in future, except that you have our best wishes; but it does not appear to us a time that any aids can be obtained from this side, or any grant of lands, nor do any of us entertain a thought of engaging in any further trust.

We are, reverend sir, your most obedient servants.

[Signed by all the trustees.]

To the REV. DR. ELEAZAR WHEELOCK, in Hanover County, *via* Portsmouth.

Though apprised of the exhaustion of the fund by Mr. Thornton's letter of July, 1774, received in November (which, he says, was "not all unexpected"), Wheelock had not until now fully realized the situation, but still cherished hopes of further remittances. He had, in fact, drawn from the English fund to meet the heavy expenses of clearing lands and building and other work legitimate to the enterprise, since August, 1770, an aggregate of £5,853 8s. 10d. sterling, which, added to £3,512 8s. 6d. sterling, previously remitted for the support of the School and missions while the School remained at Lebanon, bring up the grand total realized from the English trust (including the overdraft) to £9,365 17s. 4d. sterling (equal to £11,661 L. M.). In addition to this, Wheelock's accounts showed other recent expenditures, made on the credit of the fund, to the amount of £600 sterling, for which no drafts had been made. Besides these sums, Thornton's generosity had in three years furnished more than £1,000 sterling for Wheelock's personal and family expenses, of which nearly £700 sterling had been drawn between June and October, 1774; and there had been pleasing hopes of gifts still more substantial. "Who knows," wrote Wheelock, Nov. 10, 1774, "but he will finally make this College and School his heir." His disappointment was correspondingly acute.

By the refusal of his drafts Wheelock was thrown into the most fearful embarrassment. He sent out messengers far and wide to obtain the funds necessary to provide for the drafts and prevent their going finally to protest. He tried to borrow the amount on his property in Connecticut. He applied to Roger Sherman and to many others from whom he thought help might be got. He even sent to the New Jersey Board of Scotch correspondents, and he made a last attempt with the

Provincial authorities, in February, 1775, sending Frisbie with a memorial to wait on the Governor and Assembly. But the Governor was in difficulties, the members of the Assembly were unfriendly, and nothing could be done. He wrote the Governor that he had £1,000 owing to him, but could not get a pound of it, and he desired the loan of that sum out of the Provincial treasury until he could collect it. Though his efforts were futile, they happily proved to have been unnecessary. His English correspondents did not suffer the bills to be actually returned, but eventually by their own generosity provided for them. Messrs. Keen and Savage, moreover, wrote privately about the middle of February, encouraging letters, which reached Wheelock through the Governor early in May, accompanied by a friendly letter from Wentworth himself,—the last, so far as we know, that he ever wrote to Wheelock. Bewailing the unhappy disputes that had stifled the hope of further contributions, Messrs. Keen and Savage avowed themselves still hearty friends to America and to Wheelock. They offered to take pains to have his final Narrative, when furnished, reprinted and circulated all over the kingdom, “and to recommend it strongly to the friends of religion and America, that whosoever are disposed to further such a laudable and pious undertaking may send in their donations to us, who will take care it shall be faithfully transmitted.” “I will,” said Keen, “do you all the service that is possible, in my power;” and Mr. Savage desired him to draw upon him for £100 sterling as a personal gift, known only to Mr. Keen, and not to any other member of the trust, nor even to any of Mr. Savage’s family.

The Scotch fund of £2,529 17s. 11d. sterling, with its accumulations, still remained intact; and we may as well, at this point, relate Wheelock’s experience with it. From the return of Whitaker and Occum in 1768, up to December, 1771, he heard nothing from the Scotch society, and derived no benefit from the funds in their hands. He wrote repeatedly to Dr. Erskine, and getting no reply, was suspicious of some “undermining devices,” especially after information he got in October, 1771, from Kirkland. He accordingly wrote to the directors of the society, Dec. 30, 1771, entering into the matters of difficulty between himself and Kirkland, and intimating that

he would need at least the interest of the funds in their hands to support four young men whom he designed to send out very soon. The reply came, not by direct communication, but through extracts of Dr. Erskine's letters to Thornton, forwarded by the latter to Wheelock in the spring of 1772. The complaints were principally, as we have seen, against the charter as likely to fall under Episcopal control, and of an alleged perversion of funds to College use. But there were also other counts. "Kirkland," says Erskine, "might have starved for Dr. Wheelock, had not our board of correspondents and the London commissioners at Boston taken him under their care."¹ And again, March 27, 1772, "three days ago I received from Dr. Wheelock a copy of his Narrative, which I think clearly indicates the objections of the Boston board against his original plan of chiefly employing native Indians in proselyting their countrymen to Christianity."

In the mean time Wheelock had tried to re-establish friendly relations by means of a new board of correspondents. The Massachusetts board being evidently hostile, and the boards in Connecticut and New Jersey too remote, he applied for one in New Hampshire. The Connecticut board, at Wheelock's request (November, 1771), and by order from Dr. Erskine, met at Norwich, December 9th, and forwarded to the parent society a recommendation for a board to be established in New Hampshire expressly to superintend the expenditure of these funds. Wheelock had indicated as his own selection (to be joined with himself and Governor Wentworth) Peter Gilman, John Phillips, and Rev. Daniel Rogers, all of Exeter; Bezaleel Woodward, Ralph Wheelock, and John Wright, of Hanover; and Capt. Francis Smith, of Plainfield, — giving thus a quorum of his immediate neighbors. To the last four of these the board, by Rev. Solomon Williams, objected (Feb. 10, 1772) "that it would not be honorable for you nor for them, to recommend them, as by reason of their near connections with you they could not be altogether disinterested and impartial." But they unanimously nominated all the others, with the addition of Rev. Samuel Langdon, of Portsmouth, and Rev. James Williams, of Cornish. This did not suit Wheelock. He wrote, March 9, "The gentlemen you have recommended to constitute the board here are worthy

¹ See the next chapter.

gentlemen, and wisely chosen for that purpose on all accounts excepting their distance, being near about the same as it is to you, as we are obliged to travel in the winter, and a much worse road. . . . The nearest distance we can go in summer is one hundred miles, and a horrid and almost pathless wilderness to pass through." So strong was his feeling that with amazing indiscretion he wrote, June 9th, to the Scotch society that the persons nominated by the Connecticut board would by no means do, and asked a suspension of action. This of course did not tend to allay their suspicions, already too violent, and, as might have been expected, upset the whole scheme.

At the same time, Wheelock drew upon the society for £150 sterling for the expenses of McClure and Frisbie, then about to set out on a mission to the Ohio, hereafter described. To avoid objection, he left this money to be disbursed by Dr. Witherspoon, of the New Jersey board, by whose advice the mission was undertaken. This draft the society honored; but they refused (in a letter of October, 1772, received May, 1773) to create the new board, leaving Wheelock's concerns still to the supervision of the boards in Boston and New Jersey. Through their clerk, Mr. Forrest, they protested that they "no ways merited the reflections insinuated" in Wheelock's letters, insisted that he had not asked for any part of the money for any purpose, and informed him that as it would be criminal to leave it unemployed, they had, in November, 1768, assigned to Mr. Kirkland a regular salary of £80, to be charged to that account. They promised, however, to expend on Wheelock's order the interest, and part of the principal if necessary, for any enterprise that should commend itself to their judgment.

On receipt of this, Wheelock replied, Aug. 2, 1773, in a forcible letter of considerable length. He objected, as before, to both the Boston and the New Jersey boards,—to the latter as being (he said) four or five hundred miles away; and to the other, though nearer, as equally inconvenient of access, since the distance and the roads were such that at the best season for journeying, and on the best horse, it would take him six days at least to get to Boston, under his infirmities, there being no post-road nor any other means to send a letter except by accidental conveyance, one hundred and forty miles, to the nearest post-office in Connecticut. He declared that he consi-

dered their action tantamount to denying him the use of the fund altogether.

In March, 1774, he confirmed his forecast by informing the society that McClure and Frisbie had received nothing from the New Jersey board out of the proceeds of the former draft, and he drew again for £200, by the hand of George Boyde, of Portsmouth, who was on the point of visiting Scotland. This draft came back to him the following January protested, because not recommended by the Boston board. A draft of £40, in August, 1773, appears, however, to have been honored. The accounts of McClure and Frisbie, transmitted in November, 1773, were allowed by the New Jersey board in April, 1774, and they were authorized to draw for the amounts due them by a letter to Wheelock, the receipt of which, September 16th, *five months* after its date, served to justify his objections to being tied to the control of a body so remote and so dilatory. The bills drawn under this authority were, owing to a scarcity of cash, still unpaid in July, 1775.

The society replied Oct. 3, 1774. They retorted, besides other things, with complaints of McClure and Frisbie for lack of promptness in settling their accounts, and for suffering themselves to be diverted from the Indians. They expressed approbation of Kirkland, and announced their resolutions to continue to him £90 sterling per annum from Wheelock's fund.¹ They were also free to express their opinions of Wheelock's plans: "As to what you write concerning your prospect of obtaining Indian boys from tribes near Canada, and attempts made to bring a number from St. Johns, we must freely give you our opinion that from your own Narratives, and your sentiments therein expressed, it doth not appear to us that there is any just reason for your solicitude about having a great number of these Indian boys, and this is a measure which is but little conducive to the great purpose of evangelizing the heathen." Nor did they approve of sending persons into Canada, nor to the eastern tribes, since the Indians had not asked for missionaries. The war stopped the correspondence. It appears, however, that in July, 1775, Wheelock drew once more for about £150 sterling, which was paid. This, with the £190 sterling above mentioned,

¹ They had agreed, in 1773, with Harvard College to go equal shares in £180 sterling for all charges of Kirkland and his assistant.

was all that he ever received from that fund. How friendly relations were finally established by his successor, will hereafter appear.

Wheelock was outraged by the treatment he received at the hands of the society, and he charged it all to the machinations of the Boston board. To a friend he wrote (March, 1775):

“By abusive misrepresentations, the Boston board have so prejudiced the honorable society in Scotland as to induce them to pervert the money deposited in their hands from the support of this Indian charity school to quite another channel than was designed, or thought of, by the donors. That society has determined I shall have no further use of that money, but with the approbation, and to be applied according to the direction, of their Boston or New Jersey board in every case. But I am not able to take such a journey through this rough wilderness, — a hundred and eighty miles, — upon every emergency to wait upon the nearest of them, nor to spend so much time as to give them an understanding of our affairs, which they know so little about, and against such prejudices as I must have to encounter.

“I have now about twenty Indian youth, besides English charity scholars and two schoolmasters. They are now almost naked for clothing, and how to supply them I know not. I have drawn for it upon the society in Scotland, but my bill is protested, and none may I have unless I will take the tedious journey to Boston or New York and get leave of those boards for it.”

Among the many unavailing plans for obtaining patronage tried during the period under discussion, the following are worthy of passing mention. In December, 1772, a final application was made for a grant of lands from the Crown. Two memorials were forwarded to Lord Dartmouth, then lately made Secretary of State for the Colonies, asking in each twenty-five thousand acres of land in the Province of New York west of Connecticut River. One of the townships, to be called “Appii Forum,” was to be for the support of Indian missionaries and their families, and the other, “St. George,” for the use of the College. It is needless to say that nothing came of the petitions. It would appear, indeed, that no notice at all was taken of them. We find Wheelock in April, 1773, calling attention to them as unanswered, and asking a pension, and in November wondering if Lord Dartmouth ever received them.¹ Early

¹ *Memoirs of Wheelock*, pp. 299, 304, 308. “I hope [wrote William Smith, Aug. 31, 1773] you have not omitted the present favorable opportunity which my Lord Dartmouth’s power gives you for the procuring an order for the grants of some valuable tract of land, with some inconsiderable reservation, or a suspension of the quit-rents for a long series of time. Bodfes that live forever (as it is termed) should

in 1774, and with no better results, application, substantially to the same effect, was made to the Governor of New York through Esquire Church, of Charlestown.

In September, 1772, and again in 1773, Wheelock appealed, directly and through common friends, to John Hancock, of Massachusetts. Besides others, Mr. Wendell, of Portsmouth, urged Hancock to give £100, but he had conceived unfavorable impressions, and refused to do anything.

In November, 1773, McClure, then living at Portsmouth, was commissioned to go to Boston and solicit aid from the Massachusetts government. He was kindly received by Governor Hutchinson, who avowed himself willing to approve a grant of £1000. But the matter being deferred for consultation, nothing more was ever heard of it. Both these Massachusetts failures were, perhaps with reason, laid at the door of the Boston commissioners.

To return now to domestic affairs. Commencement, on Aug. 24, 1774, for the first time lacked the important stimulus of the Governor's presence. He had earnestly desired and purposed to attend, but was prevented at the last moment by other peremptory official duties. Twenty years elapsed before the chief magistrate again took his seat as a charter member of the board. The following letter is wholly an autograph:—

EXETER, 18th August, 1774.

MY DEAR AND REV^d SIR, — After having suspended all common affairs and prepared to set out for Dartm: Coll: to meet the Trustees, I was yesterday finally prevented by the arrival of public dispatches in the June Pacquet which render it intirely inexpedient for me to be absent from Portsmouth untill the arrival of a ship which has been hourly expected for 3 weeks past. If this ship shou'd arrive before Sunday, 6 P.M. o'clock, and no posi-

not slight these boons, which may one day be necessary for their existence. The Crown has granted a township to one New York college, another to Trinity Church, and a third to the Dutch Calvinists, and lately absolved them from quit-rents, so that you have precedent in your favor.

"I have taken some pains to convince my countrymen that the institution under your direction will be of eminent service to the public, as well as beneficial to all that have estate in the new counties of Cumberland, Charlotte, and Gloucester.

. . . But I must at the same time declare that until the nation shall undertake the work of civilizing the Indians, very little will be done, in my opinion, toward Christianizing them. . . . The interval between the Indians and the ordinances of the gospel has always been too great. [The only remedy he declared to be "a standing ministry" on the edges of the frontier.] Every other way of carrying the gospel standard into the wilderness will be too expensive a tax upon private charity."

tive interruption, I will yet be with you on Wednesday morning. However that may be, I wish so much prosperity to the Coll: that I cannot but give my advice in electing Trustees to fill up the vacancy. I cou'd wish to see John Sherburne, Esq., in the place of the late Mr. Pierce. This Gent. is in every view respectable, and will be able to attend to the service.

I also beg leave to recommend the Reverend Ranna Cossitt,¹ of Clermont, for any ecclesiastic vacancy. Be assured, my dear Friend, I cou'd give you powerful reasons for this recommendation, wh^h cannot fail of the happiest consequences to the Society, and from my knowledge of Mr. Cossitt's modesty and candour I've no doubt that you^{ll} find him very worthy of the connection. His residence so near will tend to procure a full board of Trustees, which is now very precarious. In truth, I am grieved at [it] being impossible for me to be present. My heart is perfectly engaged, but I must submit. . . .

If the Trustees shou'd think it necessary to form a body of laws, wou'd it not be expedient that a Comm^{ee} be appointed, with power to report at an adjournment, wh^h may be put to any convenient day, and to any place nearer to Ports^m, to accommodate the Gent. of the Trust who have hitherto exerted themselves for the College, tho' often and now peculiarly inconvenient for them to attend at Hanover.

I most sincerely wish you a prosperous Commencement, and am [etc.]

REV^d D^r WHELOCK.

J. WENTWORTH.

Of the place and its surroundings at this period, and of the exercises at this anniversary, we have a most interesting, lifelike picture from the Diary of Dr. Jeremy Belknap, which I take the liberty to transcribe.² He went up on horseback from Dover by way of Plymouth and Lyme, and arrived on Tuesday afternoon, August 23d, having consumed nearly six days in the journey. He dined with President Wheelock, "who appeared somewhat disappointed at the Governor's not coming."

"After dinner walked down to the Connecticut River opposite to the College, where is a ferry. Observed on a tree, where the bark was cut off, the figure of an Indian painted, which was done by one of the Indian scholars. At evening prayers, by the President's desire, I preached a sermon in the College hall. Supped and lodged at the President's. In the evening the front of the College was illuminated.

"The plain where the College stands is large and pleasant, and the land good. The College is about seventy or eighty feet long and thirty broad, containing twenty chambers. The hall is a distinct building, which also

¹ Mr. Cossitt was collated by Governor Wentworth to Claremont and to Haverhill, June 28, 1773. He held Episcopal services in Hanover the same year. He removed to Nova Scotia in 1785, and died there in 1815, *æt.* seventy-five. His son, of the same name, graduated at Dartmouth in 1798 (N. H. State Papers, xi. 364).

² *Life of Belknap*, pp. 66 *et seq.*

serves for a meeting-house, and the kitchen is in one end of it. The President's house stands on a rising ground east of the College, and to the north of this is the place proposed to build the new College, near a quarry of gray stone which is intended for the material of the building. There is another quarry, much larger, about three quarters of a mile distant. The tutors are Messrs. Woodward, Ripley, Wheelock, and Smith; the two former are married to the President's daughters. Several tradesmen and taverners are settled round the College in good buildings, — which gives the place the appearance of a village. . . . It is really surprising to observe the improvements that have been made in few years. . . .

"The College library is kept at Mr. Woodward's. It is not large, but there are some very good books in it. The seal is also kept there. They have two good globes, of eighteen inches, and a good solar microscope. . . . There was also a fine brass horizontal dial fixed on a post in the President's yard, which cost ten guineas, and was given by Col. Samuel Holland, Surveyor-General of the sea-coast in the Northwest District.

"On the morning of Commencement day . . . walked to the mills, about a mile distant. Here are a saw and grist mill, and a house in which six scholars reside, who take the mills to the halves, and live a kind of philosophic, laborious life; they maintain themselves by their labor. Their house, which is entirely of their own construction, is a curiosity. It consists of one room and one chamber, the stairs outside. The chamber is arched with boards, for the better sound of the voice in singing. The chairs and tables are contrived in an odd manner, and they have a wooden clock. At the door is an upright pipe, with a spout like a pump, which is continually running with brook water conveyed down a covered descent, so that they have only to hold a vessel under it and it is immediately filled. They have a neat poultry-house built of sawed strips of wood in the form of a cob-house, with four apartments. I went round and visited all the Indian scholars, most of whom could speak good English. One little boy was so shy that he would not be seen. . . .

"The President appears to be much affected with the reports that are circulated concerning the badness of the provisions, on which account some have left the College. Last evening he entered into a large and warm vindication of himself, declaring that the reports are all false, and that he did not doubt but 'God would bring forth his righteousness as the light, and his judgment as the noonday.' He has had the mortification to lose two cows, and the rest were greatly hurt by a contagious distemper, so that they could not have a full supply of milk; and once that the pickle leaked out of the beef barrel, so that the meat was not sweet. He had been ill used with respect to the purchase of some wheat, so that they had smutty bread for a while. The scholars, on the other hand, say they scarce ever have anything but pork and greens, without vinegar, and pork and potatoes, that fresh meat comes but very seldom, and that the victuals are very badly dressed. The trustees have drawn up something of a vindication, after a full inquiry into this matter.

"I observed in the President's prayer such expressions as these: 'Thou

thyself hast founded it;' 'Thou hast preserved and supported it when its beginnings were small, and in the opinion of many contemptible;' and 'Thy gentleness hath made it great' There seems to be also too much said in the exercises concerning its enemies, and the College is constantly spoken of as in a state of victory over them, which serves to keep alive a spirit that I think ought to be discouraged."¹

Dr. Belknap proceeds:—

"About eleven o'clock the Commencement began, in a large tent erected for the occasion on the east side of the College, and covered with boards. Scaffolds and seats being prepared, . . . the President began with a prayer in the usual strain; then an English oration was spoken by one of the bachelors, complimenting the trustees, etc.; then a syllogistic disputation on this question, *Amicitia vera non est absque amore divina*; then a cliosophic oration; then an anthem,— 'The voice of my beloved sounds,' etc.; then a forensic dispute,— 'Whether Christ died for all men,' which was well supported on both sides; then an anthem, 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates,' etc. The company were then invited to dine at the President's and the hall.

"In the afternoon the exercises began with a Latin oration on the state of society, by Mr. Ripley; then an English oration on the imitative arts, by Mr. J. Wheelock. The degrees were then conferred, and in addition to the usual ceremony of the book, diplomas were delivered to the candidates, with a form of words in Latin. Mr. Woodward stood by the President and held the book and parchments, delivering and exchanging them as need required. After this, two bachelors—McGregore and Swetland—spoke a dialogue of Lord Littleton's, between Apicius and Darteneuf, upon good eating and drinking. The Mercury, who comes in at the close of the piece, performed his part but clumsily; but the two epicures did well, and the President laughed as heartily as the rest of the audience, though, considering the circumstances, it might admit of some doubt whether the dialogue were really a burlesque or a compliment to the College. An anthem and a prayer concluded the public exercises. Much decency and regularity were observable during the day in the numerous attending concourse of people. . . . The Connecticut lads and lasses, I observed, walked about hand in hand in procession, as 'tis said they go to a wedding."

The next day, August 25th, Wheelock's late Indian pupil and schoolmaster, Joseph Johnson, now wholly reformed, was examined and recommended by the clergymen present as a preacher of the Gospel. Dr. Belknap took part in the examination, and says of Johnson that "he appeared to be an ingenious, sensible, serious young man, and we gave him an *approbamus*:"² after

¹ Circumstances of extenuation will doubtless occur to the reader. Dr. Belknap has left other evidence that he had himself imbibed more or less of prejudice; see Mass. Hist. Coll., Series v., vol. iii. p. 41.

² The document is signed by Lemuel Hedge, of Warwick, Jeremy Belknap, of Dover, Josiah Dana, of Hutchinson, Isaiah Potter, of Lebanon, William Conant, of

which, in the afternoon, Johnson preached in the College Hall, and a collection of twenty-seven dollars and a half was taken up for him.

At the meeting of the board of trust there was received from Col. John Phillips a promissory note of £600, to be paid after his decease and applied to instructing and Christianizing the North American Indians. His letters at this time show him to have been intensely devoted to that object.¹ He reserved, however, the right to direct, if he should choose, the application of this gift in his lifetime, and in the course of the ensuing year and a half actually paid in nearly the whole of it to forward, with other things, improvements in Landaff and at Hanover.

But the most important subject that demanded the attention of the board was that of food, alluded to by Mr. Belknap. In the preceding January some of the students, belonging to influential families in Portsmouth, transmitted to their homes bitter complaints of the provisions at the College table, and samples of bread which appeared to justify them. The matter was much talked of about Portsmouth, and grew into a scandal of serious proportions. Wheelock's former pupil and stanch friend, Rev. David McClure, early informed him of what was going about, and sent him a piece of the bread, urging that if anything were amiss it should be rectified with all speed. In May, Wheelock was absent some weeks in Connecticut, and on his return, about the 1st of July, he found a state of disorder prevailing, connected in some measure with this subject, and fostered by the evil influence of the obnoxious taverns. He expelled one student and dismissed several others, and bitterly renewed his complaints of the court for licensing the taverns against the remonstrances of himself and the Governor.

But the matter of the food was too serious to be thus disposed of. The Governor himself brought the subject pointedly to Wheelock's attention, and took occasion, in his usual mild way, to express some practical views on paternal government as applied to a College.

Lime, Silvanus Ripley, Missionary, and has appended a commendation from Messrs. Wheelock, Emerson, and Burroughs. Johnson was here again in January, 1776.

¹ N. H. Hist. Soc. Colls., ix. 74 *et seq.*

PORTSMOUTH, July 6th, 1774.

MY DEAR AND REVEREND FRIEND, — Amidst the variety of important and naturally perplexing affairs which deeply engage my mind at this very disquieted juncture of American agitations, nothing lies nearer my heart than the interest and honor of Dartmouth College, with which yours is inseparably connected. It is therefore with the utmost grief that I perform the strict duty of friendship to both in telling you that it is reported and rapidly gains belief that your provision for the students is extremely bad, their entertainment neither clean, plentiful, nor wholesome, though the price and expense exceeds for comfortable living, that the youth are thereby unhealthy and debilitated, their constitutions impaired, and their friends and parents highly disgusted. These reports assail me on all sides from those who have and those who have not children under your care. Serious and respectable men in church and state mention it to me with charitable and affectionate concern. I have answered them in your favor and vindication, and suspend credit to their information. But I do, my dear sir, adjure you, by the most sacred cause that has thus been blessed in your hands, to prevent all cause of complaint or triumph to those who envy our College. At this time to disgust the Province is to ruin Dartmouth College. If you wish kindly to yourself, to that promising plant, or to me, I intreat you'll enter into an examination of this matter. I wish it may now and ever be groundless.

My dear sir, I mean not to give you pain, or add to your troubles. No, far, very far, otherwise. I am anxious for your honor and the College; ready, zealous, and capable to defend both while truth is on our shield. You'll excuse my earnestness; it proceeds from an honest, affectionate sincerity, which ever prevails toward you in the mind of, my dear sir, your faithful friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

REV. DR. WHEELOCK.

PORTSMOUTH, July 14, 1774.

MY DEAR AND REVEREND FRIEND, — I received your favor of the 6th instant last night, and am very sorry for the troubles you had to encounter on your return home. Such extravagances of youth will happen, among numbers, in any society; nor can any be expected in this world where the folly and passions of inexperienced young men will not require correction. As to the clamor that may arise, it cannot last long, or injure the College, for maintaining discipline and obedience to its rules. At the same time, I think this event points out the necessity of forming, publishing in the College, and establishing a concise, perspicuous, liberal system of laws. Parental government will soon be found inadequate to extensive and numerous societies, although the beginnings of them are naturally rooted there, and consequently the tenderness and duty implied in them should be transplanted with care and judgment into the more sytematized code. Hence I would recommend that copies of all the university laws, from Philadelphia to New Hampshire inclusive, should be procured, and at our next meeting some general rules adopted, and a committee chosen to compile and form a proper code, to be submitted to the trustees for their consideration. This

will enable you to proceed with firmness, remove immense anxiety from your mind, and silence the petulant, malicious tongue of envy and obloquy. It will also give a dignity and importance to the College which will otherwise be withheld, even if it is conducted by virtue and wisdom itself, unfettered with humanity.

I have just mentioned to Col^o Fenton, as a justice of the peace, who will represent the injuries sustained by permitting Mr. Payne a retailing license near the College. As soon as the time is expired, this difficulty will be suppressed. Whatever remonstrance the selectmen prefer ought to be cautiously expressed, lest they do more harm than good. I should be sorry to find any men of character seek the dishonor of our College. Be assured, sir, I shall consider them as unfriendly to their God, their king, and their country, and as such repose little confidence in them. But all their arts and machinations are and must be vain. Truth will prevail.

In my letter dated a few days since you'll find the only objection that makes impression here. It is positively essential that it be immediately redressed. Wholesome, sound, and plentiful food must be provided. The very name of putrefied, stinking provisions in a College alarms parents, who wish to secure health to their sons. Twenty oxen badly saved had better be cast into the river and perish, than one month's improper diet be given to the students. I would not wish to see profusion or delicacy enter our walls. Cleanliness, plenty, and plainness should never be absent. It would be useful to employ a steward, whose time and interest should be devoted to this point. The profits would amply pay him, and it would relieve you from an insuperable and unreasonable care, which it is impossible you can perfectly discharge while surrounded by such multiplied objects of importance.

I wish it was possible for me to be absent from Portsmouth. I would rejoice to spend two or three days with you. Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to render you every aid and consolation in my power. Such is the distracted state of the colonies that I cannot engage to be at Commencement. However, if possible I will be there. You will please to inform me what trustees you expect to be with you. It would be advisable to write very pressing to the worthy good Brigadier Gilman. He hardly knows how again to pass Moose Mountain; but in a good cause and where necessary, none is high or difficult enough to stop him. Being deeply interested for you and for the College, you see, my dear sir, I have wrote in the style of candor and affection, which principles will render my endeavors for both zealous and persevering. I therefore hope you'll kindly excuse me; and be assured I am, with perfect regard and esteem, my dear and reverend sir, your faithful friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

This made it indispensable that something should be done at once; and we find accordingly, in the "New Hampshire Gazette" of July 29th, the following:—

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, July 22, 1774.

Whereas divers Reports respecting the badness of the Board at Dartmouth College are credited through the country, we, the subscribers, being Students of said College and Moor's School, desirous that the world may be rightly informed in this regard, beg leave to assure the public that we look upon the greatest part of these Rumors as false, unreasonable, and defamatory, and that we have had a plenty of good provisions the year past; that our food in general has been cooked, neat, and wholesome; and wherein we have had an Grievance of this nature through providential and unforeseen accidents, we have never failed of all possible Redress when proper application has been made for that purpose. We also beg leave to contradict the Reports that have been made, viz., that the Students have been very unhealthy on account of the Badness and slovenly Dressing of their Provisions, etc. Directly the reverse is true. Through divine goodness we have been remarkably healthy; and we would only further add that we are extremely sorry that such false and abusive Stories have gained such credit as we are informed they have, and given any anxiety and concern to the real Friends and Benefactors of this Society.¹

The students not on charity were not so easily appeased. They reported abroad that breakfast in the Hall was "mostly the leaves of winter-green made into a tea, and even that often sweetened with molasses; many times only broth for supper and breakfast, then coffee or chocolate, usually sweetened with molasses, and beef unfit to eat," though they claimed that they paid a price for commons "sufficient to provide wholesome and comfortable food." The troubles were aggravated and the evil reports more widely spread by unwise discipline bestowed upon some of the discontented students. One Francis Quarles, of Massachusetts, a Freshman, for taking some bread out of the hall by the order of a Senior, that they might breakfast in their chamber, finding other parts of the breakfast themselves, was required to make a public confession; and on asking dismissal, with consent of his father, was provided with a letter darkly insinuating many things against his character, "recommending" him, nevertheless, with the "hope that these hints may never be mentioned to his disadvantage." The indignation of his father knew no bounds. He threatened a suit for defamation, and Rev. Manasseh Cutler wrote from Ipswich: —

¹ This was signed by the charity students in the College and School.

"N. B. — Those who board in private families and the Indians of Moor's School have not put down their names."

"You must be sensible, sir, the more noise and difficulty is made about these things, the lower the character of the College must sink. I have ever been a well-wisher to Dartmouth College, and sincerely desired it might prosper, but am very sorry to find it has of late sunk so low in the esteem of the people in general, and of its best friends in particular in this part of the country. As you regard justice itself, as you would avoid any further noise and trouble, or regard the credit of your College, you will give him such a dismission as will avail him at another College, or one containing the particular crimes which you are able to prove upon him, without any hints."

At Commencement the trustees took up the subject, and "unanimously voted and resolved" —

"That this board, having inquired into the grounds and reasons of the public rumors and clamors which have been made respecting the badness of the diet of the students, and arbitrariness of the government of the authority of this College, on examination do not find that there has been any just ground or reason for any such complaints; only that for a few days some beef was served by the cooks which (though accidentally tainted in a small degree) was judged by them to be such as the students would generally approve; which though it appears to have been offensive to some, yet there was served at the same time a plenty of good, wholesome provisions, and each one had full liberty to use which he pleased; and we fully believe the most tender care and fatherly kindness has all along been exercised toward them in all respects."

Hon. John Phillips wrote in October that "the friends of the institution appear satisfied, and others find no present inducement to move their tongues." He advised, however, with considerable emphasis, avoiding "hurtful altercations in the printing way."

Notwithstanding all this, the reputation of the College continued to improve abroad, and its numbers grew rapidly. Beginning with but twenty on the ground, including two Indians, there were, in March, 1772, about fifty, including six Indians and twenty English charity scholars. In September seventy are reported, of whom eighteen were Indians, one of them but a child. In February, 1773, the number had risen to eighty, and in November, 1774, to a hundred, of which twenty-one were Indians, and nine or ten English youth upon charity. Twenty-five new members entered the two lower classes in the autumn of 1774.¹ The students increased fully as fast as ac-

¹ These facts are gathered from the Narratives and correspondence. We have no complete list of undergraduates at that period.

commodations would permit, and numerous applicants for the privileges of charity scholars were necessarily refused. In September, 1775, Rev. Joseph Huntington wrote from Coventry that in Connecticut, Dartmouth was generally esteemed the best college on the continent,¹ and in proof of it that the General Convention of Ministers of the Colonies had appointed him to prepare an ecclesiastical history of New Hampshire, "and particularly to lay before them at the next session at Elizabethtown the rise and progress and present state of Dartmouth College."

Over the students, agreeably to the habit of the times, Wheelock exercised a truly parental authority. Such had been the fashion at Lebanon, and the peculiar circumstances of the new location brought all the members of the community, to a large extent, under the same dominion.

"The Trustees [wrote Wheelock in 1771] resolved that the College, as well as the School, should continue under parental government as the School had hitherto been, till they should find occasion to alter it. But if God shall please graciously to continue the same influence upon the minds of the students as there has hitherto been, there will never be need of any other form of government to the end of time. As this institution is primarily designed to Christianize the heathen, — that is, to form the minds and manners of their children to the rules of religion and virtue, and to educate pious youth of the English to bear the Redeemer's name among them in the wilderness, — and secondarily to educate meet persons for the sacred work of the ministry in the Church of Christ among the English, so it is of the last and very special importance that all who shall be admitted here in any capacity, and especially for an education, be of sober, blameless, and religious behavior. . . And accordingly I think it proper to let the world know there is no encouragement given that such as are vain, idle, trifling, flesh-pleasing, or such as are on any account vicious or immoral, will be admitted here. . . . And it is my purpose, by the grace of God, to leave nothing undone within my power which is suitable to be done, that this school of the prophets may be, and long continue to be, a pure fountain. And I do, with all my heart, *will* this my purpose to all my successors in the presidency of this seminary to the latest posterity; and it is my LAST WILL never to be revoked, and to God I commit it, . . . who has already done great things for it, and does still own it as his cause.' ²

Wheelock himself made every effort to keep the College up to this standard. He was prompt and decided and unrelenting

¹ See also Rev. Dr. Tarbox's article in the *New Englander*, November, 1883, p. 712.

² Narrative, 1771, pp. 30, 36.

in discipline, and would brook no opposition nor hesitancy in submitting to what he required. Those on charity were of course absolutely dependent on his will. But it is only fair to the students to say that they submitted generally with cheerfulness, and most of them entertained a very affectionate regard for "the Doctor,"—good manners requiring, even in direct discourse, that he should be addressed by that title in the third person. Says Dr. McClure,—

"The government of Dr. Wheelock was parental. No father watches over his rising offspring with more tenderness than he manifested to the School and College. Neither unfeeling authority nor unnecessary force ever alienated the affections or hardened the hearts of his pupils. His temper and manners were mild and pleasant, and those under his care obeyed from affection and respect. But when the Indian boys or others were guilty of any notorious fault, to give weight to discipline he usually visited the School himself and witnessed the punishment inflicted by the preceptor. . . . He employed patience and kindness and resolution to civilize the little savages, and render them obedient to the laws of the School. Yet when circumstances demanded it, he appeared in majesty and awed the offender into obedience."¹

"I have found," says Wheelock himself, "nothing more necessary to maintain good order and regularity among all my students hitherto than to show them what is the law and mind of Christ; what will please God and what will not,—excepting in one instance of a charity youth [one Crosby], whom I turned away from school as incorrigible in sin." It should be said in favor of this same incorrigible sinner that his offence would hardly at this day be regarded in such a serious light; nor was he even then without the sympathy of some of the best of his companions, from whom he bore away testimonials that led the Boston Board to receive him into their missionary service, greatly to Wheelock's vexation.

It was common to require of culprits a written confession, to be read before the whole body of students assembled in the hall. These documents were usually penned by the President himself, and it is needless to say were sufficiently humble. In April, 1772, during an absence of the President, a penance of that sort being imposed by the tutors, fifteen of the students, when the confession was about to be read, expressed their

¹ Narrative, 1775, p. 117.

sympathy with the offender by quitting the hall; but they came speedily to their senses, and apologized in writing, "earnestly requesting of the tutors *not to defer* the consideration of the matter till the President's return."

The students were expected to employ themselves, in the intervals of study, in labor on the farms and in other work. It was particularly recommended to all by standing rules, and definitely required of the charity scholars. All, whether supported by charity or not, were forbidden "at any time to speak diminutively of the practice of labor, or by any means cast contempt upon it, or by word or action endeavor to discredit or discourage the same, on penalty of being obliged, at the direction of the President or tutor, to perform the same or its equivalent, or else (if he be not a charity scholar) to hire the same done by others; or in case of refusal that he be dismissed from College."¹

It is curious, by way of variety, to find in the midst of this atmosphere a petition in writing, preferred Oct. 25, 1772, by James Hutchinson, Samuel Stebbins, and John Ledyard, in behalf of the Sophomores and Freshmen to be allowed to spend a portion of their leisure hours "in stepping the minuet and learning the sword," all for the glory and reputation of Dartmouth. One would like to know what reception it met with from "the Doctor." It is intrinsically probable that this petition originated with Ledyard, whose signature appears modestly at the foot of it. He came to the College in the spring of 1772, upon invitation from Wheelock, who had been an intimate friend of his grandfather. He was received into the Freshman class upon charity to prepare for service as a missionary among the Indians. Sparks, in the biography of Ledyard, gives the following particulars of his stay, derived from a classmate then living [1847]:—

"His journey from Hartford, Conn., to Hanover was performed in a sulky, — the first vehicle of the kind that had ever been seen on Dartmouth plain; and it attracted curiosity not more from this circumstance than from the odd

¹ This was not always enjoyed. There is extant a letter from Daniel Simons, an Indian, of the College class of 1777, complaining that he is expected to work as much as will pay his way. He says that he is old and cannot afford the time, that he knows how to work already, and wants to learn something else. If he has thus to pay his way, "what good [he asks] will the charity money do the poor Indian?"

appearance of the equipage. Both the horse and the sulky gave evident tokens of having known better days, and the dress of their owner was peculiar, bidding equal defiance to symmetry of proportion and to the fashion of the times. In addition to the traveller himself, this ancient vehicle was burdened with a quantity of calico for curtains, and other articles to assist in theatrical exhibitions, of which he was very fond. . . . The stage was fitted up, and plays were acted, in which Ledyard personated the chief characters. 'Cato' was among the tragedies brought out upon his boards, and Ledyard acted the part of old Syphax, wearing a long gray beard and a dress suited to his notion of the costume of a Numidian prince. . . .

"There was in that day no College bell, and the students were called together by a conch-shell, blown in turn by the Freshmen. When the duty devolved upon Ledyard, it was his custom to perform it with a reluctance and in a manner corresponding to his sense of the degradation. . . . He had not been quite four months at College when he suddenly disappeared, without notice to his comrades, or, apparently, permission from the President, and was absent three months and a half, wandering among the Six Nations."

Ledyard's restless, haughty spirit was unable to endure the restraints and admonitions to which he was subject, and he laid a plan to escape, which, with the help of some of his fellows, he carried out successfully, during the absence of Wheelock, in May, 1773, after being here a little more than a year. Ledyard and his friends cut a large pine¹ on the bank of the river, and from it dug out a canoe some fifty feet long and three feet wide. In doing it Ledyard himself received a cut from his axe that laid him up several days. Furnished with dried venison for food and a bear-skin for covering, with a shelter of willow twigs at one end of the craft, and Ovid and the Greek Testament for companionship, tying up at night and floating by day, he reached Hartford, one hundred and forty miles distant, in safety, though after a narrow escape at Bellows Falls, to which he came unaware.

Of another characteristic adventure, to which Sparks alludes,

¹ The pine-tree from which Ledyard made his canoe stood on the crest of the river bank north of the bridge, about four rods south of the ravine, now commonly known as "Webster Vale." The stump remained in position till very modern times, and was removed with others by Dr. Dixi Crosby. It was pointed out to Dr. Crosby by Dr. Lyman Lewis, of Norwich, who had the information from his father, Dr. Joseph Lewis, who knew Ledyard well. The identity was also attested by Gen. Ebenezer Mattoon, a classmate of Ledyard's, who helped him build the canoe, and who on visiting Hanover about 1839 caused himself, then totally blind, to be led by Dr. Lewis to the spot, that he might once more put his hands on the stump.

the following particulars are derived in part from Mr. Dewey's manuscripts. In the midwinter of 1772-73, Ledyard, with Wheelock's consent, persuaded several of the students to camp out with him in the snow in the wilds of the "Velvet Rocks," two miles east of the College. The snow was three feet deep, and drifted. The party went in couples on snow-shoes, and reaching the summit with some labor, built a fire, ate their supper, and each couple prepared for the night by scraping away the snow and laying a bed of evergreen boughs and a blanket. One then lying down, his partner drew over him a second blanket and buried him in snow, and then crawled in by his side. They passed, they said, quite a comfortable night, and were at home in time for prayers by candle-light in the morning.

The advent of another youth of promise is thus recorded by Wheelock in his Diary, Sept. 14, 1773: "Mr. Samuel Barlow, of Reading, Mass., brings his son Joel to school. The said son is to officiate as waiter on table at meal-time, and also be at the beck of Miss Elizabeth;¹ only in play time and vacations from studies to perform such errands and incidental service as she shall have occasion for in her business; and in consideration of her services and his, to have his board: viz., eating, drinking, washing, fire-wood, candles, study-room, and tuition." Barlow was admitted Freshman at the next Commencement, and remained until November, 1774, when the death of his father making it necessary that he should be nearer home, he was recommended to President Daggett at Yale.

Another notable case was that of one Caleb Watts, a mulatto, though classed as an Indian, who came to Wheelock in the fall of 1770, soon after his removal to Hanover, being then about twenty years of age. He was born of an English mother whose name he bore, but was brought up as a slave by his grandfather and never taught to read. He proved apt to learn, and in 1775 had studied rhetoric, logic, geography, ethics, and divinity, in preparation to go, under Wheelock's direction, as a missionary to the West Indies. Wheelock then proposed to Governor Trumbull to send him to the South to dissuade the slaves from

¹ Miss Elizabeth Burr, of Fairfield, Conn., came to be with Joel, and to "superintend the cooking in commons, and manage the prudentials of it."

insurrection. In September, 1775, Watts preached his first sermon one Sabbath evening in Wheelock's pulpit. He left in October, 1776, and what became of him we do not know. The traditional and peculiar policy of liberality toward the negro which has distinguished this College from others was thus coincident with its very foundation.

Still another interesting character was a "lively, ingenious frenchman," by name Joseph Marie Verrioul, who came by chance to the School in the autumn of 1771, and won the highest praises for his capacity and deportment. He is presented to us as a most interesting and remarkable personage. Wheelock determined to carry him through a collegiate course at his own expense. Verrioul was the son of a lieutenant-colonel in the French militia, living near Quebec after the English took it, and he had been two years at school in France. Passing from Canada to Connecticut, he chanced accidentally upon Hanover, and being attracted and attractive, remained. When the war broke out he joined the army at Cambridge, and disappeared. He is last heard of as a soldier in Colonel Read's regiment, in April, 1776.¹

The following authentic record from Mr. Justice Woodward's court may not only serve as a background to the peaceful picture of local society, but illustrate some of the customary methods of procedure.

GRAFTON, SS. To the worshipful BEZALEEL WOODWARD, Esq., one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace in said County.

Eleazar Wheelock, D.D., President of Dartmouth College, in Hanover in said county, complains that he the said Eleazar, at Hanover aforesaid, on the 27th day of October instant, being in the peace of God and the King, one *Joseph Skinner*, of Hanover aforesaid, Yeoman, not having the fear of God before his eyes, and being moved by the instigation of the Devil, on the said 27th day of October at Hanover aforesaid, with force and arms did make and publish against your complainant a seditious libel in writing, set up and published on the door of the College Hall at Hanover aforesaid, in which Libel the said Joseph says your complainant is a Liar and Hypocrite, with many other menacing words and speeches in the said Libel published as aforesaid; all which making and publishing said Libel is against the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity, and contrary to statute in that case made and provided; and therefore your complainant prays you to take cognizance of this complaint, and grant your warrant for apprehend-

¹ Narrative, 1773, ii. 4. See also *Life of Belknap*, p. 68, and chapter vi., *post.*

ing the said Joseph, that he may be dealt with touching the premises as to law and justice appertains.

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

HANOVER, Oct. 28, 1774.

[Warrant in due form issued the same day, and on the next the culprit was arraigned. Following is the record:—]

GRAFTON, SS. At a Justice's Court holden at Hanover in said County on Saturday, Oct. 29, A. D. 1774,

Present: { BEZALEEL WOODWARD, } Esqrs., *Justices*.
 { JOHN WHEATLEY, }

Dominus Rex,
by complaint of } Plf. vs. JOSEPH SKINNER, Respondent.
ELEAZAR WHEELOCK, D.D. }

On a complaint for making and publishing a certain Libel tending to the defamation of said Wheelock, —

Respondent pleads not guilty.

This Court, having heard the pleas and evidences, as well on the pa. of the Crown as for the respondent. is of opinion that the said Joseph is guilty in manner and form as is set forth in the complaint; and therefore orders that he pay a fine of twenty shillings for the use of the poor of the town of Hanover, where the offence was committed, and costs, and find two sureties in the sum of ten pounds each for his good behavior, and that he stand committed till he pay said fine and costs (taxed at £1 14s. 0d.), and find such sureties as aforesaid.

[The respondent appealed to the Court of General Quarter Sessions, producing for sureties Dr. George Eager and Giles Tiffany.¹]

We can in no way obtain so vivid a picture of the daily life of the poorer students at this period as from the following

¹ The obnoxious libel, still on file, was as follows. —

"Gentlemen, whosoever is worthy, I will give you opinion just what I think in plane English. There will a Day Come when we must all appear before our Judge to Receive our Sentence, and then we shall Se if you are Sutch A good Christian as you Bost of, you who have Demd So many to hell, have A Care of your Self. your fine house and all Christ's money (as you so call it) won't save you from hell. you will be exalted up very high into heaven, or els Be cast down very Low (and I fear the Latter). For thiere is A woe Denounced against Hipocrits and Liars, And I Believe you are A very greate Hipocrit, and I Can Sware you are A Liar. This from him who is not A friend to those who want worshipping, and that is Doctor wheelock."

It is thus indorsed:—

"I Nathl Adams testify that on the night of the twenty-seventh instant, between the hours of ten and twelve o'clock, I took this paper from the south door which leads into the cook-room of Dartmouth College, in the presence of Job Marsh, Miss Eunice Frisbie, and Hannah Robins, the contents of which has not been altered since I first saw it. In testimony whereof I do hereunto subscribe my name, this evening of the 28th of October, A. Domini, 1774."

NATHL ADAMS. [A Senior from Portsmouth.]

account, given by one of them of his own experiences, which, though many years ago published, is probably accessible to few of my readers. I shall therefore make no apology for introducing it. The circumstances were these:—

Jeremiah Osborne, of Litchfield, Conn., came to Hanover in 1771, and engaged to run the College mills on shares. His brother Benjamin entered College the same year, and in June, 1772, they proposed to their other brother, remaining in Connecticut, to come with companions and assist them in the care of the mills, and thus defray their expenses, while getting a college education. The proposition was accepted by four, one of whom was Joseph Vaile, of Litchfield, then twenty-two years of age. This is his story:—

“Having made the best preparation I could, under my circumstances, I set out with three others for Dartmouth College, Sept. 28, 1772. I took my axe and such articles of clothing and a few books as were most necessary. We took with us one small horse, on which the youngest and feeblest of our company rode most of the way. Three of us travelled on foot, and for a part of two days each footman swung his pack soldier-like. But at length we contrived to place our packs on our horse. This distance was computed to be one hundred and eighty miles. I had only about fifteen shillings in money to bear my expenses on the journey; and as this proved insufficient, I received some more from one of our company. We travelled on an average about thirty miles a day. I had never before been twenty miles from home, nor gone on foot a whole day at a time. I became excessively weary, and at times almost ready to lie down in the street. On the third day, as we went from Hartford, on the east side of Connecticut River, we reached Chickopee River, in Massachusetts, and finding the bridge gone, three of us forded the river. One rode the horse over, and ascertained that it was not dangerous on account of its depth. We pulled off our stockings and shoes, and waded across about ten rods; the water was cold, the stream rapid, and the bottom covered with slippery stones. [They spent the Sabbath at Claremont, and reached the College mills on Monday, October 5th.]

“These mills were one mile south from the College. They stood on a large brook, and near to them was an interval of fifteen or twenty acres, nearly surrounded on one side by a high hill of a semicircular form, which extended from northeast to southwest, and was covered thickly with forest. The road from the mills to the College, after about sixty rods of level land, passed directly up this hill, which was about one fourth of a mile from the bottom to the top, and thence through a hemlock swamp nearly a half a mile in width before it reached the plain on which the College stood. We found Mr. O. living alone in a small framed unfinished house, which had been built for the residence of the man who should tend the College mills. A more solitary and romantic situation can seldom be found. The howling of wild beasts and the plaintive notes of the owl greatly added to the gloominess of

the night season. Mr. O was supplied with some provisions and utensils sufficient for one who lived in his solitary condition. His lodging was a box made of boards called a bunk, with a ticking filled with pine shavings, and a sufficient covering of Indian blankets. For the first week we strangers took each one a blanket and slept upon the floor; but in a short time we furnished ourselves with bunks and straw beds, and with utensils sufficient to take our meals in a more decent manner. The first four or five weeks we spent in tending the mills and in clearing away the trees near our house, which furnished a supply of fuel for the winter. . . .

"One of our company soon gave up the idea of studying, and returned to Connecticut before winter. Three of us now entered on the study of the Latin Grammar, and pursued our studies through the winter. Our tutor was the brother of Mr. J. O. [Benjamin Osborne], a member of the Sophomore class in College. We gave him his board for his service in teaching us, and we had no other instructor till we entered College. During the first winter we studied in our cold house, and used pine-knots to burn for lights instead of candles, for a part of the time. I lodged in the chamber with one of my classmates. We ascended by a ladder placed in our small entry. My pillow was a duffed [*viz*] great coat, and our covering narrow Indian blankets. We did our own cooking and washing until the latter part of March, when a young married couple came from Connecticut and lived in our house and superintended our domestic concerns. Having repaired a small cottage near by, built in part of logs, we removed into that to study and lodge; where we remained during the next summer, suffering many inconveniences and undergoing many privations.

"On the return of spring in 1773, as soon as the ice dissolved, we resumed our sawing. We sawed about sixty thousand feet of pine boards, and stuck them up. We also tended the grist-mill in our turns. We had one dollar per thousand for sawing and stacking the boards, and half the toll for grinding. We also burned over several acres of ground, and cleared them for tillage. We sowed a part with clover seed for mowing and pasture, and planted yearly about one acre of corn, besides our garden. Our corn-field was never ploughed. We employed our hoes in planting the corn, and we dug our field with our hoes when the corn was up. The first spring after we commenced our settlement there, the measles broke out in our family, and proved fatal in the case of one of our number [Heman Osborne], who was thrown into a quick consumption which terminated his life in about six weeks. This was an afflictive providence to us all.

"In the first summer [1773] we built a new convenient house. One of our number and myself constructed the chimney; and for want of cattle we backed the stones from several rods distance. The mantel-tree stone two of us carried on our shoulders nearly a mile, and the jamb-stones we backed some distance. By the time we had finished our house, which was in September, my health was very much reduced, and I experienced a severe attack of the dysentery, attended with a burning fever, and for several days my life was greatly threatened. But through a merciful Providence I was at length restored to health.

"Thus I continued to labor and study for two years before I, with one of the company, entered College. My hardships were excessive, and especially in the spring, when, after studying all through the winter, we turned out in the latter part of March, two of us at a time, and tended the sawmill for about six weeks together.

"In the second spring we sawed about seventy thousand feet of boards, and in the third about seventy thousand. We made it our rule to saw every evening, except Saturday and Sabbath evenings, till ten o'clock, and in the mean time some one in his turn tended the grist-mill. About two years after we began our enterprise two young men from Massachusetts joined us, one of whom brought on an excellent cow, which furnished us with milk and butter for most of the year, and greatly contributed to our living more comfortably.

"After I entered College I went twice a day to recite with my class in College, which made me four miles travel each day. We recited to our tutor immediately after morning prayers, and again at eleven o'clock; and some part of the time we had three recitations in a day. In the winter we rose frequently at five o'clock, and in the shortest days at six o'clock; and having united in morning prayer in our family, I set off for College, having to face the northwest wind, which was cold and piercing. Not unfrequently I had to break my path through a new fall of snow a foot or more in depth. Considering the severity of the winters in that cold region, it was marvellous that I did not freeze my limbs or perish with the cold, especially as I was but thinly clad for that climate. After my admission to College I tended the saw-mill about six weeks in the spring, which was chiefly vacation; and in the summer, besides going to College twice or three times a day, I made it my rule to labor about three hours in the field or garden, or some other kind of manual labor. I had scarcely a moment's leisure from one day, week, or month to another. My hardships were excessive, and especially in the spring; in tending the saw-mill I was frequently exposed to being drenched with water when mending the troughs or buckets of the water-wheel, and in one instance I narrowly escaped being torn in pieces by the saw."¹

In all his absorbing cares Wheelock never lost sight of the Indians. From the English scholars upon charity, bonds were required to refund the expense of their education in case they should decline going as missionaries (unless providentially pre-

¹ Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Vaile, of Haddam, Conn., by Rev. Isaac Parsons. New York: Taylor & Dodd, 1839. In June, 1777, Vaile's health failed, and he was taken by the President to room in the College, and received his board and tuition for services in care and instruction of some of the Canadian boys. He was quite sick with bilious fever in August. In the fall he took charge for a time of Moor's School, but in consequence of the scarcity of provisions and the precarious state of affairs, spent the winter in Connecticut. He graduated in 1778, and notwithstanding these hardships survived to the age of eighty-eight years, fifty-eight of which he spent as pastor of the Church at Hadlyme, Conn.

vented), that "Christ's money," as he was wont to style it, might not be diverted to private advantage. He writes, in 1773:

"I have invariably kept the same object in view, and there has not been a step taken nor a stroke struck by me or my order in the whole affair . . . but what has been meant to be in direct subserviency to my first object; viz., the gospelizing the Indians. Nor has there been anything done here (excepting what I or others have done at our own expense) but it must have been done if an English College had never been thought of. The Indians are the first object in the charter, and the first object designed by all the lands secured thereby. And there never has been, from the first to this hour, directly or indirectly, one farthing of the money collected on either side the water for the use of my Indian school or for the support of missionaries been [*sic*] improved for my own or my family's support, or for any other purpose with my knowledge or consent."¹

We have seen through what unhappy accidents he was cut off from the Six Nations, in 1769. The same year, with a view to establish for himself a constituency, and by the same act relieve the embarrassments of a portion of the Narragansett tribe who were ousted from their lands in Rhode Island, he applied to Governor Wentworth to assign to them a township in New Hampshire. To that the Governor assented, and in January, 1770, in the same letter that announced the execution of the College charter, he proposed to give them a small township near the White Hills. This proved unacceptable, and the plan failed.

By the withdrawal of the boys of the Six Nations the number of Indians in the School had been reduced to an insignificant figure. Only *two* removed with it to Hanover; viz., Abraham and Daniel Simons, Narragansetts. Two others were added the same autumn. But the tribes of southern New England, besides being provided with other schools, were so far away that it seemed plain that the patronage must come from the Canadian tribes. For the first year attention was too much taken up with other matters to allow of any systematic effort to draw them in. But in September, 1771, arrangements were so far completed that Wheelock was able to announce to the Governor that he had room for a hundred students, and he desired his assistance in coming into relations with the Northern tribes. The Governor furnished the requisite letters, and in November it was arranged for Ripley

¹ Narrative, 1773, i. 22; Ibid., 1771, p. 33; Memoirs of Wheelock, p. 62.

to go with Capt. Samuel Paine, of Lebanon, to present them. For some reason Paine did not go, and the mission was deferred. But an Indian (named Michael) from Caghnawaga, near Montreal, happening to come to Hanover just at that time, was entertained with care, and sent home in high spirits, promising to commend the school to his tribe.

But before this the hope of regaining the favor of the Six Nations had begun to revive in Wheelock's mind, and was the first object of his efforts. Of those whom he had sent to the Six Nations from Connecticut, Kirkland alone, of white blood, remained, and he was no longer under Wheelock's patronage. The misunderstanding between them has been alluded to. It culminated in September, 1770, in an entire separation. Wheelock, indeed, before setting out for the wilds of New Hampshire, in view of the attitude of the Six Nations and of the fact that his new enterprise would tax all his resources, was desirous to have the Boston societies, which had long given Kirkland a partial support, assume the whole of it; and he intimated as much to Kirkland. In September, 1770, Kirkland came down from Oneida partly with a view to arrange the matter under Wheelock's direction. On reaching Lebanon he found that Wheelock had already departed, without leaving any message. Irritated by this neglect, he went directly to Boston, and was received by the societies with open arms. Wheelock, with some inconsistency, was deeply offended by his precipitance. Whitefield, who was at that time in Massachusetts, met Kirkland and Mr. Woodward by appointment, and visited Whitaker at Salem, on purpose to effect a reconciliation. He declared it to be indispensable to Wheelock's success and reputation abroad, and urged a meeting, at which he offered to be present as mediator. Unfortunately his sudden death at Newburyport, September 30th, left the matter still unsettled, though his influence was effectual to transform Dr. Whitaker into a peacemaker.

At last, after the lapse of another year, when fairly settled in his new quarters, Wheelock directed his first Indian mission toward the double object of recovering his standing with the Six Nations and satisfying his doubts of Kirkland's loyalty. He was also anxious to know the inward truth of Ralph's behavior, some hints of which had reached him from correspondents on both sides of the water. The mission was one of delicacy, and

was wisely intrusted to his old pupil, David Avery, a fellow student of Kirkland, who had been schooled to caution by his experience at Fort Stanwix. He was ordained, as before mentioned, Aug. 29, 1771, the day after Commencement, and sent out to become a colleague with Kirkland. James Dean, then a member of the junior class, accompanied him as interpreter.¹ After an absence of seven weeks Dean returned, October 21, bringing two Indian boys from Rev. John Sargent, of Stockbridge,² but none from the Six Nations. Avery remained at Oneida nearly a year. His mission was unsuccessful in so far that it brought no pupils to the School from that quarter. Deacon Thomas, indeed, wrote encouragingly, promising to send his own son, but he never did so. In other respects it served its purpose with great success. Avery's report was explicit as to Ralph's proceedings, and honorable to Kirkland, with whom it led to a partial reconciliation.³

¹ They went by way of Brookfield, Mass., and were there joined by Aaron Crosby, a missionary sent out to the Susquehanna country by the Boston commissioners. See a peculiarly exasperating letter in the "Massachusetts Gazette," Oct. 7, 1771. "It is truly melancholy [says the writer, presumably Mr Forbes] that the pious and zealous endeavors of Dr. Wheelock to humanize and christianize the heathen have, notwithstanding the vast expense and labor, hitherto proved abortive, as all his Indian children have left him but two, and he has not one schoolmaster or missionary in all the Indian country"

² These were Peter Pohquonnoppeet and John Konkapot, otherwise known as John Stockbridge, and under that name enlisted for a time in the army. Peter remained until 1780, and graduated from the College.

³ David Avery, son of John, of Scotch descent, born April 5, 1746, in that part of Norwich, Conn., called Norwich Farms, now comprised in Franklin, came as a charity scholar Jan. 2, 1764, and under Wheelock's patronage graduated at Yale in 1769. He had been converted under the preaching of Whitefield. In 1770 he was appointed to a mission with Kirkland; but ill-health prevented his going, and he preached for a time as a missionary on Long Island. Upon returning to Hanover in 1772, his health being too precarious for the Indian country, he went to preach at Gageborough, now Windsor, Mass., and was settled there March 25, 1773. Wheelock exacted partial repayment of the expense of his education, and Avery's letters concerning it show a pitiful condition of poverty and weakness

On the Sabbath after hearing of Lexington battle he preached a farewell sermon, telling the people God would take care of them, as he was going to join the army. When the congregation passed out he stood on the steps, and with a rousing address recruited twenty men and set out for Boston as their Captain. On Saturday, ten days after the battle, he arrived in Cambridge, and next day preached a stirring sermon to the whole army from a stand in the open air. He was appointed an army-chaplain April 18, 1776, and attached to Colonel Sherborne's regiment. He was a faithful chaplain, but did not hesitate on occasion to stand guard or go into battle. He was at Bunker Hill and Long Island, by Washington's side on the retreat in New Jersey, and at the signing of André's death-warrant, and saw André hanged. He

Even before the return of Dean, Kirkland himself came to Hanover, with Rev. Eden Burroughs, Oct. 21, 1771, and remained a week. After mutual explanations, he and Wheelock arrived at a partial accommodation of their differences. But distrust was never wholly removed from the minds of either, the old cordial relations were never fully restored, nor did Wheelock resume the burden of Kirkland's support, excepting that the latter continued to receive the annual allowance of £90 from the Scotch fund direct from the society.

In February, 1772, while Avery was still in Oneida, two Connecticut Indians who had formerly been at the School, John Mathews and Abraham Simons, were sent out from Hanover, in the hope of finding schools among the Tuscaroras.¹ Simons returned, June 20th, bringing word that the Indians in a large meeting had determined to have no English schools among them. From this time on, the Six Nations came no more into the range of Wheelock's operations.

On the 28th of March, 1772, in a temporary absence of Wheelock, the School was visited by Rev. John Sargent, bringing another boy of the Stockbridge tribe.

The second mission sent out from Hanover was directed, in 1772, to the Indians of the Ohio, under the auspices of the Scotch board in New Jersey. The objective point was on the Muskingum River, one hundred miles beyond Fort Pitt, and about eight hundred miles from Hanover, in the same region

was active also in the efforts to capture Arnold. He was also at Saratoga, Trenton, Princeton, and Valley Forge.

He was dismissed by the people of Gageborough, on account of his absence, April 14, 1777. He quitted the chaplaincy March, 1780, and held a stormy pastorate at Bennington, Vt., until June, 1783. He preached at Wrentham, Mass., from 1786 till 1794, or later. Afterward, while living at Mansfield, Conn., he preached in various places in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont, and labored under the Massachusetts Domestic Missionary Society. He was then three years at Chaplin, Conn., and in October, 1817, went to Virginia. He died there of typhus fever, Feb. 16, 1818, *æt.* seventy-one. He is described in his maturity as tall, portly, of commanding presence and strongly marked features, — a gentleman of the old school, frank, cordial, and dignified. He usually preached with only short notes, and spoke distinctly in a clear, sonorous voice audible to a whole brigade. He was one of the most remarkable products of Wheelock's labors.

See *One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Lebanon, Conn.*, pamphlet, p. 67; *Sprague's Annals*, i. 697; *Memorials of a Century of Bennington*, by Rev. Isaac Jennings, 1869, pp. 61, 88.

¹ Narrative, 1773, i. 7, 8.

where Rev. Charles Beatty had labored some years before. Wheelock selected for this service Levi Frisbie and David McClure. Taking them with him to a conference in Hartford, April 25, 1772, with a committee of the board, they were accepted, and returning to Hanover, were solemnly ordained, on the 20th of May,¹ and set out on their journey the 19th of June. The adventure being regarded as especially perilous, the officers and students agreed in advance upon a stated concert of prayer for the mission every Saturday and Sunday evening at six o'clock, in which the New Jersey board was invited to join. This expedition wholly failed of its intended object. McClure and Frisbie returned to Hanover, Oct. 2, 1773, after an absence of sixteen months. The Indians, after deliberation, having wholly refused to retain them, they had spent seven months very usefully as itinerants among the whites near Fort Pitt. This was the diversion complained of by the Scotch society. An abstract of their journal, prepared by McClure, was published as an appendix to the Narrative of 1773.

Not until the summer of 1772 was a successful opening made in the direction of the Canadian tribes, and then with some difficulty. A second futile attempt had been made to send Ripley among them in February, when the plan was to establish a mercantile correspondence with Montreal in furs, skins, and horses, in connection with which Indian boys might be induced to come to the School; and such as were able to pay for their education might thus find means of making remittances. At length, in June, a suitable companion and interpreter was found in the person of Lieut. Thomas Taylor, of Claremont, who had had experience among the Canadian tribes, and was employed for this trip at £5 per month and his keeping. Ripley, setting out July 17, joined Lieutenant Taylor at Claremont, and together they proceeded *via* Crown Point to Caghnawaga and Montreal, where Ripley submitted to inoculation with the small-pox, and on recovery went on to Quebec. Governor Cramake, to whom they bore Governor Wentworth's letter, was unwilling to further their design, lest he might give offence to the Jesuits, and appear to violate the religious guarantee which the English had

¹ Present, Rev. Messrs. Wellman, of Cornish, Olcott, of Charlestown, Burroughs, of Hanover, Powers, of Haverhill, and Noble, of Orford. Wheelock himself preached the sermon and delivered the charge.

given.¹ As he discountenanced their going to Lorette, they returned to Montreal and Caghnawaga. Here they found two young men of the Huron tribe from Lorette named *Lewis* and *Sebastian* (or *Basteen*) Vincent, on their way to Sir William Johnson, on purpose to find a school where they might obtain admission. They had heard nothing of Mr. Ripley nor of Wheelock's School until they came to Caghnawaga, and had waited there five weeks for Ripley's return. Besides these, the Caghnawagas, in spite of their priests, unanimously agreed to commit to Ripley's care nine of their boys. Three of these were half-breeds, descendants of American captives,—viz., Thomas Stacey, or Stacy, whose father was taken from Ipswich; John Phillips, a grandson of Mr. Tarbull (who was taken from Groton in the year 1700, and was at this time still living, a hearty and active man, the eldest chief and principal speaker of the tribe); and another, a grandson of Eunice Williams, of Deerfield.² This one, having fallen sick, was at the last moment detained at home. The rest, ten in all, arrived at Hanover with Ripley and Taylor, Sept. 11, 1772, safe and in health, two weeks from the day they set out from Caghnawaga. This was the opening of actual relations with the Canadian tribes.

¹ QUEBEC, 28th Aug., 1772.

SIR,—I received your favor of the 7th July by Mr. Ripley, who, from the little I have seen, appears deserving of the character you give him, and fit for the Mission you have employed him upon. You was not informed, I believe, when you sent him that all the Indians within the present limits of this Province have been long since converted to Christianity, and are more zealous and bigoted Roman Catholics than the French and Canadians they live amongst. By Treaty, and in Councils held with the savages, they have been most solemnly promised the free exercise of their religion, and in all the large Indian Villages they have churches and Missionaries to serve them according to the Rites of the Romish Church.

Were we to apply for any of the children, besides their natural dislike to parting with them, it might raise a suspicion, and jealousy, of our intending to break through those engagements; this notion might spread from them to the Canadians, and kindle such an aversion to their present Government as might never again be got the better of, and in the end be attended with the most pernicious consequences. From motives of policy, therefore, I must decline giving any assistance to the project, and strongly advised Mr. Ripley not to attempt it. The Lenity of His Majesty's Government, the Freedom they have and do enjoy under His Dominion, and the Liberality of our sentiments towards them, will, I hope, open the eyes of these deluded People, prepare, and in time ripen them for further Instruction.

I am, with great esteem, . . .

H. T. CRAMAKE.

² Another of her descendants, afterward Rev. Eleazar Williams, the reputed Bourbon prince, was at the School in 1807.

By these various additions there were now eighteen Indians (including the mulatto, Watts), one of whom, however, of Ripley's company, being too young for the School, was taken into a private family. Four others of Ripley's number, being somewhat too old to be teachable, proved restless and refractory, and at their own request, in March, 1773, were gladly accorded permission to visit Sir William Johnson, with a hint that they need not return. The account they gave, on their arrival at Cagh-nawaga, of the treatment of the boys here was not over friendly. "However," says Wheelock, "I believe they have done the cause no hurt, especially as they themselves made so much better appearance as to their clothing than they did when they came from home." Within a month four more came from Stockbridge, and made the number good.

In May, 1773, a trial was made to the eastward. Ripley, having been first formally ordained on April 28th,¹ was sent out again with Dean to make a tour among the Penobscots and the tribes on the Bay of Fundy. They found them sadly demoralized, and were unable to obtain any encouragement for the School. Meeting, however, a youth of the Natic tribe who had been several years at St. Francis and understood the languages, they readily persuaded him to return with them, and brought him to Hanover, July 28th.²

The Canadian Indians seem to have been less tractable and more active and restless than those to which Wheelock had been accustomed in Connecticut. The difference was due to various causes, not the least of which was, no doubt, the diver-

¹ The exercises of the solemnity were performed by the Rev. Messrs. Dr. Wheelock, James Wellman, Eden Burroughs, Obadiah Nobles, and Isaiah Potter. The Rev. Isaiah Potter made the first prayer, the Rev. Mr. Burroughs preached the sermon, the Rev. Mr. Wheelock made the prayer before the charge, the Rev. Mr. Wellman gave the charge, the Rev. Isaiah Potter gave the right hand of fellowship, the Rev. Mr. Nobles made the concluding prayer. The whole was performed with Decency and Solemnity. — *N. H. Gazette*, May 14, 1773.

² Rev. Mr. Ripley, of Dartmouth College, lately made a visit to the Penobscot Indians, and prevailed on one young Indian to go with him to be educated. Some more of them expect to go, but desire time to consider of it. Loron, the chief of the tribe, was one of the deputies who met Mr. Ripley, and was his greatest opponent. Soon after, he was killed by being accidentally shot. One of his hands was at once cut off, and salted and smoked, to be taken to the priest in Canada, according to their custom. — *N. H. Gazette*, Aug 27, 1773. See also Wheelock's Narrative, 1773, p. 10, where is a curious account, from a wandering Indian, of tribes far west of Lake Superior, the Mattagnessawachs and the Annudowessan.

sity in religion and the influence of the Jesuits. But the most natural explanation probably is in the difference of the surroundings, which led them to be constantly coming and going, and rendered strict control impossible.¹ The Hurons, Lewis and Basteen, after staying about five months, set out in February, 1773, on a visit to Sir William Johnson, and early in May were excused again to see their friends in Canada, holding out the inducement that they would bring back other boys with them in the fall. The white boys by association imbibed something of the same spirit, which, as tending to prepare them for future service, was on the whole encouraged. Two of them — Elisha Hutchinson and Samuel Collins (the latter afterward pastor of the church at Hanover Centre) — obtained permission to accompany Lewis and Basteen on their trip, designing to take the small-pox by inoculation at Montreal, and to remain there for a time to study the French and Indian languages. The Indians — though, as the result proved, not desirous of their company — made no objection, and all set out together.

The experiences of the white boys are given in the following account: —

"The second day after we sat out on our journey we arrived at Mr. Powers', where we took provision to support us through the woods. Both he and Colonel Bailey were very friendly, and showed us much kindness. The colonel provided a couple of hands to help us up as far as Barned, about eighteen miles above Newberry, where we left Connecticut River and took the line in order for Lake Champlain. It appeared something likely for a storm that morn-

¹ The following story is told on the authority of Hon. Stephen Jacob and General Mattoon, who witnessed the occurrence. The Indian boys having obtained leave to spend an afternoon skating on the river, the tutors and others went down to see the sport, which stirred the Indians to show their skill. One, more daring than the rest, would dash along the extreme edge of the new ice till his skate cut off a strip of ice into the glade, when he would recover himself on the other foot and dart away to repeat the exploit. He did it successfully several times, but at last made a misstep and plunged into the water, in which he sank and remained so long that the bystanders gave him up as lost; when he suddenly reappeared at the edge of the ice, threw himself out without help, and with a whoop dashed away like a flash, the rest of the Indians at his heels, and continued to skate the remainder of the afternoon as if nothing had happened.

There survives a complaint by some of the older ones against the new-comers rooming next door. "They interrupt our studies so that many times we cannot get so much at our recitations as we should do. They are still no longer than the school lasts, and all the rest of the time they are hollowing and making all manner of noise. We have been in the room by times to ask them to be still, but they seem to increase the noise the more."

ing; but we thought it better to go on than to tarry there on cost, there being no house for entertainment there. Soon after we sat out from thence into the woods we perceived that Lewis grew uneasy, and wanted to travel faster than we were able to go; and after having travelled two days in the woods, the weather proving very wet and uncomfortable, we had got but twenty-four miles, when we camped by a small river, where unfortunately there happened to meet us a couple of St. Franceway Indians who had been hunting in these parts, and were about to go down the river to St. John's.

"We soon found that meeting them made those Indians that went with us more uneasy and a mind to part from us, though we treated them with the utmost friendship and tenderness; but after all there appeared in them many things very disagreeable, in particular, a proud and haughty disposition, so that sometimes they would hardly answer directly to a question asked them. We used what arguments we thought proper to persuade them to keep with us, or make two bark canoes, that we might go with them; but nothing would avail, and seeing how matters worked, we thought it best to proceed without them.

"Accordingly we left them next morning, intending to make the best of our way alone. After having travelled about five miles, we came to a river called Masisque, which we found to be eight or nine rods wide. The water was very deep, and the current so swift that we could find no possible way to pass it. Lieutenant Stow told us of that river when we inquired of him about the way, but he said there would be no difficulty in passing it, for the water was not so deep but that it might be waded; but it's being so much raised by reason of the abundance of rain, we thought it not prudent to attempt to cross it, which we might easily have done, if they had kept with us, by making a canoe; but neither of us understood anything of such business. We were very loath to return back, having then got near half through the woods, and the worst of the way, so that we expected to have reached Lake Champlain in two days more; but finding that we could not proceed any farther on our journey, we thought it advisable to return back again as fast as possible, something expecting to find the Indians at the camp where we left them that morning, as they told us they intended to stay there that day to make a bark canoe to go down the river. When we returned, they were gone, and we thought, by the appearance of things, that they withdrew soon after we left them, which gave us the more reason to suspect they intended to leave us at all adventures. . . . They gave us no reason why they had a mind to leave us, only that they had not provision to last them through the woods. We offered them part of ours while it lasted, and although they pretended to be so short on it for provisions, they gave away part they had the night before to those other Indians."

Upon their return, May 20th, the boys were informed by the other Indians that Lewis and Basteen started with the intention of shaking them off. They expressed a willingness to make another trial, desiring, however, to go by way of Crown Point, to which place they could ride, and thence by water. They did

accordingly set out anew on the 8th of June. On the 15th three others — Porter and Kendal, of the junior class, and Judson, a Sophomore, with Verrieul as interpreter — set out also for Montreal with similar purposes. Kendal, under patronage of Mr. Stacy, gathered a school at Caghnawaga and made himself very popular. Toward the last of September, Lewis¹ and Basteen returned alone, the opposition of the priests having been effectual to prevent their bringing any recruits.

In June, 1773, while Wheelock was at Portsmouth, Messrs. Stacy and Phillips came from Caghnawaga to visit their sons, and with them the father of one of the other Indian boys. Mr. Stacy brought his Indian wife, and Mr. Phillips another son, about fourteen years of age, who had been lately elected king of the tribe, and whom he promised to send to the School at a future time. They went away pleased with the situation and with the condition of the children.

Wheelock notes in his Diary, November 25th, the arrival of ten Indians from Canada, — no doubt on a similar errand.

In May, 1774, Dean and Kendal set out once more for Montreal; Kendal to revive his Indian school at Caghnawaga, and Dean designing, with suitable companions, to make an attempt upon the tribes farther west, as far as Detroit and Lake Superior. Frisbie and Thomas Walcott followed on the 18th of June, going on foot to Crown Point, and on the eleventh day reached Montreal, where they overtook Dean and Kendal. Dean being deterred from his mission to the westward by failing to procure an acceptable interpreter, and by the lateness of the season and the rumor of war among the tribes, joined Frisbie in canvassing near Montreal, and in a visit to Quebec and Lorette. They held a council at Canasadage, thirty miles up the river from Montreal, where they tried to establish relations with the "Rodiroondacks," but were repulsed through the influence

¹ Lewis, after all, turned out very well. He rendered eminent services to the patriot cause during the war, and graduating from the College in 1781, was for many years a useful teacher in his tribe at Lorette, where he died in 1825, *at* sixty-five. The following anecdote illustrates his quickness of body and mind. While in college, playing ball one day near the middle of the common, he heard cries, and observed a commotion about the well near the President's house. Divining instantly that some one had fallen in, he ran at the top of his speed, shouting to the others to clear the way, and without slackening pace, leaped upon the bucket, and grasping the pole of the sweep, plunged with it into the well, some thirty feet, where he found and rescued the little daughter of Dr. Gates.

of the priests.¹ They then went down to the St. Francis village and were cordially received, the priest, Père German, showing a friendly spirit. Here they left Walcott,² who was sixteen years of age, to remain through the winter and acquire the language.

The chief sachem of St. Francis was Joseph Lewis Gill, Indian by nurture, but of English blood, being descended from two white captives who about the year 1700 were brought there as prisoners in childhood, and afterward married. The sachem's first wife, an Indian woman, had been killed by Major Rogers when he destroyed the town in 1759. He was now married to a Frenchwoman, by whom he had a son, that, in spite of her opposition, he determined to send to Dr. Wheelock, together with three other little boys, his nephews.³ They accordingly set out, September 17, with Messrs. Frisbie and Dean, and reached Hanover on the 6th of October. Kendal returned from Caghnawaga, the next week, with another boy of about the same age; and still another arrived from Stockbridge.

Wheelock had now ten Indian children between ten and fourteen years of age, and was greatly perplexed to provide suitable care for so youthful a class. Providentially, some five days before the boys arrived, Mrs. Elizabeth Walcott, the mother of his pupil Thomas, came with her little daughter to Hanover, after an eight days' journey, from Boston, in

¹ See their journal, in an Appendix to the Narrative of 1775.

² Thomas Walcott came to Hanover with Mr. Woodward in August, 1770. He was then twelve years old. His mother had been for more than a year begging Wheelock to receive him. He remained in Canada till after hostilities commenced, and was sent down to Hanover under a pass from Governor Carlton. Returning to Boston with his mother in March, 1776, after the evacuation of the city, he remained there in business. He devoted himself largely to antiquarian labors, took a prominent part in the foundation of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and by degrees gathered for himself a large and valuable collection. In 1817 he made a handsome donation to the library of "Dartmouth University." He died in Boston, June 5th, 1840, *æt.* eighty-two. See biographical sketch in the Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc., ii. 193; also his portrait, in vol. i. p. 4.

³ They were named Francis Joseph Gill (afterward known as Annance), Francis Joseph Gill, Jr., Anthony Gill, and Benedict Gill. The last three left with the other boys in 1777, but the first, "Great Francis," as he was called, remained till March, 1780. In 1778 he was a member of College. In 1803 he was sachem of the tribe, and sent to the School his son Louis, together with a boy of the Gills', and kept them there about six years (Memoirs of Wheelock, p. 98).

expectation of engaging in trade, having been driven out of business there by the British. Disappointed in her hope of finding an opening for trade at Hanover, she undertook, at Wheelock's solicitation, the care of these ten little boys, "to perform the office of a Christian mother to them."

Through an interpreter, Wheelock told them "that she was mother to the lad who was left among their relations, and that she would be their mother." The children appeared to be much pleased and comforted by it, "and it was," he says, "not a little affecting to see the natural and undissembled expressions of their filial fondness toward her."¹

With equal good fortune it happened that Jacob Fowler, a former Indian pupil of Wheelock at Lebanon, who had fallen into debt and been obliged to leave his employment in Connecticut, came with his wife, at Wheelock's invitation, to Hanover. He arrived but a few days after the boys, and was at once employed, for £36 a year, to take charge of their instruction. He found, to his surprise, that he could converse with them easily in the Indian tongue, so similar were their dialects. The house which had been prepared for the farmer chanced to be vacant, and Mrs. Walcott and Fowler both moved into it with the little flock. Fowler remained a year, until the ensuing October, and Mrs. Walcott till the evacuation of Boston, in March, 1776. There were at the same time ten or eleven other Indians, — part of them members of the College, and the remainder attending the School, or preparatory department, under the superintendence of Dean. The outbreak of the war and the cessation of English remittances prevented any further missionary expeditions or increase of the Indian scholars. But the connection already established proved of priceless value to the College and the community in the troublous times that followed.

¹ Narrative of 1775, p. 13. She remarked in them, though so young, the Indian fondness for drink that had snap in it, — for "big beer," as they called it. See an account of her experience with them in Gould's *Notes and Queries*, Manchester, November, 1884, p. 461.

CHAPTER VI.

1774-1782.

THE TOWN AND THE COLLEGE IN THE REVOLUTION.

THE year 1775 began a new epoch alike for town and College. At the very moment when the English funds were exhausted, the gathering storm that darkened the political horizon cut off all hope of further help from England, and involved College, town, and Province in common dangers and difficulties. But the most serious blow that the College suffered by the change was the loss of its powerful and disinterested friend, Governor Wentworth, who was deprived of his power and influence as early as May, and took his final leave of the country in September. The College was thus with little warning cut away in all directions from its former attachments, and driven to seek new patrons and new means of support. From the enjoyment of resources that had been during four years practically unlimited, except by the prudence of Wheelock, all its multifarious interests were on the instant reduced to self-maintenance or a precarious dependence on charity, in a new and half peopled country, doubly impoverished by the charges of the war and by the ever-present necessity of self-protection from the savages, who ranged unhindered to a frontier but thirty miles distant from the College itself, and kept the whole valley in a condition of chronic alarm. It was essentially a greater change than the removal from Connecticut, and the shock was tremendous. It is true that by expenditures which remittances from England had made possible, a foothold had by this time been obtained in the wilderness which could have been gained in no other way. To this it was doubtless largely owing that the College enjoyed the proud distinction of pursuing through every vicissitude its regular

course practically uninterrupted, while the other and older institutions were forced to suspend. Of the sums drawn from England, some £3000 had been expended in building, and in preparing lands for cultivation and pasturage. The buildings, though rudely constructed and soon decaying, furnished adequate shelter through the troubled years. The lands, giving for a while valuable returns, but before long choked with bushes, and deprived by the war of a sufficiency of labor, became unproductive. But on the whole, as compared with other settlers in the Connecticut valley, the College was well off, and its favorable circumstances were in the nature of things reflected also upon the town.

Situated as it happened midway between the two ordinary lines of communication with Canada (the road from Charlestown to Crown Point, on the one hand, and the Indian trail from St. Francis to Coos, at Haverhill, on the other), and protected by the river, Hanover enjoyed the advantage of easy access to both, without being exposed to the immediate dangers of the frontier. This town was thus during the entire period of the war wholly exempt from hostile attack, though sometimes approached and often aroused for scout and defence. How much of this exemption was due to the peculiar relations of the College to the Indians, it is impossible to say; but Wheelock himself laid great stress upon the protective influence of that circumstance. Of the actual sufferings usual in war, the people were called to endure but little. The town grew and prospered, especially in the College district, which from a forest without house or inhabitant had become, in the course of five years, the centre of the intellectual, the business, and the political life of a considerable portion of the river valley.

In three years from the advent of the College, the population of the town, according to the official census of 1773, had increased from twenty families to seventy, comprising (besides students, who numbered about ninety) 342 souls.¹ Of these families, about a dozen dwelt in the College district, and the rest were scattered somewhat widely over the northern and central portions of the town. Ten years later (in 1783) the College

¹ N. H. State Papers, x. 634.

district counted twenty-five heads of families. Of the ninety students in 1773, about sixty were independent paying scholars, whose necessary disbursements, in addition to the official expenditures, insured no little prosperity in so small a community.

Notwithstanding the peculiar reasons they had to deprecate a breach with England, both town and College entered heartily into the revolutionary struggle. At a special meeting of the town, held Aug. 9, 1774, "to come to some resolves relative to a non-importation agreement pursuant to a covenant laid before said meeting from the Committee of Correspondence at Exeter, July 14, 1774," a committee of six¹ was chosen "to superintend those people who are under a necessity of purchasing some articles."

The agreement actually used in Hanover is not preserved. It may be reasonably supposed to have been identical with that adopted in other towns. The following copy is taken from the files of Plainfield: —

We the subscribers, inhabitants of the town of ———, having taken into our serious consideration the precarious state of the Liberties of North America, and more especially the present distressed condition of our Sister Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, embarrassed as it is by several Acts of the British Parliament tending to the entire subversion of their natural and charter rights, among which is the Act for blocking up the harbour of Boston, and being fully sensible of our indispensable duty to lay hold on every means in our power to preserve and recover the much-injured constitution of our country, and conscious at the same time of no alternative between the horrors of Slavery or the carnage and desolation of a civil war but a suspension of all commercial intercourse with the Island of Great Britain, —

Do in the presence of God solemnly and in good faith covenant and engage with each other that from henceforth we will suspend all commercial intercourse with the said Island of Great Britain until the Parliament shall cease to enact laws imposing taxes upon the Colonies without their consent, or until the pretended right of taxing is dropped.

And that there be less temptation to others to continue in the said now dangerous commerce, and in order to promote industry, economy, arts, and manufactures among ourselves, which are of the last importance to the welfare and well-being of a community, we do in like manner solemnly covenant that we will not buy, purchase, or consume, or suffer any person by, for, or under us to purchase, nor will we use in our families in any manner whatever, any goods, wares, merchandise which shall arrive in America

¹ The committee consisted of Israel Curtis, Lieut. David Woodward, Capt. Edmund Freeman, John House, Jonathan Freeman, and Lieut. John Wright. Of these, Curtis only was a resident of the College district.

from Great Britain aforesaid from and after the last day of August next ensuing (except only such articles as shall be judged absolutely necessary by the majority of the signers hereof), and as much as in us lies to prevent our being interrupted and defeated in this only peaceable measure entered into for the recovery and preservation of our rights and the rights of our brethren in our Sister Colonies, we agree to break off all trade and commerce with all persons who, preferring their private interest to the salvation of their now almost perishing country, who shall still continue to import goods from Great Britain, or shall purchase of those who import after the said last day of August, until the aforesaid pretended right of taxing the Colonies shall be given up or dropped.

As a refusal to come into any agreement which promises deliverance of our country from the calamities it now feels, and which like a torrent are rushing upon it with increasing violence, must in our opinion evidence a disposition inimical to, or criminally negligent of, the common safety. It is agreed that all such ought to be considered, and shall by us be esteemed, as encouragers of contumacious importers.

Lastly, we hereby further engage that we will use every means in our power to encourage and promote the production of manufactures among ourselves, that this covenant and engagement may be as little Detrimental to ourselves, and fellow-countrymen as possible.

July 28, 1774

At the annual March meeting, 1775, it was voted by the town of Hanover "that we highly approve of the measures entered into by the American Continental Congress held at Philadelphia last summer, and heartily adopt the association¹ entered into by them in behalf of their constituents; and that our hearty thanks be and are due to that respectable body, and in particular to the gentlemen who represented this Province, for their indefatigable zeal in concerting measures for the security of the Liberties of the American colonies against the attempts which have been made by designing men to deprive us of them." In conformity to the recommendation of the Congress, *Israel Curtis, Esq.*,² Capt. Edmund Freeman, *Bezaleel Woodward, Esq.*, John Wright, Jun., and Jonathan Freeman were chosen a "Committee of Inspection to see that the said association agreement be faithfully and carefully observed in this town, and that the same persons be a COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE in behalf of the town."

¹ The text of this association, dated Oct. 20, 1774, may be found in N. H. State Papers, vii. 426. See also Am. Archives, Series iv., vol. i. p. 914. It was an agreement not to import, purchase, or use foreign goods, nor to export goods to Great Britain, and not to raise prices in times of scarcity.

² Italics indicate a resident of the College district.

The committees thus appointed in the several towns received express recognition from the Provincial Congress, June 28, 1775, in a "recommendation" to them in their respective towns to secure deserters, "diligently to inspect into thefts and robberies," and to take and punish persons concerned in them, "according to the nature and degree of their offence."¹ The form of the vote is noticeable. It assumes to confer no power, but merely *recommends* the exercise of it, as if already inherent in the towns. It is well to remember this in connection with subsequent discussions.

The similar committees of the several towns in this quarter combined almost immediately into an organization styled "The United Committees," with a standing chairman and clerk, which, though fluctuating in membership and extraordinary in character, wielded in effect, in many ways and for a considerable period, the power of court and legislature. We know by many indications that records of the proceedings of this body were scrupulously kept. Unfortunately they are not preserved, except in fragments that have been found here and there in the files of the towns to which copies were sent as occasion required. The following is the earliest of these records that has come to the notice of the writer, and may well be supposed to be the first: —

At a meeting of the Committees of Safety for the towns of Plainfield, Lebanon, Hanover, Canaan, and Grantham, at the house of Mr. Azariah Bliss, in said Lebanon, Aug. 2, A. D. 1775, chose John Wheatley, Esq. [of Lebanon], chairman, Bezaleel Woodward, Esq. [of Hanover], clerk.

Voted, that we will use our utmost endeavors as committees of our respective towns for the preservation of the Peace and Suppression of Disorders among the people, as recommended by Congress.

Voted, that the laws of our country ought and shall be our rule of procedure in judging of the Qualities of offences and punishing the same, only with such variations as the different channel of administration requires.

Voted, that each committee keep records of their procedure.

Voted, that this meeting be dissolved.

Attest: BEZA. WOODWARD, *Clerk*.

Mr. Woodward continued as stated clerk of this body throughout its whole existence as an active force, and exercised to all appearances, in the long run, more power and influence than any other single person connected with it,

¹ N. H. State Papers, vii. 536.

though its membership at different times included every prominent man in this section on both sides of the river. There was indeed no one in this part of the Province so well equipped for leadership as Mr. Woodward, both by natural talents and by education. To him the Provincial Congress gave fit recognition by reappointing him, in January, 1776, one of the justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for Grafton County, — a position for which his four years' service as justice of the peace had admirably fitted him.

The criminal jurisdiction exercised by these committees, as outlined in the foregoing record, went perhaps somewhat beyond the recommendations of Congress; but it was necessary and beneficial, and was acquiesced in without question. Such records as are preserved show that it was real and effective. In March, 1776, the Hanover committee took jurisdiction of some cases of forgery. As they were of exceptional character, it was thought advisable to transmit the record to the central committee for advice.¹

HANOVER, 25th March, 1776.

GENTLEMEN, — Inclosed is a copy of our proceedings, which we hope will be approved. We have seen no Resolve of the Congress relative to such cases, but imagined the necessity that immediate measures should be taken to suppress such a disorder justified our proceeding as we have done. We could wish to have our duty in that and other cases more particularly stated, that we may not be exposed to exceed our bounds. As there is a prospect of further discoveries of the like kind in these parts, and as persons not disposed to good order, taking advantage of our broken state, have already begun to commit outrages on the property of others, which if passed unnoticed, and no measures are directed to for redress, will be made use of as precedents for further high-handed iniquity, and the person and property of no one be secure, we are . . . By order of the Committee,

DAVID WOODWARD, *Chairman*.
BEZA. WOODWARD, *Clerk*.

To the Committee of Safety for New Hampshire.

It does not appear that Congress ever undertook further definition of the powers of the committees in this direction; but the town of Hanover, by a vote of March, 1777, "instructed and empowered" its own committee "to transact any affairs which may come under their cognizance, agreeable to the for-

¹ See the record, in part, in N. H. State Papers, viii. 115, and complete in American Archives, Series v., vol. iv. p. 503.

mer usage and the general practice of other towns in the New England States. Also that they take cognizance of breaches of the peace and any criminal disorder during the dispute with the Assembly of this State."

The position of the College at the outset was one of peculiar delicacy. Wheelock was warmly attached to Governor Wentworth and to his English friends, to whom he was so deeply indebted. He keenly realized that a breach of relations with England would cut off the source of supplies which had hitherto been his chief dependence. In some of the earlier matters of difference, Governor Wentworth undoubtedly had his sympathy against what he deemed unreasonable criticism; yet he was unwavering in support of the patriot cause as soon as the issue came to be clearly defined, and at various times he rendered it important services. He corresponded familiarly, though occasionally, with Gates, Arnold, Worster, Schuyler, Montgomery, and Washington, while with Governor Trumbull, as an old friend, he preserved the most confidential relations; and at several periods the College, owing to its peculiar situation and connections, assumed a national importance.

On the 6th of November, 1774, Wheelock wrote to Governor Wentworth as follows:—

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, 6th November, 1774.

MUCH HONORED AND VERY DEAR GOVERNOR,— Your kind favor by the last post, together with the Post's account of matters, much affect me, and I really feel your trials.

I am witness for you from observation, experience, and information, for five years past, that your heart and purse have indeed been open for the benefit of wretched mortals in general within your reach, and towards your own Province in particular. . . .

I have had such important affairs of my own to demand my whole attention while the dispute between the mother country and her colonies has run so high as to kindle a fire, which I fear will not be soon or easily extinguished in either party, that I have not understanding in the matter, nor penetration enough to see what injury the building of those barracks will be to Boston, or to the cause of liberty, which is so justly dear to them; and if no injury at all, and if it be so esteemed by the most judicious and warmest friends to liberty there, and they themselves are therefore willing that eighty-seven carpenters from New York should be employed in that service, I can't conceive what crime you are chargeable with in being willing that a number of your poor people should share some advantage with others by joining them in that service.

But supposing you to have been a little out of the way in it,—which I

don't see that you have, — I must think that in our situation there is a just doubt of good policy in their making a public bustle and clamor about it, as they are not likely thereby to strengthen that cause or add one friend to their number, but, on the other hand, will expose us, the infant settlers on your frontiers, to the fury of a merciless northern army, if such should be sent, as we fear, to crush what is (I hope) unjustly called a general rebellion in other provinces, and greatly weaken your influence to save us from the terrible consequences of it.

This part of your province is as unanimous and warm (according to their ability) for the defence of that liberty which is threatened as any part of the Continent, and when duty calls will be as active to do their part; but at the same time are firmly attached to your person, and esteem the past silence of this Province in the controversy, and your Excellency's friendship for your people, and your influence with the Governor of Quebec, to be our strongest and surest bulwark against a herd of savages who, we hear, are already in high spirits for plunder here.

The Governor replied with a letter entirely in his own hand.

PORTSMOUTH, 18th November, 1774.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I have (not quite) a minute left me to thank you for your kind letter 6th November.

The evil spirit conjured up so unreasonably about the carpenters begins to subside. Folly in its own nature is happily very transient.

Landaff charter is signed. The incorporation of the society adjacent to the College and under its jurisdiction, it is thought, must be done by the General Court.

My Fees of Ten Guineas, due for passing Landaff incorporation, is hereby presented to Dartm: College. I have no doubt we shall find friends to support the cause. It is purely his who can alone dispose the minds of men!

I wish to hear what sum is left in Stock in England of the whole collection. As to the N. Britain collection, it may prove premature their applying that part to the Boston board. . . .

No news yet arrived. Peace begins to prevail in Boston; if it is effected there, it will undoubtedly spread thro' all the country, as did all the disquiet that has disturbed the people for six years past.

I don't apprehend any army will be ordered from Canada. I've not heard of any. If there should be, the people of your County may be assured of all the safety my public and personal influence can secure to them, which I've no doubt will be amply sufficient to protect both their persons & property from the minutest outrage or violence. In the mean time they will do wisely in strengthening my hands by a prudent and peaceable deportment becoming from men and Christians, which conduct, I will answer with my life, cannot fail of doing them honor, as well as procuring perfect safety in the worst times that their own Fears can paint.

The following is (so far as we know) the last letter which Wheelock received from the Governor: —

PORTSMOUTH, 5th May, 1775.

MY DEAR AND REVEREND SIR,— The enclosed, from Mr. Keen, I received about ten days since. The present post is the first opportunity I have had to forward them to you. I hope they will afford you comfort in this day of great distress and perplexity through the land, which seems to invite ruin. The General Assembly will, I hope, proceed to business, if they should be disposed in that moderate, conciliating line which is essential to the well-being of the Province. We shall then pursue the affairs of Dartmouth College; but if those plans should distract, yours and every other good will of course be superseded. May the God of true wisdom and great mercy direct them and us in the paths of rectitude and peace! I have no news from England. My public despatches breathe candour, moderation, and amity towards the Colonies, which I wish our Assembly may embrace, and lay a foundation for the establishment of tranquillity. If not, we must prepare for calamitous times, I fear. I heartily wish you and all under your care the best of blessings, both here and hereafter, being, with great regard, your truly affec. friend,

J. WENTWORTH.¹

REV: DOCTOR WHEELOCK.

On April 29, 1775, Wheelock wrote to Mr. Thornton, in London: "I believe there never was a more dutiful, loyal, and well-affected people to Government than has ever been in these colonies till the Stamp Act. And the colonies have ever been propense to peace and reconciliation till those late horrid murders and savage butcheries, so inhumanly committed under pretence of reducing rebels to obedience. The wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood. Our liberties were dearly bought, and we have tasted the sweetness of them, and esteem them our birth-right; and perhaps his Majesty will find they will not be given up so tamely as he imagines. The colonies seem to be determined they will not be slaves." "I believe," he wrote a few months later, "they will by thousands and thousands, if there shall be occasion, show that they are ready to venture their lives in the cause." At the same time he could but admit that "the breaking connections from your side of the water will be to many thousands here like rending the flesh from the bones. Blessed be God, it will have no great or lasting influence as to you and my dearest connections on your side." Some of his English friends were nevertheless permanently estranged by similar expressions.

¹ Governor Wentworth retreated to the Fort, July 11th, and sailed in the frigate "Scarborough," August 24, for Boston. He touched again at the Shoals, September 28, and soon after left for England. He was Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia from 1792 to 1808, and resided at Halifax till his death, April 8, 1820, *æt.* eighty-three.

At the same time he was not in sympathy with radical sentiments. He writes to McClure, June 16, 1775:—

“There appears to be at and about Coos a large combination who, under pretence of defending the cause of liberty, are furiously acting in direct opposition to those who are soberly contending for it. They seem not to be contending for those constitutional rights which we have quietly enjoyed heretofore, but to break up the very constitution itself, and all the invaluable privileges we have had and enjoyed under it. Some of them appear to be inspired to a great degree, but not from on high.”¹

During the early years of the settlement the people of Hanover and neighboring towns were too remote from the Government, and too much scattered, to be held to a very exact observance of the laws regulating the militia. But in January, 1774, through Wheelock's influence with the Governor, the *thirteenth* regiment of his Majesty's militia was organized in the towns of Hanover, Lebanon, Lyme, Orford, Cornish, and Plainfield; Samuel Gilbert, of Lyme, being colonel, and Jonathan Chase, of Cornish, next in command. Colonel Gilbert wrote to Colonel Chase from Lyme, Jan. 20th, 1774:—

SIR,—I got home on Saturday last. Have wrote commission here enclosed, and sent by my son. . . . Esquire Payne and Mr. Ralph Wheelock are majors. I have got the commissions for them, as also twenty-one blanks for officers, and am willing they should have them when I can know who they be that will best serve. . . . I also desire you would write a line to Elisha Payne, Esq., at Cardigan, that I have wrote for him a major's commission, and that if he thinks best to allow a company to be made out of two or three towns back, and will find men suitable, they shall have commissions if they will meet with us at Lebanon. The Governor hath given orders to my son [Capt. Thomas L. Gilbert] to enlist thirty-six men as troopers, to be under his command. Should be glad you would provide six or nine men to enlist. The time to meet at Lebanon I shall leave with you and my son to agree upon when he comes from Hebron; and I will endeavor to meet at the time agreed upon. Must depend on your notifying Esquire Payne and the officers of Cornish and Plainfield of time and place. The place for the officers to meet may be at Mr. Turner's or Mr. Hill's, as you may judge best. I and Major Payne will be at Mr. [Samuel] Paine's,² and then meet with the rest if you please therefrom. . . .

[P. S.] There are some fees to pay. Every officer must bring three or four dollars, regimental blue, a cockade, sword, etc.³

¹ Memoirs of Wheelock, pp. 329-332.

² Samuel Paine lived at the lower bar of White River Falls, about two and a half miles from the College. Bela Turner and Charles Hill were tavern-keepers near the river in Lebanon. Turner was also a merchant. He removed to Hanover about 1794, near the College, and died there in 1799, in poverty, *æt.* sixty-seven.

³ Jonathan Chase Papers, N. H. Hist. Soc. Col. Samuel Gilbert was from

In October, 1774, occurred the first hostile alarm; but, like some later ones, it was unfounded. Our only memorial of it is the following letter from Captain Turner to Colonel Chase, upon whom the command had devolved by the death of Colonel Gilbert but a week before:—

LEBANON, SABBATH DAY, Oct. 23^d, 1774.

HONORED SIR, — I have to-day received a message from some gentlemen belonging to the North Regiment,¹ who would have me inform you that it is their desire that you should meet them at Orford on Wednesday next to consult upon some speedy measures to have these two regiments instantly equipped for war.

The occasion of these measures being proposed at this juncture is some important news they have from Boston; viz., that Gov. Gage has received four regiments of troops, and a letter from the Governor of Quebec, in which there is a day appointed for Governor Gage to bombard the town of Boston, and that the Governor of Quebec at the same day will have blacks and whites enough to strike upon our frontiers.

Whether these things be facts, I cannot tell; but this much is true, that the people up the river are all in flames, and do protest that if the head colonels do not give orders to have the militia equipped, that they will choose officers for that purpose. These facts Mr. Hill tells me he had from Major Wait and a number of others, and it is expected that Colonel Hurd, Colonel Porter, and a number of other gentlemen will be there. However, these things may not appear to you credible, yet it would be very agreeable to have the regiment well equipped.

Sir, I know that your business makes it difficult for you to attend; but you know that you are the chief commander of the regiment, and there is not one field officer in the Province that belongs to the regiment except your honor. It is most probable that there will be a great collection.

Sir, I should be proud to wait on you up to Orford, but I told the people that it was very difficult for you to attend, I knew. Sir, I took the advice of some of the fathers of this town, and they advised me instantly to send to you; and agreeable to what hath before happened I have sent the foregoing letter. Sir, I am, etc.,

BELA TURNER.

P. S. — I perceive that the people up here had rather everybody else would be absent than your honor.

Sir, I should be glad you would send word by the bearer whether you will

Hebron, Conn. He was an intimate friend of Wheelock, and had been one of his companions in the tour which located the College at Hanover. He had proprietary rights in Lyme, and removed thither from Hebron in July, 1773, on the solicitation of Dr. Wheelock, who obtained for him in advance, as an inducement, the Governor's promise of this appointment. He died at Lyme, Oct. 16, 1774. Hist. Tolland Co., Conn., pp. 140, 332.

¹ The "North Regiment" was the twelfth, commanded by Col. John Hurd, of Haverhill, for whom Col. Israel Morey, of Orford, was substituted when the militia (except the Thirteenth Regiment) was officered anew by the fourth Provincial Congress, Aug. 24, 1775.

come or not. If you have any orders to send to the people, or any of your inferior officers, I shall be ready to deliver them, or obey frankly any order you shall send to me. B. T.

The Provincial Congress, Aug. 30th, 1775,¹ "Voted that Col. Jonathan Chase be appointed colonel of the regiment lately commanded by Colonel Gilbert; that Elisha Payne, Esq., be his lieutenant-colonel, Israel Curtis, Esq. [of Hanover], his first major, and Francis Smith, Esq. [of Plainfield], his second major." Congress, on the same day, made provision for the election of company officers in every town in the colony, and directed each captain to call his company together "at least once a month when the season will admit of it, in order to acquaint themselves with the use and exercise of fire-arms, according to exercise published and printed in the year 1764."

Direction was also given that "each town containing a sufficient number of training soldiers to make two or more companies, agreeable to the recommendation of the Continental Congress, be divided by a division line to be drawn between them by the selectmen and committee." In Hanover, accordingly, a second company was formed, not long after, in the College district, under the command, it would seem, of Capt. Samuel McClure.² The first company, comprising the rest of the town, was in charge of Capt. Edmund Freeman, the first settler.

In the midst of these anxieties and warlike preparations, occurred a most remarkable religious revival among students and villagers near the College. It began in the autumn of 1774, and continued throughout the winter. Wheelock wrote, Feb. 23, 1775:—

"The influence has been universal. Not more than two of my whole number of English (excepting some that have been absent) who have not been under uncommon impressions of a religious nature; and a more genuine and effectual work of conviction and clearer conversions and better traits I never

¹ N. H. State Papers, vii. 584.

² Captain McClure came to Hanover under the patronage of Wheelock in 1776 from Hebron, Conn., and plied the trade of a barber. He lived at first in the house a few years ago occupied by Ebenezer Lee, on the north side of Wheelock Street, where Mr. Rand's furniture store now is. About 1790 he built the house where Dr. Shurtleff afterward lived, and carried on his trade in a little shop that stood in the garden north of it. He was postmaster in Hanover in 1792-97. He left Hanover in 1807.

saw. . . . Love, peace, and joy reign triumphant. The only discourse now in fashion when students visit at one another's rooms is of the things of the kingdom of Heaven. And it would be a reproach to any one if he should introduce anything frothy, vain, trifling, or unprofitable into conversation. . . . It has seemed to be wholly confined to the College, until within a few days it has spread to all the houses in the neighborhood, excepting one (viz., a tavern [Payne's]); and my little captive boys discover that something uncommon is the matter, and are often in tears."

Sixteen joined the College church on one Sabbath, about the middle of March, and the graduating class, eleven in number, were all professors of religion.

But there was, as usual, another side to the picture. There was in the village a small but troublesome party that continued, as before, to countenance disorder and hostility to the College and to Wheelock. The opposition of the latter to John Payne's license as an innholder had proved ineffectual, except to embitter Payne against him. Nevertheless, relations between College and town continued in general harmonious. At the annual town meeting, March 14, 1775, Wheelock was a second time formally thanked for his repeated favors to the town, and the selectmen protested against the maintenance of Payne's license. In April matters culminated in an open quarrel. Wheelock records in his Diary, April 4, 1775: —

"Last week John Pain, innholder, was complained of by Mr. Sever, Tythingman, to Esq^r Woodward and myself for having a bad house; viz., indulging Mr. Michael Duguet, baker, Joseph Verrioul, & Lewis Vincent, an Indian, at his house, contrary to law, till Duguet was intoxicated, & the others but little better. He objected against me as judge Court adjourned till yesterday, when Esq^s Morey, Wheatley, & Green came, heard the case, adjourned to to-day, and found him guilty, and fined him 10s.

"Yesterday Pain, as Constable, complained of John Smith, Tutor, for striking Wright Hall at his house, where Mr. Smith & Mr. Ripley went as Tutors to see if there were not a disorderly club of students, among which Wright was found, and in a contemptuous manner put on his hat before his Tutor while he was reproving him for that breach of College laws. Payne went to get Wright to testify; Wright said he justified Smith, and thanked him. Smith wanted the process to go on."

Depositions still on file display the offence of Payne in its appropriate colors. The following items from Wheelock's Diary are also of local interest: —

"April 13, John Stockbridge [one of the Indians] came from making sugar, and says he has made 102 lbs. with his own hands, — choice, good."

"Colonel Peabody, of Atkinson, came at the desire of Col. John Phillips and said I could have £50 of wheat on his account, — Providential."

In March Wheelock sent his agent, Captain Wright, to solicit subscriptions in Connecticut. So far as we know, his success was small, though at first there was some encouragement. Captain Wright reported: —

"The subscription papers you gave me I believe will meet with your desired success. Dr. Williams, of Long Meadow, and Dr. Williams, of this town [Lebanon, Conn.], have signed. Gov. Trumbull had no objection to signing, but thought best, as the General Assembly was warned to meet soon, that it would be best for him to sign then, when he expected the Deputy-Governor and the Counsel likely all would join him. There will be care taken that they have an opportunity, and such other gentlemen as you desire."

The town of Hanover early took measures to put itself into a posture of defence. At a special meeting, Jan. 30, 1775, it was voted "to furnish the town with a sufficient stock of powder, flints, and lead as soon as may be." Simeon Dewey was chosen agent to procure the ammunition (under direction of a committee consisting of David Woodward, John Wright, and John House), and to engage a man to come and make guns. Again at the annual meeting, March 14, Israel Curtiss, Capt. Edmund Freeman, and Lieut. Timothy Durkee were appointed a new committee for a like purpose. The powder was finally procured through the instrumentality of Lieutenant Lyman, of Lebanon.

About the middle of March, it being important to ascertain what hostilities might be preparing in Canada, Wheelock sent out James Dean upon a mission, which can best be described in his own words, addressed to Governor Trumbull: —

DART. COLLEGE, March 22, 1775.

MUCH HON^d SIR, — . . . Your Hon^d well understands what a feeble & defenceless state this Seminary and all these frontier towns are in, and how near to the Canadians, and what an easy prey we may be to such a northern army of savages, etc., as we are threatened with. We hear of preparations making for an invasion, and that some of the warriors among the Indians were in high spirits to engage on one side or the other in the present controversy; and if they shall not be secured in our interest, they will likely join on the other side. I have hitherto been secure and easy, as I have of their children from the most respectable Tribes in Canada, whom I consider as hostages; and I trust they will send for them before they will proceed to hostilities towards us. I have also, notwithstanding my means of supporting the

expense from abroad are wholly stopped, thought the importance of the case to be so great that I have sent Mr. James Dean, a young gentleman of most excellent & thorough accomplishments for the purpose, to itinerate as missionary among those tribes this spring for a few months, to strengthen that friendship and cultivate that acquaintance which has lately commenced between those tribes and this School, and to bring more of their boys hither with him if he can, among whom I expect the young Sachem, who was lately elected & crowned at Caghnawaga (who is a descendant from captivated parents), as his father, who was here twelve months ago, to visit his little son who is with me, promised to send him as soon as certain rites customary to ratify & publish such election & investiture should be performed. I look upon this connection & friendship lately commenced between us & them to be at present our truest bulwark against such an invasion if it should be attempted.

Mr. Dean is thorough master of the languages of the Six Nations, and can also speak the Huron language. He is a young gentleman of learning, virtue, and great prudence, was early naturalized among the Indians, well understands their customs, is much esteemed by them as an orator, and has great interest in their affections, and is in my opinion the fittest man I know on earth to be employed, if there should be occasion for one among the western and northern tribes. He was of opinion (though he had no thought of its being mentioned) that it would likely be in his power, if he should be properly encouraged, and authorized thereto, to attach all the Six Nations firmly to the interest of these Colonies; and I don't think he misjudges of his ability and influence for that purpose.

What I have wrote you will naturally understand to have been only from a principle of self-preservation, and it will be injurious to me & the cause which is my object if it should be represented as militating against the Crown.

With confidence in your prudence and friendship, and with much respect & esteem, I subscribe, etc.,

ELEAZAR WHELOCK.

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

News of the battle of Lexington coming soon after, aroused fresh anxieties respecting the purposes of the Indians, and a scouting party was despatched to Magog Lake to watch the St. Francis tribe and guard against an invasion. The leader of this party was John Phillips, one of Wheelock's scholars, a half-breed, son of the sachem at Caghnawaga. They reached the lake by way of the Upper Coos (Lancaster), and after remaining some time, they were, through the unskilfulness or treachery of their guide, lost in the woods, and wandered some five weeks without bread, meat, or salt, suffering almost everything but death. They reached home about the 1st of June, having accomplished very little towards the object of the expedition.

The intelligence from Lexington put an immediate stop to the progress of the new College building, which had, indeed, hardly been commenced in earnest. Some from this quarter set out at once for the army at Cambridge; among them went Thomas Blake,¹ formerly of Lebanon, a carpenter employed upon the new College. He returned to Hanover after a few months, in time for other service.

On the 4th of May, 1775, Wheelock sent a memorial to Governor Trumbull and the General Court of Connecticut, informing them that there were apprehensions of danger from small ranging parties of Indians, and urgently soliciting arms, ammunition, and accoutrements as a present for the defence of the "seminary." He said that though the youth who had means had generally supplied themselves, there were among the students, "as well affected to the cause and as capable of bearing arms as the others," near thirty upon charity, who were unable to procure them. "It is inconsistent [he significantly adds] for me to make application in this case to the Assembly of this Province, notwithstanding I have the fullest assurance of the benevolence and friendship of his Excellency the Governor toward this institution." But the arms were not forthcoming, Connecticut having none to spare.

While both Dean and the scouting party were still absent, Capt. Charles Johnson and the rest of the Committee of Safety at Coos applied to Wheelock to aid in sending another scout, and elicited the following reply:—

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, May 6, 1775.

RESPECTED GENTLEMEN,—I have discoursed with Mr. Hovey of the affair of sending suitable persons directly to Canada, etc., which you have sent him upon. I must refer you to him for a particular account of what has passed, and the very agreeable plan which Providence has fully opened for prosecuting the affair most effectually. We sent for Lieut. Taylor of Claremont, a man of ability, who by his captivity four years in that country is become master of their language, & got large acquaintance with the people & country, and particularly with the Parents of my Boys who are of note in their several Tribes among the Indians, by which means he may naturally and without suspicion of Design learn everything they can tell him among English, French, & Indians, without an interpreter. I have concluded, if it suits you, to provide him a companion from this School who will go to visit his Friends, and not so much as know himself that there is any other design

¹ See Kidder's History of the First N. H. Regiment.

of his going; and I can make Business for Mr. Taylor that will appear to justify his journey, and the whole be thus effected without any noise or ground of suspicion, and shall be willing to contribute my part to the expense. If you approve, Lieut. Taylor will set out next Wednesday, and expects to be informed as soon as possible. [E. W.]

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, June 2, 1775.

SIR, — Yesterday Mr. Smith, Tutor of this College, returned from his journey to Connecticut. Governor Trumbull, not having time to write, desired him to inform me that "St. Johns, lately taken by our men, was in their possession" but a few days before 200 of the king's troops from Montreal came and retook it; that our men were obliged to flee with utmost haste; that Col. Allen had three men missing; that they had not more than 24 lbs. powder at Ticonderoga fit for use, and they feared the enemy will recover that also. They have sent to Connecticut for 1500 men. The Dutch are kind to send provisions to our people. That Gov. Charleton had sent to the Savage tribes of Indians from Lake St. Mary to Detroit to invite them against us. Some were disposed to accept his invitation, and some not. That the lands on Onion River and Otter Creek were by Gov. Charleton granted to the Canadians, provided they would defend them by the sword, and Gov. Trumbull supposed that was likely to be the case with the land at Cowas, and supposes that this may be the key to the understanding of Capt Hazzen's letter to his nephew. Col. Wyllye informed Mr. Smith that Col. Allen wrote that the Indians near Montreal appeared perfectly friendly to us, and purpose to be so; mentioned their having children at this College as evidence of their peaceable disposition, etc.

Mr. Dean and Mr. Walcott are not yet returned. I hope they are not taken by the king's troops. I am, etc., Yours to serve,

ELEAZAR WHEELLOCK.

To the Committee at Cowas.

Early in June, Captain Johnston wrote the Provincial Congress of the return of a scouting party (which had been sent out toward Canada), with tidings of a body of Indians gathering on the west side of Lake Champlain, and added: "As to position of defence, we are in difficult circumstances; we are in want of both arms and ammunition. There is but very little or none worth mentioning, — perhaps one pound of powder to twenty men; and not the one half of our men have arms. We really look upon ourselves as in imminent danger of the enemy, and at this time in no capacity for defence."¹

The following certificate relates probably to another expedition of the same sort a little later: —

These certify that the Bearer, John Sauch [Sauk], an Indian youth from Caghnawaga, has been for some time a member of the Indian Charity

¹ Am. Archives, Series iv., vol. ii. p. 869; N. H. State Papers, vii. 503.

School under my care, and being now, agreeable to a previous appointment & y^e Desire of his Father, on a visit to his Friends in Canada, and not having Interested himself on Either Side of the Public Controversy of the present day, is hereby recommended to the civility, kindness, & Charity of all Gentlemen and Christians, as he shall have opportunity and occasion for the same in his passage thither, he behaving himself inoffensively.¹

Given under my hand at Dartmouth College, this 3^d Day of July, A. D. 1775.
ELEAZAR WHELOCK, President of s^d College.

Wheelock writes to Governor Trumbull, August 28th: "My Canada boys are all yet quietly and peaceably with me, excepting the one mentioned in the prints, who in going home on a visit was robbed of his guard by the regulars." He wrote again to Governor Trumbull, June 19, 1775, as follows: —

HON^d SIR, — I have only a minute, while the bearer is delayed, to inform you that Mr. Dean is not returned, nor can I hear a word from him since the 11th of May, when Thomas Walcott, who was then with him at Montreal, by a line informed us that he had been waiting some days for money he expected to receive, but expected to set out for home in a few days. I conjecture he may be stopped by the king's troops.

Some Indians from Canada have lately been on a trade with the English at the Upper Cowas, and appear very friendly, and say their tribes will not join with the king's army, but they choose neither; that only two of the remote tribes sent their war-belts to Governor Charleton. The others, they say, will not join with him. Their boys remain quietly with me, and I have no fear of an attack from any Indians, unless the design should be secreted in that quarter, without as seasonable advice of it as they can give me.

Last Saturday and Sabbath we heard the noise of cannon, — we suppose at Boston, — and are now impatient to be informed of the occasion² and event. My hope is in the God of Jacob. Religion flourishes greatly in this place and three neighboring towns.

Dean was still in Canada when the battle occurred; but leaving soon after in company with young Walcott, he worked his way up Lake Champlain in a bark canoe, with an Indian blan-

¹ Later in the same month we hear of Sauk among the Six Nations.

² Wheelock records in his Diary as follows: "June 16 [Saturday]. — The noise of cannon, supposed to be at Boston, was heard all day. 17th. — The same reports of cannon. We wait with impatience to hear the occasion and event." These sounds of cannon were heard that day in other towns, — in Hartford and Lebanon, and also in Plymouth. They were noticed first in Hanover by one of the Indians, Daniel Simons, a Narragansett, of the class of 1777, who chanced to be lying with his ear to the ground, and afterwards by others, whose attention he called to them. They were universally attributed to the battle of Bunker Hill, and were certainly contemporaneous with it, — they could, indeed, have come from no other source. Strange as the facts may appear, they are too well authenticated to be doubted (Farmer's Hist. Coll., iii. 272; Chapman's Alumni Dart. Coll., p. 23).

ket for a sail, to the Crown Point road, and arrived in Hanover June 27th. He brought highly important intelligence, indicating that the enemy were using extraordinary means to draw the Indians, near and remote, to their support, with a view to attack the frontiers, but that the Caghnawagas refused to take sides excepting for the defence of Montreal, and that the Mohawks and Oneidas were firm for the Colonies.¹

This was the same day made known to the United Committees of Hanover and Lebanon, and by them considered of such moment that they joined with Wheelock in sending Dean, under the escort of John Wheelock (then a member of the Assembly), to convey the intelligence to the Exeter government, and, if thought best, to the Continental Congress, and at the same time to press for a supply of arms. Their letters were laid, July 3, before the Provincial Congress, which, impressed with the importance of the news, sent both Wheelock and Dean, with Captain Bedel, to confer at once with the Assembly of Massachusetts. By the advice of both Assemblies, the matter was commended to the Continental Congress, and Dean, agreeably to the design with which he left Hanover, proceeded to Philadelphia, introduced by letters from Wheelock and from President Weare. On the way he communicated with the authorities of Connecticut, and made renewed appeals for weapons and ammunition with which to arm the frontier, but was, as in the other Colonies, still unsuccessful.

Wheelock took this opportunity to inform the Continental Congress, by a letter to Mr. Silas Deane, —

“That this College and the neighboring towns are almost wholly unarmed and defenceless, and that notwithstanding much pains have been used, no door is yet opened for supply of that necessity; and we now hear that a large number of fire-arms have lately been brought in to Philadelphia, and don't hear of any to be had nearer. We want about an hundred to supply my family, — that is, the College, School, and those connected with it. I have upwards of thirty on charity, and so indigent that they are not able to purchase them; and this is the common calamity of all these frontier settlements.”

He at the same time added a “hint that Mr. Dean's late mission has been, and his present journey now, is wholly at my

¹ N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., iii. 383; N. H. State Papers, vii. 532, 547, 561-62; see Wheelock's letter to N. H. Congress, Am. Archives, Series ii., vol. ii. p. 1541.

expense, and that resources from Europe for my assistance, under the great weight of charge for the support of this Seminary, are now wholly cut off by the present public dispute. For which reason it will be quite agreeable to me if some method should be thought of to refund this expense."

It had chanced in the mean time, before this occurred, that Dr. Whitaker, happening to be in New York on other business, and, as he wrote, being "deeply affected" with Wheelock's situation, thought it his duty, quite independently, to try if something might not be done by the Continental Congress for his relief. He accordingly went to Philadelphia on purpose, and obtained, on the 27th of June, a satisfactory report from the Committee of Indian Affairs, through the favor of their chairman, Patrick Henry, who authorized Whitaker to assure Wheelock of his support, and of the probability that Congress would "heartily enter into it." The way being thus prepared, the arrival of Dean was very opportune. Like Massachusetts and Connecticut, Congress had no arms to spare; but sensible of the value of the service that had been and might be rendered, it voted, July 12th,¹ —

"That as there is a seminary for the instruction of Indian youth, which has been established under the care of Dr. Wheelock on Connecticut River, and as there are nine or ten Indian youths at that School, chiefly from the tribes residing near Quebec, and as for want of a proper fund there is danger that these youths may be sent back to their friends, which will probably excite jealousy and distrust, and be attended with bad consequences, a sum not exceeding \$500 be appropriated, to be applied by the Comm^{rs} of Indian Affairs for the support of said Indian youths."

Dean, returning in August to Hanover with this welcome intelligence, was sent at once to attend the Indian Congress about to be held at Albany under the direction of General Schuyler, and was from that time retained in the Continental service as Indian agent, and with Wheelock's consent passed out of his employment. He afterward rendered many eminent services to the patriot cause.

This episode was in other respects fortunate for the College. Rev. David McClure wrote from his post of observation at Portsmouth that many who were before unfriendly began now to regard the College as an important barrier against the

¹ Journals of Congress, July 12, 1775.

Indians. The same faithful friend wrote, Aug. 15th: "The poor Governor's situation at the sham fort is truly deplorable, for he is, as it were, between two fires. The town is sorry that he ever left it. He would have been protected had he continued."

The Congressional appropriation, being made subject to the discretion of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, notwithstanding General Schuyler's uniform friendship did not come promptly to Wheelock's hands. Toward the last of August he sent his son John to receive it, but without success. It was not paid until Congress, upon renewed application, ordered the Commissioners (Jan. 10, 1776) to pay it over to Wheelock.

In this region, as elsewhere, the news of Bunker Hill, joined to local anxiety for the safety of the frontiers, led to active military preparations. In June there was raised, under Captain Timothy Bedel, of Haverhill, a company of rangers for the defence of the frontiers. Abraham Palmer, of Orford, and Charles Nelson, of Lyme, were lieutenants, and Ebenezer Green, of Lyme, was sutler. Hanover furnished at least three men.¹ In July two more companies were added, and a regimental organization was formed, with Bedel as colonel. It does not appear definitely from the rolls what additional men, if any, were drawn from Hanover. We have a letter, dated August 28, wherein one Thomas Divine craves the pardon of Wheelock for leaving his employ to go "into the service,"—which leads to the inference that recruiting was not wholly neglected.

Under the circumstances, the propriety of celebrating the College Commencement began to be questioned. The students sent in the following communications:—

To the Reverend ELEAZAR WHEELOCK, D.D., President of Dartmouth College.

REVEREND AND HONORED SIR, — The Seniors of Dartmouth College have had some scruples in their minds about the expediency of having a public Commencement the ensuing season, and that for the following reasons:—

¹ Moody Freeman, *et. 22*, corporal, John Freeman, *et. 24*, and Nathaniel Woodward, *et. 30*. They enlisted June 15, were mustered by Jonathan Child, July 29, and were discharged December 31, except Woodward, who was discharged December 15,—all probably at St. Johns (N. H. State Papers, xiv. 160. See also a MS affidavit of Moody Bedel). The regimental quartermaster, James Gould, hailed at that date from Cockermouth (now Grotton), but became soon after a permanent resident of Hanover. He was discharged with the regiment as of December 31, but re-entered the service immediately, as ensign, in a company formed out of the regiment, and placed under Major Brown.

First, we apprehend it will have a bad tendency on the minds of the people in this and the neighboring towns, who are religiously disposed, by diverting them, and turning them off from the main object.

Secondly, the distressing state of public affairs seems to render it necessary to retrench every expense as much as may be. This last consideration, it seems, induced the President of Yale College to determine upon a private Commencement at that College, and he has advertised it in their papers accordingly.

Thirdly, there are several of us dependent on the public fund, which is now exhausted, and we see no way to answer our own private expenses on such an occasion.

We are sensible, sir, that if we should hold a public Commencement, and the exercises should be carried on to the satisfaction of gentlemen from abroad, they might be disposed to contribute something toward the support of this institution, were it not for the public necessities, which are so urgent that we apprehend gentlemen of abilities who are friends to America will rather contribute to support our liberties, and will exert themselves rather for the defence than the emolument of the country. And besides, there are people abroad who upon consideration of your connexion with and dependence on some of the leading men of our nation, have somewhat suspected you favored that party. And now, Reverend Sir, if you should pay so little regard to public distresses as to be willing people should expend six or seven hundred pounds (which they doubtless will in journeying and other charges) for the sake of a public Commencement, would it not have a tendency to confirm those people in their suspicions?

These considerations, Reverend Sir, induced us to address you on this subject. We rely on your wisdom to determine in the affair, and shall acquiesce in your determination, and are, Reverend and Honored Sir,

Your dutiful pupils and most obedient and humble servants,

SAM^l. COLLINS. }
JAMES HUTCHINSON. } *Committee.*

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, June 6, 1775.

At a meeting of the Sophomore Class of Dartmouth College, July 8th, 1775, to deliberate upon matters respecting Commencement, —

Resolved, First, that a religious established Commencement at this College is not only fit and most excellent in itself, but that the Gospel of God in conjunction with his providential dealings towards this Institution, and the present state of affairs, call aloud for the approaching Commencement to be so conducted; and that it be established for generations to come, that we may invite men of every character to walk about this our Zion, and go round about her, tell the towers thereof, mark well her bulwarks, consider her palaces, that they may tell it to the generations to come.

Second, that we will discountenance all vain frolicking on the approaching Commencement; neither will we keep company with any whose conversation does not savour that of religion, at any Commencement, while we are members of this College.

Third, considering the present distressing state of these Colonies, we fear that a public Commencement will be not only detrimental to the character of the Reverend President, but to this institution and all nearly connected with it, and that our distressed brethren would be led thereby to think that we were regardless of their sufferings.

Fourth, that Caleb Alexander and Zaccheus Colby be and they are hereby appointed to wait upon the Reverend President with these resolves.

Test. DANIEL FOSTER, *Clerk.*

However, before the time arrived, matters took on a better aspect, and the anniversary was celebrated, on August 23d, as usual, though with little attendance from abroad, and in a manner strikingly in contrast with the parade of former occasions. The Board met, but without a quorum, listened to the "public probationary performances of the candidates," and admitted eleven to the first degree, — all of them, as before stated, professing Christians. They also, in response to the *unanimous* petition of the students in all the classes of the College and School, enacted laws "to assist the youths against the introduction of fashionable vices, especially at the public Commencements," — pointed mainly at the frequenting of taverns, — and "dealing with persons of prophane and unsavory conversation," or with "those who have conducted inimically to the outward interests of this Seminary."

Dr. Pomeroy was the only member in attendance from abroad. The others were deterred in part by fear of local danger, — which seems, however, at the moment to have been without adequate foundation. Wheelock, three days afterward, wrote to Silas Dean: "We are quiet from fear of a northern army at present. None of the parents of these children have sent for them, — from which I conclude they are not under any apprehension of present dangers."

It was at this time that Wheelock proposed to Governor Trumbull to send his mulatto pupil, Caleb Watts, to dissuade the negroes of the South from insurrection.

In the first week of September there came from General Schuyler, investing St. Johns, an urgent call for assistance. Bedel, with portions of three companies of his regiment that had been some months recruiting, marched at once from Haverhill, closely followed by an independent company raised in Hanover by Major Israel Curtiss and John House, consisting of

thirty-four men, who had volunteered, equipped themselves, and marched, all within the space of three days. This company was formed for six weeks, intending to join the army if wanted, but if not, to act "upon their own hook, and to return when not wanted." Major Curtiss and his men were highly praised for their spirit and promptness. Curtiss commanded the company; John House and Daniel Clap were the lieutenants, and Thomas Blake ensign. Of the men no list is preserved. The names of some have been learned from the pension files and other collateral sources, and it is known that several went from the College.¹

They left Hanover on Sunday, September 10th, passed on Tuesday through Orford, where they were joined by two men from Piermont, and by Captain Osgood with twenty men of Bedel's regiment. The party crossed the river at Mooretown (now Bradford), driving with them several cattle, and carrying flour on horseback. They halted for the night at the house of a Mr. Brown in Corinth, and proceeded thence through the woods by spotted trees, without passing any settlement, until they reached the residence of Thomas Chittenden, afterward Governor of Vermont, who had recently made a clearing in the present town of Williston. Approaching Lake Champlain, they encamped for a night at Baker's Falls, on Onion River, near Burlington, where there were only the families of Baker and a Mr. Bradley. The same evening came news that Baker had been killed by the Indians. At the lake they overtook Captain Osgood's company. Here they all remained awaiting bateaux; and becoming impatient, constructed large canoes for themselves, which they had just finished and launched as the expected bateaux hove in sight. On the third day after embarking, they arrived before St. Johns. Here the Hanover company was attached to Bedel's regiment and stationed a half mile north of the fort, General Montgomery's division being to the south of the fort. Our company, a part of it certainly, was of the party that took Chambly, on the 18th of October, with one hundred and twenty-four barrels of powder and eighty-four men, besides ninety-six women and children. It was present

¹ Colonel Morey's letter, N. H. State Papers, vii. 610; xvii. 76; Boston Gazette, Oct. 2, 1775.

at the capture of St. Johns, November 2d; on the following day Major Curtiss wrote thus to Wheelock: —

ST. JOHNS, Nov^r 3, 1775.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — I have Detain the post 2 Days In hopes of writing to you the agreeable news of taking St. Johns, which was given up last evening at seven o'clock, and 500 Regular Troops made prisoners of war, with upwards of two hundred women and children. The particular circumstances I must refer you to the post. I have rec^d all the favors from Generall Mⁿ Gomeroy [Montgomery] and Gen^l Worster I could ask for in reason. My Company, through Divine Goodness, are well and in spirit, except Sterne, who is Sick and Loe, but in a way to recover, I hope. S^r Phelps is two days past a little poor, — nothing uncommon for him. Mr. Goodall has been overdone with hard service, but likely soon to be about. The Generall will not give any leve for me to return with my Company untill we have taken Montreall, to which place the army is ordered to march to-morrow, which we have reason to think will soon be over, as all their strength was at St. Johns. I expect to be on my way home in two weeks, but however God will order that, I hope to submit that matter.

Mr. Phelps gives his duty to you, his mother, and best regards to all friends; but I conclude with subscribing myself your sincere friend and humble Serv^t,

ISRAEL CURTISS.

TO DOCTOR ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

Desire your prayers for me and my Company for God's Blessing in all our ways, that the harmony that has already subsisted in my Company may still continue.

Although their term of service had expired, a portion of the company remained as desired, being taken into the Continental service and detached from the regiment of Bedel, who was left in command at St. Johns, and after a while returned home.¹ Some of his men, influenced by a complimentary speech of General Montgomery, re-enlisted with Captain Nelson. On November 3d a portion of our company with others (about twenty-five in all) were sent, in a gondola with a twelve-pounder, on an expedition under Colonel Easton to the mouth of the Sorel River, where they assisted in the capture of eleven British vessels loaded with clothing and provisions. In about a week the rest of the army overtook them there, Montreal having surrendered on the 12th, and all proceeded on transports down the St. Lawrence to a point about fifty miles from Quebec. Early in December our company found itself with the army on the Plains of Abraham.

¹ Am. Archives, Series v., vol. i. p. 747.

After the unfortunate attack of the 31st, in which it participated, it remained on the Plains, under command of Colonel Campbell, until the middle of April. It was then sent home on account of the small-pox, which had prevailed in the company during the winter. The men were not allowed to carry away their infected blankets, and on their retreat lost also their camp-kettles, so that they came off in rather an evil plight. Of the particulars of their casualties and sufferings, as well as their names, little is known.¹

Before the company left St. Johns, in November, Captain Curtiss was regularly promoted to be a major in the Continental line, and the command of the company devolved upon Lieutenant House, who was appointed captain by General Mont-

¹ See N. H. State Papers, viii. 140. In the fall of 1775 the selectmen of Hanover reported to the Provincial Congress that the town had twenty-two men in service that year; and in 1778 they certified the list to the State Treasurer, and it was allowed in abatement of taxes. The list has not yet been found. Among them, as we learn from affidavits on file in the U. S. Pension Office, were Jonathan Curtice, Jr., and Wheelock's Indian pupil, John Phillips. There was also Gideon Bridgman, Curtice's brother-in-law, a private in the company of Capt. Abner Seely, of Thetford, which marched *via* Ticonderoga, St. Johns, and Montreal to Quebec, in the regiment of Colonel Wyman (?). He also was in the repulse of December 31; he was discharged at Ticonderoga, June 4, 1776. On the retreat he was attacked with small-pox at St. Johns, and in consequence was with "Mr. Haze's son," also from Hanover, reported missing in May, but both turned up in safety the next month. Amos Ames, of Norwich, reported as a deserter at the same time, appears soon after in the service, — again to the credit of Hanover.

John Phillips the Indian served after this with credit in several short tours on the frontiers, and in 1778 enlisted at Landaff for a year under Captain Richardson from Haverhill, for scouting on the frontiers. In 1832 he was still living, at the age of eighty-one, in the District of Montreal, and a U. S. pensioner.

The following petition, presented to the Legislature of New Hampshire by Capt. John House, March 24, 1779, affords some further particulars about the Hanover company:—

"Humbly shows John House, of Hanover, in the County of Grafton, that in September, 1775, upon the requisition of the late General Montgomery for the people upon Connecticut River, within this State, to turn out to his assistance at the siege of St. Johns, Capt. Israel Curtis and your petitioner raised a company of men, who engaged as volunteers for two months, of which company he was chosen lieutenant, and served at said siege. That in order to the equipping and marching said company as expeditiously as possible, the said captain and he upon their joint credit supplied said company with thirty-five blankets and six camp-kettles; that after the reduction of St. Johns the said company was taken into the Continental service, and the command thereof devolved upon him; that the said articles were worn out or lost in said service in Canada; that the said captain died in Canada insolvent, and your petitioner has been since applied to for pay for said blankets and kettles, and has accordingly paid for the same. Wherefore he prays the matter

gomery. Major Curtiss died suddenly of pleurisy at the Nuns' Hospital in Montreal on April 10th, where he had been on duty awaiting the arrival of his commission (then just received), and was on the point of returning home.¹

Wheelock had in October written to General Washington, proposing to send "an experienced and well-accomplished missionary" into Canada, in the capacity of chaplain to the forces, with a view to facilitate and effect the union of that colony with the others, as well as to confirm the friendship of the Indians. He named for the purpose Sylvanus Ripley, then tutor in College, as the most suitable (Dean being otherwise employed). Since he had already engaged in several missions among the Indians, and was high in the esteem of a number of the tribes, "my heart and prayers," he adds, "are with you and for you."² Whether in consequence of this correspondence or otherwise, Wheelock did, on October 29th, send Ripley (with Judson, a graduate of that year) to join the forces at St. Johns. Ripley went again in February, with Wheelock's son James as a companion, to Montreal, and continued there until May as chaplain to the garrison. John Wheelock was also in Montreal a while during the winter, and Wheelock's grandson, Davenport Phelps, in the capacity of quartermaster of Bedel's regiment. None of them let slip any opportunity to promote the interests of the College. Phelps wrote, Jan. 1st, 1776:—

"I was with General Wooster yesterday. He informed me of the application of a particular tribe of Indians made to him a few days since. . . . They desired he would procure them a minister and schoolmaster. As they professed to be Christians, they wanted to be instructed in religion

may be taken into consideration, and that he may have an adequate compensation granted him" (N. H. State Papers, xii. 166).

The petition was "dismist." The Legislature meeting at Hanover, in June, 1795, the petition was renewed with equal lack of success, though meeting a favorable reception in the lower house (N. H. State Papers, xvii. 76). In December Captain House appealed to Congress.

¹ Ripley, then in Montreal, was able to attend him. "Certain I am," he wrote Wheelock, "that considering his religious, civil, and military character, he has left but few behind him in the army that can fill his place." Major Curtiss was, as early at least as 1771, a justice of the peace in Norwich, Vt., under New York authority. B. H. Hall's *Hist. Vt.*, p. 148. He came to Hanover in 1774, on Wheelock's invitation, as a blacksmith.

² Am. Archives, Series iv., vol. iii. p. 1069.

and have their children educated. The general told them, as it was late in the year, he could not procure them any this winter, but said he would send to the Rev. Dr. Wheelock, from whom undoubtedly they would be supplied in the spring. The name of the tribe I could not learn; but they live about twenty miles distant, and were settled formerly from the Cahnawagas. The Cahnawaga tribe have since made the general a visit. They profess much friendship and fidelity. . . . The prospect of procuring children to receive an education at the School I believe is pretty great. One Captain Lewie (as he is called), an Indian from Cahnawaga, with whom I have had considerable acquaintance in the army, desired me to take his son, of about twelve years old, to the School, which I promised him, upon Mr. Ripley's advice when at Crown Point. Lewie tells me there are numbers, he believes, will be glad to send their children. . . . The state of affairs in this Province are as favorable as can be expected. . . . The siege of Quebec still continues. We are informed by Major Lockwood that the general determines soon to storm it, if the enemy do not capitulate."

The reputation of the College in the army was certainly high. Major Curtiss wrote from Montreal, in December, 1775, that "General Montgomery is convinced of the great utility this seminary has already been to the Colonies, and of the importance of it for time to come, and is resolved to lend all his influence in favor of it."¹

Still another of Wheelock's agents was in Canada in the spring of 1776, engaged, pursuant to the condition of his education, in what was probably the final attempt to introduce, under Wheelock's patronage, a resident missionary among the Canadian Indians. This was Elisha Hutchinson, a classmate of Judson and Phelps. His experiences were thus reported: —

"When I arrived at Ticonderoga, by Mr. Wheelock's advice I waited on the Commissioners for the Province of Canada to ask their opinion and advice in regard to my mission; but they utterly refused to promote or tolerate that design. When I came to Montreal, I found that the Rev. Mr. Ripley was chaplain to that garrison, and that General Wooster was at Quebec; and as there was no door opened there for me, and as Messrs. Ripley and Wheelock advised me to proceed to Quebec, I went as far as Point de Sorell, where I learned of our army's retreat, and that all the troops were ordered to make their stand at that place. Waited there from Thursday till the next Sabbath, when General Wooster and Colonel Elmer returned from Quebec. Waited on the general, with your letter, the same day; for I was almost out of money, and had no way to subsist very long in that place, where there was scarce half an allowance for the army. When he had read the letter, he replied that he knew not what to say, or how to advise, as his regiment was dismissed, and the whole army in great dis-

¹ N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., ix. 75.

order and distress, and that he knew of no opening for me in that country. Then waited on Colonel Elmer, who I found was soon to embark for Connecticut, with a few companies of men which yet remained in his regiment, so that I had no hopes of employ in that quarter; and indeed I could find no business in the army, or in all the Province of Canada, which would answer the design of my mission, and thought it advisable for me to return as soon as possible, for I had but about a dollar to bear my expenses near three hundred miles." [But he followed on with the retreating troops, and by the kindness of the officers and by selling some of his clothes got safely home.]

Intelligence of the disaster at Quebec (December 31) reached the towns on the Connecticut Jan. 12, 1776, and caused intense excitement. An open letter from General Wooster appealing for help was widely circulated, and measures were instantly set on foot to provide reinforcements. Bedel's regiment was organized anew under authority of the Provincial Congress, by vote of January 20th, and by March 19th eight companies, enlisted for a year, had marched for Montreal, and were there mustered at different times. Several men from Hanover entered the service at this time,—probably more than we now know.¹

The situation was complicated by the presence in that section of recruiting parties from Portsmouth and from Cambridge, as well as for various points to the northward, bidding against each other, with the usual attendants of bounty-jumpers and deserters.² Among those that were drawn to the southward was Wheelock's favorite pupil, Verriault. He gives the following account of himself. What afterward became of him we do not know. His name is not found on any of the rolls of Colonel Reed's regiment now extant.

NEWLONDON, April the 7th, 1776.

MOST HONORRD AND REVRIND SIR,—I tack a graid deil of Plaishire of writing to the Doctor at this time. I am well at Presait, thanks be to

¹ Notes of the Hanover recruits are meagre. Bills of medicines to the amount of £47 4s. 3d., furnished for this regiment by Dr. Crane, of Hanover, besides about £20 the preceding fall, paid by Israel Morey, of Orford, paymaster, were questioned by the Provincial authorities. (See State files.) Dr. George Eager was surgeon's mate in Bedel's regiment. One James Wheelock was a private in Captain Carlisle's company, mustered at Montreal in February, 1776, and Joseph Skinner was a private in Captain Green's company. All these appear in the lists of those surrendered at the Cedars, May 15th (Am. Archives, Series v., vol. i. p. 167; vol. iv. p. 5).

² Am. Archives, Series iv., vol. v. p. 428; N. H. State Papers, viii 104.

god for it. I hoap these Fue lines will find the Doctor in good health. I staid at Cambridge till after Boston was tackin, and then our Reg^t was ordert into town, and I dident Lick to stay thear. ther was Ten Reg^t ordert to march for Newyoark, and I tooock a notion to go with them; and I changt with one of Col. James Reed's men, and we have got as fare as this town. I am verrey mutch Beet out with my martch. we Expect to imbarck to Night For Newyork, and from thence to Phelledelfe, and then to Verginey, and from thence to Carreliney, and then to Fort Pit. thrue the goodness of god, our Ennemies Fleeth when no man Porshueth. our Privets Picks up a grait deil of the British fleet. we have got Sum Verrey rich Prises. I have nothing meterial to infor the Doctor. But I had Privet inteligints from a worthe gentleman that King Gorge has geen up Quback and Novecoshe to the frinch, and I Erinstly wish it may be For our good. Pray Pay my Sutible Respects to Madim and all the Doctors Familey. Pray, Revrind Sir, Remember me in your humbil Prayers. I, most Revrind Sir, with all Respect and Submition, your Verrey humbil Servint,

JOSEPH VERRIEUL.

REVRINT DOCTOR WHEELOCK.

While these things were going on, several matters of interest transpired at home. On Nov. 13, 1775, the place was visited by Major Robert Rogers, under circumstances that excited suspicion and apprehension. Wheelock thought it of sufficient consequence to be specially communicated to Governor Trumbull and to Washington, as shown by the following letter:—

DART. COLLEGE, Dec. 1, 1775.

HOND^d & MUCH RESPECTED SIR,— On the 13 ult^o the famous Major Rogers came to my house from a Tavern in the neighborhood, where he called for refreshment. I had never before seen him. He was in very ordinary habit for one of his character. He treated me with great respect, said he came from London in July, and had spent 20 days at the Congress in Philadelphia, and I forget how many at New York; had been offered and urged to take a commission in favor of the colonies; but as he was now in half-pay from the Crown, he thought proper not to accept it; that he had fought two Battels in Algiers, under the Dey; that he was now on a Design to secure or take care of some large Grants of Land made to him; that he was designed to visit his sister at Moorstown, and then return by Merrimac River to visit his wife, whom he had not yet seen since his return from England; that he had got a Pass or License to travel, from the Continental Congress; that he came in to offer his service to procure a large interest for this College; that the reputation of it was great in England; that Lord Dartmouth & many other noblemen had spoken of it in his hearing with highest esteem and respect; that Capt. Holland, Surveyor General, now at New York, was a great Friend to me & the College, and would assist me in the affair; and that now was the most favorable time to apply for a large grant of land for it. I thanked him for expressions of his kindness; but

after I had shown some coldness in accepting it, he proposed to write me in his journey, & let me know where I might write him, and he should be ready to perform any friendly office in the affair. He said he was in haste to Pursue his journey that evening; and when he took up his hatt, which was but an ordinary one, to leave me, he observed that his cocade was lost off by some accident.

He went to the aforesaid Tavern, & there tarried all night, and went on his proposed way to Lyme the next morning; since which I have heard nothing from him, but this day two Soldiers (viz., Canada, of Haverhill, and Palmer, of Orford), on their way from Montreal, informed me that our officers were assured by a Frenchman, a Captain of the Artillery whom they had taken Captive, that Maj. Rogers was second in command under Gen. Carleton, and that he had lately been in Indian habit through our incampments, & had given a plan of them to the General, & suppose he made his escape with the Indians who were at St. Johns. This account is according to the best of my remembrance. If it shall prove of any service to detect such an enemy, I am glad; if not, my intention will apologize for what I've wrote.

I am, Hon^d Sir, with much esteem & respect,

Your obedient and Very humble Serv^t.

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

P. S. — This Province is at present in a melancholy situation indeed. We are in a state of nature, the Constitution thrown out of doors, and that without any necessity or justifiable reason that I know of, & a door opened to a flood of evils. We have some here who are not of the greatest abilities. I wish the Continental Congress could have a true representation of our calamitous state. I never loved dear Connecticut as I now do. Nor did I ever long to see and converse with your Honor so much as now. Pray help me if you can.

E. W.¹

Wheelock received in reply a letter from Washington's secretary, conveying the general's thanks for the information, and

¹ On the retained copy is the following note:—

"N. B.—Nearly y^e same I wrote Genl. Washington, omitting w^t I here say of his Hatt and Cocade, y^t Palmer is to be a Lieut. under Col^o Beadle; and added that he had not money to pay his keeping for three shillings, and expected to return within about three months and pay for it. Also omitting the Postscript."

A copy of the letter to Washington may be found in N. H. State Papers, vii. 680, and also in Am. Archives, Series iv., vol. iv. p. 158.

The information was evidently deemed important. It was communicated by Washington, with perhaps other matters, to Generals Sullivan and Schuyler, who both examined Rogers on the subject as they had opportunity,—Sullivan at Winter Hill December 17, and Schuyler at Albany in January. Rogers admitted everything except having been in Canada, which he warmly denied. Sullivan was inclined to believe him, and Schuyler expressed the belief that "there was no truth in the intelligence sent by Mr. Wheelock." But Wheelock's doubts seem, after all, to have been justified by the result (Letters to Washington, Sparks, i. 96-110).

enclosing a letter addressed to Wheelock, from Mr. Thornton, that had been picked up on the shore of Cape Ann, having been thrown overboard, with other papers, by the captain of a British ship captured by a privateer while making for Boston.¹

Just at this time a misunderstanding arose about the keeping of Thanksgiving Day that, in the existing state of the public mind, came near involving Wheelock and the College in serious complications. Owing to infrequency of communication with the seat of government, it had generally occurred that proclamations for fast days and thanksgiving days either failed to reach Hanover at all, or arrived after the designated time had passed; so that Wheelock's habit had been, as he tells us, with consent of his church, to celebrate such occasions at such times as were convenient to themselves. This year, hearing by accident that Thanksgiving had been set in Connecticut for November 16th, and inferring that the day would be the same in the other provinces, he made arrangements and observed it accordingly. A week afterward, a delegate returning from the Congress at Exeter brought to his notice their proclamation appointing November 30th to be observed as a Thanksgiving Day throughout the Province. But having already kept a day in that way according to his habit in such cases, he paid no attention to it.

"But," he tells us, "I soon heard there was a great clamor in the neighborhood, . . . and that it was spreading fast abroad as though we were like to be all undone; that I should be speedily sent for to Exeter, 150 miles, to answer for it before the Congress as a Tory. . . . On hearing this, I sent out and invited my neighbors to come and join our evening prayers in the college hall, . . . and appealed to them that I had ever been from the first steadily and firmly attached to the constitutional rights and liberties of the Colonies; . . . but the making such a solemn offering to God as had been proposed, purely and only out of respect and obedience to the advice of Congress, would be an open affront to the King of Zion unprecedented in America, and expressive of a principle abhorred by all protestants. . . . But notwithstanding all I could say, there were some who yet thought we must do it to save our reputation; . . . but I let them know that I should not save my own at so dear a rate. I told them if they had a desire to have a lecture upon that day, they might; and though I thought myself unable to preach it, there were a number of young preachers present

¹ Am. Archives, Series iv., vol. iv. p. 249.

who might serve them, and were welcome to my pulpit. They seemed not satisfied with that, . . . and on Wednesday, a little before night, they sent one as their committee to enquire whether I would not consent that they should call in a minister to preach a Thanksgiving sermon in the College hall."

"I turned my thoughts," he says, "on what would likely be the shocking consequences, in our present distempered state, either of granting or denying their desire, and could see no alternative but to tell the messenger I would endeavor to preach them a sermon there myself; and any who should think it to be their duty might call and keep it as an anniversary Thanksgiving." The subject of the sermon was, "No King but Christ in his Church;" and it was devoted to showing that the repetition of the service of Thanksgiving, "out of respect to the authority of man, was an open affront to Christ and a bold invasion of his prerogative."

"Three days," he goes on, "had not passed before I heard that reports of this affair had been propagated various ways, nearly as swiftly as a post could carry them, and as false as could be necessary to their being well calculated to alarm and enrage the zealous liberty-men, as they affect to be called (but may more properly be termed furious non-constitutional men), . . . and a doleful smoke we have." So great a stir was made about it that he caused the sermon to be printed at Hartford, Conn., in pamphlet form, for distribution by subscription, with a long preface, from which the foregoing extracts are taken.

But the clamor was not stayed, and the evident danger of injurious consequences was so pressing that it was thought necessary to invoke the countenance of the Committees of Safety. The matter was accordingly brought to the notice of the Committees of Hanover and Lebanon, met together here on Dec. 14, 1775, and Wheelock received their hearty indorsement. To give it additional weight, the towns of Plainfield and Cornish were called in, and another meeting was held in the College hall on the 2d and the 4th of January, from which a formal manifesto was promulgated as follows:—

Jan. 4th, 1776, a number out of the Committees of Safety for Hanover, Lebanon, Plainfield, and Cornish, being met at Hanover and formed into a joint committee, in order to examine into and search out the authors and

propagators of those false, slanderous, and injurious reports gone abroad respecting the Rev. Dr. Wheelock, in regard to his late conduct on the last Thanksgiving, and in regard to his sermon; at which time were present

Deacon Nehemiah Estabrook, *Chairman.*

Esq. Samuel Chase,	Capt. Josiah Russell,
Colo. Jonathan Chase,	Capt. Edmund Freeman,
Major Francis Smith,	Lieut. David Woodward,
Major John Slapp,	Lieut. Jedediah Hebbard,
Capt. Diar Spalden,	Mr. Thomas Hall.

We proceeded to inquire into said case, and on evidence find that Mr. John Paine, of Hanover, in the County of Grafton and Colony of New Hampshire, has been a principal author of those slanders respecting the Rev^d Dr. Wheelock, which reports are false and in their nature and tendency highly aggravated and injurious; and the more so considering the Doctor's public character and important connections with the Seminary under his care, together with the tendency such reports have to stir up sedition and raise ferments among the people of this colony in this critical situation of public affairs; and we esteem it our duty to use our utmost endeavors to suppress such injurious conduct. And we hereby earnestly recommend it to the said Paine to make full satisfaction, equal to the above-mentioned offences, and the above result to be delivered to the Rev^d Doct. Wheelock, to dispose of the same as he shall see fit.

NEHEMIAH ESTABROOK,

Jan. 5, 1776.

Chairman of s^d Meeting.

In reference to the same matter Mr. Phillips wrote Wheelock as follows:—

EXETER, Dec. 26, 1775.

REV^d & VERY DEAR SIR, — I rec^d your kind fav^r p. Mr. Wheelock. Am glad your Committees have sense & discernment and have so fully exculpated you, baffling the designs of the malicious, & rectifying y^e mistakes of ignorant persons. I can feel for you, under your late circumstances, from my own experience in time of the stamp act, when I could not avail myself of an appeal from popular clamor, rais^d by one or two unreasonable & wicked men,—and am not without disagreeable apprehensions of maltreatment at this unhappy time for not acting contrary to the light of my own mind, to what I take to be the mind of Christ, and the most prudent measures for our political safety.

Mr. Agent Wheelock has most zealously and faithfully executed his commission here, and highly merits the thanks of his employers, whose instructions he has been governed by.

Gen^l Montgomery's knowledge and indisputable evidence respecting the utility & importance of Dartmouth College gives pleasure to him who feels himself happy in being its Friend, and has the honor of subscribing himself,

Yours most respectfully and affectionately,

JOHN PHILLIPS.

Bad paper, — emblem of the times.

REV^d PRESIDENT WHELOCK.

The occasion was eagerly seized for hostile demonstrations by the disaffected element in the village. To meet this the innkeeper Payne was, on the 10th of January, cited to appear before the Grafton Presbytery; and on the next day George Boyd, a student, "was adjudged to be publicly admonished and suspended, for defaming authority by saying that the President called y^e Congress an ungodly Congress."

John Sargeant, the innkeeper on the other side of the river, mindful of his old grievance about the ferry, took this opportunity to vent his feelings by spreading the evil reports about the President, and was in consequence complained of to the Norwich minister, Rev. Lyman Potter. No attention being paid to the complaint, the power of the Presbytery was again invoked, and church relations with Mr. Potter's people were suspended.¹ How the matter was finally settled does not appear, but the exigencies of the times left little room for long cherishing private feuds.

The following items are from Wheelock's Diary: —

"Jany. 23, 1776. In the morning Tribeau came to me and told me that Levi Washburn was very sick with throat distemper. I visited him twice. He died near close of daylight. He was buried. Joseph Johnson preached a funeral sermon afterwards.

"This day (23^d), received Esq. Thornton's letter, which had been thrown into the sea [with other papers before noticed] by the Captain [Foster], who was taken coming into Boston by our privateer, and was picked up on the shore at Cape Ann. Wonderful!

¹ DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, Feby 8th, 1776.

To the Pastor & Church of Christ in Norwich:

REV^d AND DEARLY BELOVED, — It having been certified by authentic information to this Presbytery, in their present session, that you have lately received into your church Mr. John Sargeant, whilst you were fully apprized that a charge of Scandal lay against him, & this without any regular tryal whether s^d charge would be supported & proved against him, which is apprehended to be a violation & flagrant breach of divine rule, we cannot but express ourselves greatly aggrieved at such a procedure, & think ourselves in duty bound to inform you that we look upon ourselves obliged by the laws of the Great Redeemer to suspend communion with you until you shall take those measures which God in his word directs to heal the wound which you have by this deed given to the cause of religion. And we do therefore with much concern & in the Bowels of Christ intreat you that you use your endeavours to heal this wound by treating the above-mentioned charge of scandal in the manner as God in his word directs & requires, that we may walk together in the faith & order of the Gospel as fellow heirs of the Grace of Life.

EDEN BURROUGHS,
Presby^y Clerk.

REV^d LYMAN POTTER, to be Communicated.

"Feb. 14. Doctor John Williams informed me that Dr Joshua Lothrop has made a present of £20, in medicine, to be paid by him to this College.

"Feb. 18. Indian delegates from northern tribes arrived from head quarters, full fed, and almost dead with high living. [One of them did die on their hands, no doubt from some such cause, for he records:]

"Feb. 20. Bingham [Jabez] went with sleigh to carry some of them to Lyme on the way to take care of their dead. I invited them to bury him here.

"Feb. 23^d. Attended funeral of Paul, the Indian above mentioned, who was brought here yesterday [from Orford, where they were being entertained by Colonel Bedel],¹ attended by Col. Lewee [Louis], John Sauch's father and another Indian & Wisha's mother. Great concourse. I preached. Col. Lewee, interpreter. He was buried under arms. Walked in procession.

"Feb. 28. Discoursed with black Eliza, the cook, of some instances of impudence in kitchen; and Brister [one of his slaves] told me in the evening that she was preparing to move off. The next day she left to nurse the sick in College.

"March 3. Eneas's corpse [an Indian's] was brought here and decently buried."²

The severity of winter began now to tell on the poor little Indian boys. Wheelock reported them in such need of clothing "as I never saw in my family before; and clothing not to be had in this country." Urgent appeal was made to friends in Connecticut for cast-off garments, — coats, "Jacoats," breeches, shirts, and stockings.

The \$500 voted to Wheelock by the Continental Congress in 1775 had been paid at last in January, 1776. In April, in reply to a prayer for further aid, Congress "resolved that although the prosperity of Dart. Coll., in the colony of N. H., is a desirable object, it is neither reasonable nor prudent to contribute towards its relief or support out of the public treasury."³

The Continental Congress having, March 14, 1776, recommended the respective Colonies to disarm all disaffected persons and all who refuse to *associate* for the armed defence of the colonies, the New Hampshire Central Committee of Safety

¹ Am. Archives, Series iv., vol. v. p. 140.

² The Indians were on their return from Exeter, where they had been a week to confer with the Assembly, having with them as an interpreter a young Indian from Wheelock's School. Hon. John Phillips had paid them much kind attention. Paul had died at "Boscuina," on the way home, *via* Haverhill. The Indians were highly pleased by the respect shown to their dead, and encouraged Wheelock to expect their friendship and patronage for the School.

³ Journals of Congress, ii. 365.

issued circular letters to all the towns, April 12, 1776, requesting that all males above twenty-one years of age (except lunatics, idiots, and negroes) be desired to sign the declaration thereon, to be returned to the central authority at Exeter, with the names of all persons signing or refusing. The declaration was this: —

“We, the subscribers, do hereby solemnly engage and promise that we will to the utmost of our power, at the risque of our lives and fortunes, with arms oppose the hostile proceedings of the British fleets and armies against the United American Colonies.”

It was known as the *Association Test*. Returns are preserved from most of the towns.¹ There are none from Hanover, nor from any of the towns in its immediate neighborhood, excepting Lebanon, Enfield, and Canaan; nor is there any allusion to the matter in our town records. It is possible that returns were made which have been lost; and it is equally possible that dissatisfaction with the treatment received from the Exeter Government, coupled with a reluctance to announce at this stage so defiant a purpose, prevented any execution of the mandate here. There is no evidence or suspicion that Hanover ever harbored a single Tory; but we are led to believe that some, among whom was Wheelock himself,² doubted the expediency of shaking off at this point all hope of ultimate reconciliation. The Colonial Congress of New Hampshire was well to the front in favor of radical measures, and to the question of a proposed declaration of independence submitted by the Continental Congress, June 8th, 1776, responded with great promptness and absolute unanimity on the 15th of the same month, by instructions to its delegates to favor such a step.³ The next day (June 16) Hon. John Phillips wrote to Wheelock: “I have just now seen the Declaration of Independency; and perhaps it will not be long

¹ N. H. State Papers, viii. 204 *et seq.*

² Dr. Wheelock [says Dr. McClure] was opposed to the arbitrary and tyrannical acts of the British Government; he was equally opposed to the ungovernable fury of mobs. At the commencement of the contention he had no idea of a separation of the Colonies from Britain, but expected that when the British Government should be rightly informed of the disposition of the colonists, a reconciliation on liberal and constitutional principles would take place. As the breach widened . . . he saw with anxiety and grief the approach of the horrors of civil war and of a total and perpetual separation.— *Memoirs of Wheelock*, pp. 331-2, note.

Bouton's Concord, p. 267; N. H. State Papers, viii. 149.

before we shall experience whether we are able to support it, or whether the measures taken by Government on both sides will not be ruinous. The Lord in mercy prevent it, and make us mutual blessings to, and not destroyers of one another."

In May, 1776, President Wheelock, being much out of health, and hard pressed for means, made a journey to Connecticut in hope of obtaining both rest and assistance for himself, and also arms and ammunition for local defence. He applied, while in Hartford, to the Connecticut Government in the following memorial, which, though ineffectual, is valuable to us as a picture of the time:

To the Hon^{ble} the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut, in New England, in America:

The Memorial of Eleaz^r Wheelock, D.D., President of Dartmouth College, in the Province of New Hampshire, humbly sheweth:—

That since the late blockading of the town of Boston by the ministerial troops, all resources for the support of the Indian Charity School under his care from beyond the seas have been entirely suspended; and in addition to all this, all courts of justice in that province have been broken up, insomuch that he is wholly incapacitated to recover any debt in a course of law; by which means he is reduced to present & very great necessity; being unable to pay his laborers, or to make further provision for the support of s^d Charity School (which consists of upwards of twenty in number, about ten of which belong to tribes in Canada), or any further support for missionaries employed among the tribes in that province. That unless there be some other way for his relief he will be under necessity to recal s^d missionaries, and send the children back to their respective tribes, which nothing but absolute necessity can induce him to do; as he supposes that connections formed by means of that Seminary have had the greatest influence to attach the northern tribes to the interests of the united colonies; and the dissolution thereof he apprehends will be to remove from these infant & defenceless frontiers their surest defence against an invasion of a popish & pagan army.

Your Memorialist, therefore, humbly prays this honorable Assembly to take it into their consideration, and if in your wisdom you shall judge it to be expedient for the safety of the frontiers and our present military operations to grant to your Memorialist the loan of £500, lawful money, without interest, for some short term, or till God in his providence shall graciously provide some other way of relief, he will Esteem it a singular favor; or if you shall otherwise determine, he will still hope in that same fountain of goodness through which said School has hitherto been supported.

And as in duty bound shall ever pray, etc. ELEAZAR WHELOCK.
HARTFORD, May 31, 1776.

From letters addressed to Wheelock, in his absence, we get interesting glimpses of the state of affairs at home.

DARTMTH COLLEGE, SABBATH EVENING, May 26, 1776.

REVEREND & HON^D SIR, — Yesterday Mr. Smith arrived, by whom we have the pleasure to be assured you are much more comfortable than when you left home, for which I desire to bless God. Your family are in usual health, and affairs of the College, with respect to husbandry, wear an agreeable aspect. I wrote you in my last that the Presbytery did not see cause to ordain Mr. Kendal, with the reasons. Mr. Smith informs me he is now gone to Dr. Langdon to see if he can't have it effected by *his* influence. Does not this look like thrusting himself uncalled into the Vineyard of the Lord?

I this day saw some soldiers belonging to Lebanon, who came last Sabbath from St. Johns, by whom I am informed that Mr. Wheelock is recovering of the smallpox, and designs to return soon with Mr. James; also that Mr. Ripley was going soon to Albany, and then designed to come home. Dr. Crane sat out last Monday for Montreal to take the smallpox. We hear that Gid. Bridgman & Mr. Haze's son are among the missing in the retreat from before Quebec. I fear Canada will be a scene of bloodshed this summer. People seem so senseless of the hand of God in the present controversy that I think we have reason to expect to be brought to great strait before we have deliverance. Your daughter joins me in humble duty — also love to the Major & Mr. Eleazar, & due respects to all enquirers. I am, Reverend & honored Sir, your dutiful Son & humble serv^t,

BEZA WOODWARD.

REV^D DR^S WHELOCK, (now in Conn^t).

June 2d, Mr. Woodward writes again to Wheelock, who was still in Connecticut: —

"Mess^r. Ripley & Wheelocks arrived from Canada last Thursday. Mr. Smith and I began recitations last Monday. Those of the students who have arrived appear very peaceable, and apply themselves well to their studies, — most of the Seniors and Juniors are yet absent. The Sophomores and Freshmen have in general arrived. . . . Mr. Sever¹ is put to a good deal of difficulty in procuring necessaries for want of money; in other respects matters appear with a good aspect."

John Wheelock writes, June 1st: —

"I have had a safe return from Canada, which is Sooner than it would have been, were it not for your present indisposition. I found that your bills were in high demand in Canada, and would sell at par were the situation of your affairs such that you could venture to draw. . . . I find the situation of affairs here comfortable. Nothing is wanting but *cash*. . . . The tribes in Canada are, I believe, very friendly to your institution. As a proof of their friendship I have herewith enclosed their speech; and what inducement the continent may have to promote it may be judged in part from that."

¹ Comfort Sever, at that time farm superintendent.

A week later (June 7) he writes: —

“The students have generally returned. They apply themselves to their studies with much diligence. The evil spirit seems to be wholly gone; love, harmony, contentment, and good order universally prevail, and it seems that nothing is wanting to complete our happiness but your recovery and safe return. The farm I believe is under very good circumstances, considering the small number of laborers; grass is quite plenty and very good. Mr. Seaver does exceeding well; he says if the English grain answers its present appearance, there will be a thousand bushels in harvest. I have taken a room in the College, and endeavor to keep things as neat and regular as possible.”

June 19, 1776, Mr. Ripley, then at home, writes to Wheelock: —

SIR, — [Davenport] Phelps returned last evening from Canada, but brings no material intelligence but what we have already received.

I am sorry Connecticut is so imposed upon by gross falsehoods from the northward, as I find they must be if they pay credit to their late newspapers, in which, perhaps, there is scarcely a sentiment that respects the Northern Army which is true. I think that such horrid lyars as bring such accounts ought to be secured and treated as enemies to their country. I believe our affairs at the northward are upon the whole gloomy and in a very critical situation. The Caghnawaga Indians, 't is said, have distinguished themselves in their friendship to our army both in prosperity and adversity.”

He adds a postscript, July 1st: —

“We have news that our Northern Army have retreated from St. Johns, and part of them arrived at Crown Point, so that this country is thrown into some confusion. The minds of the students begin to grow uneasy, and they say they are unable to study, and unable to defend themselves in case of a savage invasion, thro' want of arms and ammunition.”

The intelligence in fact created almost a panic up the river. Most of the women and children from the Upper Coos retreated to Haverhill, and families there and in towns below already began to flee southward. Some went as far as Concord. Those who remained prepared to go into garrison.¹ On July 2d, the day after the reception of the news, the committees of eight towns met at Lebanon, and despatched Colonel Chase to Exeter with an urgent appeal for relief.

To the Hon^{ble} the Gen^l Assembly of the Colony of New Hampshire, or the Com^{tee} of said Colony:

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HON^{RS}, — At a meeting of the Com^{tee} of Safety for the towns of Cornish, Windsor, Plainfield, Hertford, Lebanon, Hartford,

¹ N. H. State Papers, viii. 298, 306.

Hanover, & Norwich, held in said Lebanon this 2^d day of July instant, was unanimously Voted to make application to your Hon^{rs}. for such supply of arms and ammunition as your Hon^{rs}. shall think proper, & also such a body of troops as may be judg^d proper for the defence of the Settlements on Connecticut River. Would therefore beg the favour of your Honours regards in the present alarming exigency, which the retreat of our Northern Army has laid us under, being exposed to the incursions of the Savages & other enemies, & as speedy as possible to afford us relief in such way & manner as your honors in your wisdom shall see fit. Have also unanimously voted that Col^o Jonathan Chase be & is appointed to make applications to your Honours to grant our request as above said, & we as in duty bound shall ever pray.

NEH^m. ESTABROOK,

Dated at said Lebanon, this 2^d day of July, 1776.¹

Chairman.

In answer to this appeal the Provincial Congress on the 6th ordered that "Colonel Chase receive out of the Colony stock three barrels of powder for the use of his regiment and the frontier adjacent," and voted to raise out of the regiments of Colonels Hobart, Morey, and Chase four companies of rangers to guard the frontiers.²

Wheelock in Connecticut, on receiving Ripley's letter, appealed once more to Governor Trumbull for arms :³ —

HEBRON, July 4, 1776.

MUCH HON^d SIR, — The bearer must be my epistle for the intelligence from Coos which he this minute brought me. If the College breaks up, and the scholars leave that country, which is so exhausted of men, arms, and ammunition, for the public service, the consequences will likely be very sad. If they can be furnished with means of defence, they will be willing to stay. The College and neighborhood will need not less than one hundred stand of arms. I expect a wagon down to-morrow to carry them directly up, and with a supply of ammunition, if you can possibly provide the same.

Trumbull on the same day wrote to Washington, urging the raising of a Continental battalion for the defence of these frontiers.⁴

"It would, I trust, be immediately filled up with a hardy race of men in that quarter, well adapted and ready to join and support the No. army upon occasion, and at all times may scour the woods and furnish intelligence of the enemy's motions. If these settlers are driven back, besides the loss of

¹ From MS. files of the State.

² N. H. State Papers, viii. 196.

³ Am. Archives, Series iv., vol. vi. p. 1276.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1275. Bedel's regiment, it will be remembered, had been for the time wiped out by the disaster at the Cedars. *Ibid.*, 1027, 1032.

their property, a much heavier expense will fall upon some of the Colonies for the support of their families than the charges arising from the raising and mustering a battl^e of Contl. troops, and we shall have a frontier to defend. The anxiety of the friends and relatives of many, if not most, of these settlers, who emigrated from this Colony, and the importance of the matter, will, I trust, be my sufficient apology."

On the very day when this was written, the alarm reached its climax in Hanover. As if to emphasize the forebodings of Mr. Phillips, the birthday itself of national independence was signalized here by the first genuine panic of the war. The Committees of Safety were hastily summoned, and on the next day, Friday, the 5th, the Committees of Lyme, Hanover, Lebanon, Thetford, Norwich, and Hartford met again in the College Hall, with Nehemiah Estabrook, of Lebanon, as their moderator, and Amos Robinson,¹ of Hartford, as their clerk, and made energetic arrangements for the defence of the frontiers.²

It was voted to raise fifty men, exclusive of officers, "to repair to Royalton, to fortifie in that Town, and scout from thence to Onion River and Newbury." It was also "voted to appoint one captain and two subalterns." The captain chosen was David Woodward, of Hanover, and the lieutenants Joshua Hazzen, of Hartford, and Abel Lyman, of Lebanon. Esq^r. Joel Marsh, of Sharon, Mr. Isaac Morgan, of Royalton, and Major John Slapp, of Hanover, were appointed "a Committee to direct the building of the fort at Royalton, and furnish said fort with all necessary supplies."

It was also voted to raise two hundred and fifty men, in four companies, to go to Newbury, and "fortifie, scout, and guard" there for three months, unless sooner discharged. Capt. Abner Seely, of Thetford, was named major of the Newbury Department, and Levi Willard, of Woodstock, Oliver Ashley, of Claremont, and Samuel Paine, of Lebanon, were appointed captains, with power to name their own subalterns. Col. Jacob Bailey, of Newbury, Col. Charles Johnson, of Haverhill, and Col. Peter Olcott, of Norwich, were chosen a committee to direct and order the affairs of the Newbury Department, "and to engage that the officers and soldiers in both Departments be honorably paid for their services."

¹ Robinson kept the ferry near the mouth of White River.

² N. H. State Papers, viii. 297.

The next day the chairman communicated this action to the Exeter Government, pressing anew upon their attention the dire need of arms, ammunition, and money, for want of which "we are fearful it will in a great measure prove abortive, and this only alternative [be] left us, either such as can to make their escape into the larger towns, or fall a sacrifice to our enemies."¹

The Central Committee of Safety on the 11th, in response to this appeal, authorized Captain Woodward to enlist thirty men to serve under him three months "as scouting parties, to explore the woods and watch or oppose the motions of enemies coming against our frontier settlements, taking orders from Col. Jacob Bayley, Col. John Hurd, and Col. Charles Johnson, or any two of them, a committee appointed for that purpose."²

Col. John Hurd wrote Meshech Weare, July 27th:—

"I'm just now informed by a person from the College that Capt. Woodward has raised his men and gone out into the woods to a place called Royalston,— I suppose about midway between Conn. River and the lake,— to erect some stockade or fortification there, from whence they may keep their scouts going; but they have not thought proper to inform the Committee what their plan may be, or anything of their intentions."

Hurd wrote again, August 3d: "The Committee have wrote to Capt. Woodward, desiring he would come to Haverhill to consult with us respecting his scouts." He also gives an account of a successful scout undertaken by Capt. Samuel Payne, of Lebanon, to Ticonderoga.³

Captain Woodward was detached from his company and sent to Exeter from Haverhill, August 12, 1776, having in custody Col. Asa Porter, under charge of Toryism; and Orderly-Sergeant

¹ N. H. State Papers, viii 298.

² The men were to be paid the same as other Provincial troops,— forty shillings per month, besides provisions, and ultimately, as would appear from the account, thirty shillings bounty. The Captain was to receive £4 per month, and one subaltern £3 10s. The same day an advance of £67 was made for one month's wages, and other sums to the aggregate of about £184, at various times up to October 24th, when the company is spoken of as "lately disbanded." N. H. State Papers, viii. 302; N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., vii. 49.

The rolls of the company are not preserved. The accounts would indicate that the number was filled. The files of the pension office disclose as yet only the names of Joseph Curtis, orderly sergeant, and Benjamin Davis, David Hase, and David Wright. These last were in 1832 aged respectively 79, 77, and 73.

³ N. H. State Papers, viii. 315, 317. Captain Payne lived at the lower falls of the Connecticut, about two and a half miles from the College.

Joseph Curtis, of Hanover, succeeded to the command of the company at Royalton. On November 5th the town of Hanover voted and paid £5 to officers and soldiers of Captain Woodward's company, then at Royalton, and raised £31 11s. for ammunition.

By reason of the general uneasiness, the College Commencement took place on July 24th, — a month earlier than usual. Wheelock returned home just in time to be present; but the gentlemen from the eastward refrained from attendance, not thinking it safe to venture so near the frontier.

The lack of a quorum at the meeting of the trustees led Wheelock to write to Phillips urging attendance at an adjourned meeting in October, and giving an account of affairs at the College.

DARTM. COLLEGE, 25th July, 1776.

VERY DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 16th instant I received immediately after my arrival from Connecticut last Saturday, and am very sorry any apprehensions of danger here have prevented you or any other of the Trustees from attending the Commencement. We had only six of the Trustees present, on which account we could not appoint any new members, for the want of which the College is in danger of suffering greatly. For which important purpose we have adjourned the meeting of the board to the second Tuesday in October next, then to be held here, at nine o'clock in the morning, at which time I must entreat that you and the other members in your quarter will attend. Though I am much recruited since last spring, when my life was despaired of by almost all my acquaintance, I am still in so infirm and broken a state that I could not think of a journey to your parts for the purpose of holding a Board, having suffered greatly by journeying of late.

As to danger here, I am not under the least apprehensions of any. We have assurances in various ways that the Indians have received strict orders from the ministerial Forces to interrupt none but such as are found in arms warring against them. The convulsions of public affairs have thrown me into the greatest distress on account of debts which I owe, and which I know not how to discharge, to amount of near one thousand pounds. I made application to the Continental Congress last spring for assistance, and have since been informed by one of their members that nothing but their continual crowd of business has prevented their acting on it, and he doubted not, could they have leisure to attend to it, they would be ready, on political reasons, to grant me relief. Governor Trumbull has also recommended the matter to them of late, but tells me at the same time he is apprehensive the constant crowd of matters of the last importance before them must prevent for some time their doing anything in my favor. I have also applied to the Assembly of Connecticut for the loan of the money, who assured me by a committee appointed for that purpose that every member in the House would have readily complied with my request, had not their treasury been

exhausted, and their necessary demands for money such that they were not able to prepare bills fast enough to answer them.

I have now pasture sufficient to fat 200 head of Cattle, great part of which must be lost if some expedient can't be devised to procure the stock, and beef purchased for my family at an enormous price. Shall be able to winter above one hundred head if I could get them. I have been trying various methods to accomplish that end, but cannot yet find means to effect it. If you can tell where the money may be had on any reasonable terms, I would gladly hire it till such time as Providence shall grant me relief other ways. I desire to trust in the wise Disposer of all events, who has hitherto appeared for me under my distresses. I am, etc.,

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

N. B. — Please notify the Trustees in your parts of the adjournment of the board, and use means to prevail on them to attend, as a failure of supplying vacancies in this critical juncture of affairs will in all probability prove fatal to the College. Dr. Pomeroy's years and infirmities are such that his attendance again this Fall can't be much expected.

COL. JOHN PHILLIPS.

Commencement over, Madam Wheelock and Mrs. Woodward escaped the turmoil and the possible danger by a visit to Connecticut, and the students of course very largely dispersed. It was feared at first that they would be prevented from returning, and that the College would be obliged to suspend; but during the vacation the panic in great measure subsided, and matters went on much as usual.

In the same July a danger of a different kind, but equally dreaded, appeared in the shape of the small-pox, which was still scourging the Northern Army,¹ brought in by unauthorized inoculation, through the instrumentality of Dr. Laban Gates. The town, notwithstanding repeated applications, had uniformly refused to permit the voluntary infection to be set up here; and those having the means, who desired to avail themselves of that measure of protection, had been accustomed to resort to Montreal for the purpose. The authorities promptly interfered on this occasion; and Gates being in some sort amenable to Wheelock's authority, as were most of the inhabitants of the College district at that period, was subjected to pressure from that source also which speedily brought him to terms. The

¹ Governor Trumbull wrote to the President of Congress, July 5, 1776, that the small-pox in the Northern Army "is more terrible than the British army, and strikes greater dread into one who has never had it."

circumstances of the affair will best appear by exhibiting Wheelock's general order and Gates's confession.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, Aug. 5, 1776.

WHEREAS there has been for a few days or weeks past clandestinely carried on a design of communicating the small Pox by inoculation among the Students of this College, and a number had received it without conferring with the President or any of the Authority of the College, or even so much as acquainting the President, or giving him the least opportunity or advantage to consult for his own, his family's, or Neighbors' safety in such a time of danger, or acquainting any of the good People of the Neighborhood therewith, that the matter might be submitted to the inspection and direction and prudent conduct of suitable Persons appointed for that purpose, —

And whereas Doctor Laban Gates, notwithstanding any obligations to the contrary in point of gratitude, and without the least regard manifested to the President's office, age, or great bodily infirmities, which under the probability next to certain that the distemper would prove fatal to him If he should take it; and also without the least regard to the reputation, increase, and well-being of this Seminary, or the peace and comfort of Parents at a distance, who have Children here; and notwithstanding He, the s^d Gates, had never had the small Pox Himself, nor any more than a Theoretical acquaintance with it, or what treatment would be suitable for those who should have it, did procure some of the infection and communicate it to a Number of the Students, or at least supposed he had communicated it (tho' it is not certain it had not lost its Virtue), and was understood to have a design to proceed in such a dangerous and unadvised manner of inoculating; and whereas several of the Students, who were forbid to receive it in that manner, have thereupon, without counsel and of their own accord, gone to receive it in a neighboring Hospital, and in such hasty and unadvised manner, as together with their before-mentioned proceedings, inspires a fear that due care will not be taken by all, that they be so effectually cleansed as not to expose the Society to receive it from them on their return to College, —

Wherefore I have, with the advice with such of the Authority of the College as could be had on this emergency, decreed and determined, —

1. That Doctor Laban Gates be forbid, and He is hereby forbid, entering any Room in the College, or any under my controul in the neighborhood, on his return from inoculation, without leave therefor first obtained from me; and He being now taken under the care of the Committee of Safety, to be dealt with according to his merit, I leave what has passed to their determination.

2. That no Student shall invite s^d Dr. Gates, on his return from inoculation, to sit, or suffer him to be in his Room, without leave therefor from the President, or abet, countenance, or encourage him in any opposition to the aforesaid orders, on the Penalty hereafter mentioned.

3. That none of the Students, on their return from inoculation, shall on any occasion intermix themselves with other Students till they have first obtained sufficient certificate of safety therein, and have so removed all fears

as that the President shall judge it safe for them; on penalty of immediate expulsion from College, and all the Privileges and honors of the same.

By ELEAZAR WEELOCK, *President*.

HANOVER, 31 Aug., 1776.

REV^d & HONOURED SIR, — I am very sensible of your displeasure at the attempt that was made of inoculating Smith & Motley, which was not an act of a premature consideration; and had I foreseen the event, I should have been quite to the avers of allowing of or consenting to y^e prosecution of such a plan; but we must reflect upon the imperfection of man, & attribute the error to y^e frailty of human nature; for I can say with sincerity y^e I had no design of injuring any person, nor would I have been the instrument of spreading y^e smallpox for my right hand.

The method by which the attempt of this inoculation was made I'll relate; viz., they resorted into the woods by the river side, strip^d naked, left their clothes remote from where they attempted to inoculate, made a slight incision in their arms, laid on a small bit of matter, & covered it with a large sticking plaster (which I had provided for them), then a bandage over the plaster, after which went and dress^d; and as I was much exposed to the small-pox, as my business frequently called me into danger, I then determined to go into my camp the Monday following, and these two having a mind to go in with me, I designed to inoculate myself & them with fresh matter, which I sent to Doc^r Stevens for by y^e Post; but being informed by Capt. Storrs that the Committee were against my inoculating myself till I had a vote of the town for the same, on hearing of which I immediately flung aside the plan and went into Doc^r Williams's hospital.¹ Indeed, I never thought of carrying on inoculation no farther than to inoculate myself and those two (viz., Smith & Motley, who were to have been my company), without a vote of the town, which I did not expect till fall.

I purpose to take a journey to Connecticut in about 10 days, and should be glad, as my things are all in the College, to tarry there till I go, if I could consistent with your consent.

S^r, I suggest I have some private enemies who are very officious in representing matters against me in a very fictitious light. It would be vastly agreeable to me if I might have the pleasure of waiting on you; but supposing you would fear to see me on account of exposing yourself to the small-pox,²

¹ Dr. John Williams came here from Stillwater, N. Y., with Comfort Sever. Sept. 14, 1773, he wrote Wheelock desiring to settle here, but Dr. Crane opposed his coming. He was afterward recommended highly by Wheelock to the people of Lebanon, and he settled there. Where his hospital was, I do not know, nor any further particulars respecting the "pest-house" at that time. It was probably in the woods between Hanover and Lebanon.

² Troubles of this kind were so general that the Legislature, by an Act of Dec. 13, 1776, imposed a penalty of £30 for "presuming to inoculate or be inoculated without license from the General Assembly, Committee of Safety, or from Selectmen of the town and two justices of the peace in the next adjoining towns." Some three weeks later than the case given in the text, the subject came up again in Hanover in such a shape as to involve the College and the town in seeming disagreement.

therefore I have refrained from attempting a visit, yet am confident that I am thoroughly cleans^d from that infection; and in confirmation of which I have a certificate from the Committee for that purpose, and the two Doctors of the Pest house.

Rev^d Sir, must beg the favor of an answer the first opportunity, & am,
Sir, your obliged, Humble Servt.,

LABAN GATES.

In August, 1776, Wheelock, notwithstanding the repulse he had suffered in April, applied again to Congress through Generals Gates and Schuyler. The latter wrote thus to Congress: ¹—

ALBANY, Sept. 12, 1776.

SIR, — The bearers, two gentlemen from Dartmouth College, were referred to me by General Gates; they put into my hands copy of a memorial to Congress from the Rev. Dr. Wheelock, which has not yet been delivered, and requested of me to know if I could take any steps with respect to the Indian boys mentioned in it; if not, they begged my opinion on the subject. I did not hesitate to declare that I thought provision ought to be made for them, but that I did not conceive myself authorized to do it. I have observed that all the youths of the Six Nations who have been at Mr. Wheelock's School, except one or two under the immediate influence of the Johnson family, are much attached to us in this contest, and I believe that an attention to those now there will be followed by like salutary consequences. In this sentiment it is my duty to recommend to Congress some allowance for those boys.

PH. SCHUYLER.

This was read in Congress September 16th, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs; upon their report Congress resolved (September 19th): "As it may be a means of conciliating the friendship of the Canadian Indians, or at least of preventing hostilities from them in some measure, to assist the President of Dartmouth College in New Hampshire in maintaining their youth who are now there under his tuition, and whom the revenues of the College are not at this time sufficient to support, that for this purpose five hundred dollars be paid to the Rev. Dr. Eleazar Wheelock, President of the said College." ²

The last of November, Wheelock sent his son to Salem, Mass., to induce Dr. Whitaker to make a further appeal in person to the Continental Congress; but Whitaker thought the time unpropitious.

By the Act of Sept. 19, 1776, the militia system of New

¹ Am. Archives, Series v., vol. ii. p. 125.

² Ibid., p. 1362.

Hampshire was remodelled. The regiments were divided into companies of about sixty-eight enlisted men, separated, as before, into two classes; viz., (1) *The Training Band*, comprising all able-bodied male persons between sixteen and fifty years of age, with a long list of exceptions, including (besides negroes, Indians, and mulattoes) the officers and students of Dartmouth College, ministers of the gospel, elders and deacons of churches, grammar-school masters, and Masters of Arts; (2) *The Alarm List*, which comprehended all other male persons, with like exceptions, between the ages of sixteen and sixty-five. These, though members of the same companies with the others, formed a distinct body, subject to be ordered out of town by no authority less than that of a colonel; but they were required to submit to semi-annual inspection by the company officers, and to turn out for the defence of their towns on an alarm given by the drums, or by proper signal, such as three guns discharged in rapid succession, or a lighted beacon.

Each officer and soldier of the militia was required to equip himself and be constantly provided with a good fire-arm, ramrod, worm, priming-wire, and brush; a bayonet, scabbard, and belt; a cutting-sword, tomahawk, or hatchet; a pouch containing a cartridge-box that would hold at least fifteen rounds; a hundred buck-shot, a jack-knife, and tow for wadding; six flints, one pound of powder, forty leaden balls; a knapsack and blanket, and a canteen, or wooden bottle of the capacity of one quart; and when called out each man was required to go provisioned for three days. The regimental field-officers were chosen by the State authorities; the company officers, consisting of a captain, two lieutenants, and an ensign, by the respective companies. By the same Act, towns were required to keep on hand one barrel of good gunpowder, containing a hundred pounds, with three hundredweight of leaden balls of different sizes, and buck-shot, and three hundred flints for every sixty soldiers of the training-band.

The number of regiments was increased, and that of Colonel Chase became temporarily the Seventeenth.¹ The first Hanover

¹ The composition of the regiment, in March, 1777, was reported as follows: Cornish 81, Plainfield 83, Lebanon 93, Hanover 130, Croydon 37, Relhan (Enfield) 17, Grafton 15, Canaan 15, total, 492; and with the addition of Conway (33), 525. N. H. State Papers, xiv. 559.

company continued in command of Capt. Edmund Freeman. In the second, Captain McClure was succeeded, in 1777, by Capt. Joshua Hendee.¹ It would appear that John Wheelock was also for a short time at the head of this company. The inhabitants subject to military duty in the College district were of course comparatively few, and the College company was at various times enlarged by the addition of a lieutenant and squad from the western section of Lebanon, which sometimes outnumbered the Hanover contingent. From this circumstance it was sometimes styled, when in service, the Lebanon company.

Distinct from the seventeen militia regiments were, of course, the three New Hampshire regiments, organized in May, 1775, and being permanently attached to the army throughout the war, distinguished as *Continental men*. The same distinction was also given to certain militia regiments, specially raised by drafts upon the others, for active service in various emergencies. For these, when enlistments failed, recruits were sought by requisition upon the seventeen militia regiments in due proportion, which were by them levied in like proportion upon the several companies, by voluntary enlistment under the stimulus of extra bounty, and toward the end of the war by draft. The proportion required from Colonel Chase's regiment was thirty or more in every thousand.

To the three regiments of regulars, Hanover, like the other associated towns, furnished toward the last comparatively few recruits, their resources being all the time strained to the utmost to protect the immediate frontier, which, starting from Haverhill, extended, on a radius of about thirty miles from a centre at Hanover, through Newbury, Corinth, and Royalton to Barnard on the west, — a circuit of about sixty miles on an arc of 90°. To this task the local militia devoted themselves, including within its scope the support of Ticonderoga, and numerous brief campaigns beyond their immediate frontier, in opposition to the British advance from Canada. They never failed, when called, to respond promptly and cheerfully.

¹ Joshua Hendee was a nephew of Dr. Wheelock, and came to Hanover under his patronage, in 1772, as a shoemaker. He held office as town collector for the College district, and lived in the house on the south side of Lebanon Street lately owned by Thomas Sharp. He joined with other Hanover men in acquiring the township of Randolph, Vt., and removed thither about 1780.

On Sept. 14, 1776, the Council and Assembly, in special Convention at Exeter, voted to raise one thousand men to reinforce the Continental Army at New York, in two regiments, to be in service until December 1st, unless sooner discharged. Capt. John House, of Hanover, was the same day given orders to enlist a company of fifty men for one of these regiments. The men were to have the same pay and rations as those in the Continental service. Col. Benjamin Bellows, Jun., was appointed muster-master, and ordered to pay each man £6. The company was raised the same month, and mustered sixty "able-bodied, effective men," of which eleven hailed from Hanover, and eight from Norwich. It was the fourth company in the regiment of Col. Nahum Baldwin, and marched to White Plains, N. Y., to reinforce General Washington's army in Clinton's brigade. Captain House and the other officers, while there in November, received their commissions from the hands of a committee sent by the Exeter Government for that purpose, and to raise recruits for the Continental regiments. The companies remained in service until January or February, 1777, some six weeks beyond the term of their enlistment. They participated in the battle of White Plains, October 28th, and probably followed Washington into New Jersey in November.¹

Under a further call of Dec. 4, 1776, for five hundred men to be drafted into the army in New York, there were mustered by Colonel Chase out of his regiment twenty-five men under Lieut. Abel Lyman, of Lebanon, to reinforce Capt. Joshua Hayward's company in the regiment of Col. David Gilman. Several of these were Hanover men, in part drawn from the company in the College district. They were considered as in service from December 5th to March 15th. This regiment took a prominent part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. At Princeton, December 26th, it formed a portion of the right wing, com-

¹ N. H. State Papers, viii. 338, 366, 392; xiv. 416, 422; Am. Archives, Series v, vol. ii. p. 327; N. H. Adj. Gen. Rept., 1866, pp. 291-5. Hanover is to be credited with Capt. John House; First Lieut. James Gould (then of Cockermouth [Hebron], afterward of Hanover); First Sergeant Thomas Blake, mustered as of Hanover, afterward promoted Ensign, as of Lebanon; and Moses Brown, Zadock Brown, Thomas Edy, Daniel Fuller (fifer), Robert Mason, Lemuel Payn, Nathaniel Ruggles, Jotham Stearns (Fourth Corporal), Deliverance Woodward, and Samuel Woodward. In the same month of September, two companies of rangers were added to Colonel Chase's regiment.

manded by General Sullivan. The General declared that his eight hundred Yankees took Trenton against sixteen hundred Hessians before the other troops knew anything of the matter, more than that there was an engagement; and at Princeton, when the Seventeenth British Regiment had thrown thirty-five hundred Southern militia into the utmost confusion, six hundred of the New Hampshire boys restored the day by taking the town against the Fortieth and Fifty-fifth Regulars.¹ "What troops are those?" asked Washington, in admiration. "Full-blooded Yankees, sir, from New Hampshire," said General Sullivan. Stockman Sweat, one of these "full-blooded Yankees," in Stark's regiment, who afterward came to live in Hanover, distinguished himself by bringing in, unaided, five Hessian prisoners in a body. He used to say that he did it by "surrounding them."

In the mean time, Ticonderoga being threatened, the militia were called out in a body by General Gates: —

"Att a meeting of the Committees of Cornish, Plainfield, Lebanon, Hanover, Hartford, Hertford, & Windsor, held at Lebanon, Oct. 21st, 1776, Voted and chose Deacon Nehemiah Estabrook Chairman. Voted and chose Jonathan Freeman clerk.

"Colonel Chase having communicated to this Meeting the copy of a letter to Capt. Ashley from his Col^o Mr. Bellows, and by particular desire communicated to him, in which Col^o Bellows informs him that he is desired to collect all the force he can in that quarter, and march to the assistance of Gen^l Gates; and this Committee having taken the same under consideration, do desire Col^o Chase to represent to Col^o Bellows our particular Situation, and also our readiness to assist to the utmost of our abilities in the Common Cause; and that we have requested the militia officers to hold the Militia in the best possible readiness to march, when called for by their officers, at the Shortest Notice. But we do not think it is the General's intention to call for the militia on their Frontiers at present."²

The call was nevertheless insisted on, and the regiments of Colonels Chase, Bellows, Ashley, and Hale marched to the relief of Ticonderoga. The men were drafted for two months, but were dismissed by General Gates, with honor and thanks,³ November

¹ N. H. State Papers, xii. 522; xiv. 432, 444, 522, 542-4; Jonathan Chase's MS., 102, 108. The Hanover men from the first company were Luther Lincoln, Robert Mason, Russell Smith, Ezekiel Parker, and from the Dartmouth company George Knox, a mulatto, and probably some others not fully identified.

² Chase Papers, N. H. Hist. Soc., p. 56.

³ TICONDEROGA, Nov. 9, 1776.

GENTLEMEN, — I return you, and the officers and soldiers under your command, my thanks for the spirit and expedition both you & they have shown in marching,

9th. They marched from Cornish October 28th, and reached home again November 16th.¹

Congress having late in 1776 adopted the policy of enlistments for longer periods, or the war, and increased difficulty being found in obtaining volunteers, the New Hampshire Legislature, in January, 1777, offered a bounty of £20 in addition to the Continental bounty, and soon after provided for filling quotas by draft. The three New Hampshire regiments, permanently attached to the Continental service, were reorganized, and Colonel Cilley was put in command of the first.²

On January 27th the Committee of Safety at Exeter authorized Captain House, of Hanover, to raise a new company for this service, and allowed him a credit of £300 upon the Receiver-General, to be laid out in Continental bounties, for which he was to be accountable.³ Major Jonathan Child was assigned by the Council as mustering officer, and reported from Lyme, March 24th, that Captain House and his officers had enlisted about forty men, of whom twenty had then been mustered, and received their mile-money, and were on their march to Number Four. He adds, "I hope to have the happiness soon to inform that the Company is full and all marched, which I believe would have been the case nearly by this time, had they not been retarded by reason of Major *Horse-in-town party*, that are engaged in the State service of New York. We are in daily expectation of hearing that *they* are discharged; numbers of them are determined to enlist soon as they can know that to

upon the first alarm, upwards of one hundred miles to the support of this important post, when threatened with an immediate attack from the enemy's army. I now dismiss you with the honor you have so well deserved. I further certify that neither you nor any under your command have received any pay or reward from me for your services on this occasion; that I leave to be settled by the General Congress, with the Convention of your State.

With great respect, &c., &c.,

HORATIO GATES.

To COLS. BELLAWS, ASHLEY, CHASE, and HALE.

See Am. Archives, Series v., vol. iii. p. 623, where the letter is wrongly dated 1777; N. H. Adj't. Gen.'s Rept., ii. 305.

¹ Hanover furnished fifteen men upon this call; viz., Lieut. Jonathan Freeman, John Bridgman, Isaac Bridgman, David Chandler, William Dewey, Beza Davis, Moody Freeman, David Hase, Luther Lincoln, James Murch, James Slade, Silas Tenney, Experience Trescott, Nathan West, Joel Woodward.

² N. H. State Papers, viii. 464.

³ Ibid., viii. 498, 522, 552; xiv. 559.

be the case." This company becoming the Sixth in Colonel Cilley's regiment, the First New Hampshire, continued through the war, and obtained distinction on many occasions. Further details about it will hereafter appear.¹

In April, 1777, the following order was received at Hanover, State of New Hampshire: —

To EDMUND FREEMAN, Captain of the Militia Company in the Town of Hanover.

Pursuant to orders from Major-General Fulson to Coll^o Jonathan Chase, Esq., to Raise and aquip Sixty five men out of this Rigement from the several Towns in proportion to the number of white Males in each from Sixteen to fifty years of age, and in order to compleat the three Rigements allotted To this State as their proportion of the Continental Army, —

You are therefore hereby Required as soon as Possible to Raise and aquip the proportion of men belonging to you to Raise, and you are to call on the Selectmen in said Town of Hanover To warn a town meeting to assist in procuring the men. The alarm list are not to be excused any more than the training Band, and all non commissioned officers and private Soldiers already enlisted and passed muster in either of the aforesaid Rigements commanded by Coll^o Stark, Poor, or Scammell, and no others, are to be considered as part of the proportion of said Town, and all the men Raised in pursuance of this order are to enlist in some one or the other of the aforesaid Rigements to sarve dureing the present war with Brittan, or for the term of three years, as thay chuse, unless sooner Regularly dismissed, and have liberty to Inlist in any company in either of the said Regiments as they see fit, until such company have Enlisted thair full Complement, and upon their so Enlisting shall Receive the same Bounty, wages, and all other Emoliments as those already enlisted in said Regiment; and no more are to be alowed to pass as hired or otherwise inlisted to make up the compliment or proportion of any other town untill the town he belongs to has got their full Number passed muster, And you are to make Returns of your doings herein to Col^o Jonathan Chase, Esq^r., on the twenty-second day of April Instant, of the men's names and Towns they belong to, and of the Company they have Enlisted into. And in order that a Just and equal proportion be made to the several towns in said Regiment, you are to make a true return² of all the white Males in said town of hanover from sixteen to fifty years of age to Maj^r Francis Smith, Esq^r, att the dwelling house of Maj^r Seth Wales, in holder, in Lebanon, on the 9th day of April instant.

Dated att Lebanon the 4th day of April, 1777. By order of the Coll^o,

FRA^s SMITH, Major.

¹ Captain House had his commission direct from the Continental Congress. It bore the signature of President Hancock.

² This return, made April 9th, showed the entire force of the training band to be 436. In Hanover, the first company numbered 73, and the second, or College company, 24. The proportion of Hanover towards the 65 men to be enlisted was fourteen, to be drawn proportionally from the two companies. Chase MS. Papers, N. H. Hist. Soc., p. 61; N. H. State Papers, xiv. 559.

The town, at a meeting held April 18th, appointed a committee¹ to procure men for the Continental service, each man on enlisting for three years to receive £5. It was also voted to raise £142 10s. for the encouragement of enlistments; but this was afterward rescinded.

On the 8th of May, Lieut. Jonathan Freeman was appointed to go to Exeter and "represent to the Assembly, or Committee of Safety, the peculiar difficulties we labor under in regard to raising the quota of Continental men by them required of us, and to endeavor to gain some reduction in that matter." At the same meeting it was "voted that the selectmen and Committee of Safety make out a list of the men who have gone from this town into the public service."

On June 3d it was voted to raise "20s. per month, to be paid to six men who may enlist into the Continental service for the quota required for this Town, for the term of three years, to be paid at the end of every six months during their continuance in the service." Also "that Lieut. Durkee, Capt. Woodward, and Lieut. Freeman be a committee to write to Capt. [Edmund] Freeman, now at Ticonderoga, desiring him to procure said men in behalf of the town; and that the town will be holden to make good any obligations he shall enter into in their behalf, agreeable to said vote." Captain Freeman was able to obtain but one recruit. Five more had been otherwise secured in March and April.²

The "Horse in town Party," alluded to by Major Child, was in command of Major John Wheelock, of Hanover, under authority of New York, which claimed and exercised to some extent authority to the west bank of the Connecticut River. The elder Wheelock was at this time in intimate correspondence

¹ Capt. David Woodward, Capt. Edmund Freeman, Lieut. Jonathan Freeman, Edward Smith, Esq., Deliverance Woodward, Tyxhall Cleaveland, and Samuel Slade, none of them from the College district.

² Captain Freeman's recruit was Daniel Fuller, a boy of seventeen, who was assigned to Colonel Cilley's regiment; reported, Jan. 10, 1778; left at Albany, wounded, and discharged, April, 1779 (Jonathan Chase's MS., N. H. Hist. Soc., pp 48, 103; Kidder's History of the First N. H. Regiment, p 480). The others were Jotham Stevens, William Winton, Thomas Clark, and John Baldwin (or Bolden), from the College district, and John Hutchinson, of Norwich. Baldwin was one of Wheelock's Indians. They were all mustered into the First N. H. Regiment, Baldwin into Captain Farwell's company, and the rest into that of Captain House. Besides these, Experience Trescott enlisted in Colonel Warner's regiment in March.

with the New York leaders on matters connected with the College, using his sons John and Eleazar as messengers. John Wheelock, taking advantage of the opportunity, and influenced probably by disappointment as to military advancement in New Hampshire, after conference with General Schuyler at Albany, wrote on the 1st of March to the New York Board of War, offering to raise three companies for that State. The proposition being submitted by R. R. Livingston to the New York Convention on the 5th of April, it was voted on the 8th that "whereas it is the interest of this State to avoid as much as possible calling the inhabitants from their occupations into the service, therefore resolved that John Wheelock be commissioned as major in the service of this State for three years, with Continental pay and rations, provided that in nine weeks from the date of his commission the three companies contain at least 150 men, including non-commissioned officers." The commissioned officers were to be nominated by him to the Convention, and a surgeon was to be allowed to the battalion. The companies were ordered to rendezvous at Fishkill to receive pay and clothing. They were promised Continental bounty, pay, and rations, and all who should find their own arms were to be paid for them on appraisal. All, including officers, were declared entitled to land in New York, under Continental rules.

Major Wheelock's commission (signed by his father's old friend William Smith) was issued April 9th, and \$2,000 was advanced to him, transmitted by the hand of his brother Eleazar, who was in attendance at the Convention in his behalf.¹

¹ Eleazar had left home in March, bearing a letter from his father to Schuyler, commending him for "a military position, which the general had encouraged him to expect; though it is not the business," said he, "which I should have preferred for him above all others for life. Yet as he appears to be turned for it, and inclined to it, I have suffered him to enter upon it, and hope he will merit your distinguishing favor and advancement in due time by his good conduct and behavior. He is a son I set much by, but is young, and has had little opportunity of acquaintance with mankind."

Eleazar, entering soon after upon recruiting service at home, displayed his zeal in a way that drew from his father the following Diary record, May 1st: "Was informed that Demming had enlisted under my son Eleazar, to serve in the standing army three years, without my knowledge; and very grievous, as it will prevent an excellent scholar in the end, and for the present me a laborer which I most depended on, and I think it a flagrant evidence of want of duty, affection, and tenderness in my son towards an aged and afflicted father, on the verge of the grave, and oppressed with a weight of cares enough for an angel."

But the same desperate scramble for recruits which troubled the other parties prevented the filling of this corps in the time limited, and by the last of May only a third of the minimum number had been secured. On Major Wheelock's request Samuel Payne, of Lebanon, was appointed captain, and Eleazar Wheelock, of Hanover, lieutenant, and the time was extended eight weeks. June 28th, the whole number was reported at seventy; July 17th, at eighty. Major Wheelock had in the mean time (July 3d) been sent to Philadelphia with letters informing the New York delegates "respecting the defection of the northeastern part of the State." He was now, owing to local jealousies attending this state of things, and to the agitation on the frontier caused by the advance of Burgoyne, discouraged as to completing his numbers, and asked the Council of Safety that the corps should be accepted as it was, or disbanded. Twelve officers having been already commissioned, the Council (Messrs. Jay, Livingston, and Gouverneur Morris) decided to accept the corps as it was, if half the officers would resign, and the rest of the corps report at Kingston within four weeks. Going to Fishkill after them, Major Wheelock met Captain Payne on the road with a beggarly remnant, the others having "dispersed, contrary to express orders." Captain Payne's return, dated Kingston, August 14th, shows but *eleven* enlisted men¹ remaining true, and these destitute of arms. They were,

¹ They were Sergeant Isaac Osborn (a student in College), Corporals Charles Tilden (of Lebanon), Gideon Rudd, and Titus Gould (both of Hanover); Privates Jeremiah Trescott, Elijah Harmon, and Benjamin Chase (all of Hanover, the last two from the College company), and Stephen Manning, Joseph Hodgkins, Nehemiah Closson, and Jeremiah Gilman. Besides Captain Payne and Lieutenant Wheelock, the six officers retained under the order of July included Capt. Comfort Sever, Capt. Abel Curtis, Lieut. John Payne, and Lieut. Aaron Storrs, all of Hanover, except Curtis, a College graduate of 1776, who came from Norwich. Of the "dispersed" members of the corps who failed to appear at Kingston, were the following, all from the College company in Hanover: Sergeants Asa Huntington (a hatter on College Plain) and Samuel Clap; Privates William Broughton, Benjamin Larrabee (Leatherbee), Jonathan Gillet, Zebina Curtis, Thomas Abner, John Stockbridge, and Peter (both Indians in Moor's School), and John Wilcocks, who figures as "servant to Captain Sever" (see N. H. State Papers, xii. 169; Correspondence, N. Y. Prov. Cong., ii. 500; Wheelock's MS. Diary; MS. Journal N. Y. State Convention; Jonathan Chase's Papers, N. H. Hist. Soc.). Of these Gillet, Abner, and Larrabee, with Lieutenant Payne, joined Colonel Warner's Vermont regiment, and Jonathan Powderly the Sixth Massachusetts. Samuel Payne removed to Randolph, Vt., in 1819, and died there in 1834, *at* ninety (Vermont Historical Gazette, ii. 1048).

however, accepted on an independent footing, paid five dollars bounty, and furnished with arms and twelve rounds of ammunition; but before the end of the month, the Council having declared Wheelock's corps disbanded ("the order of July 17th not having been complied with"), Payne's men unanimously refused to remain, and the whole affair came to an inglorious end.

The enterprise not only proved a lamentable failure, but besides the complications it produced at home, brought in the sequel still more serious trouble to its promoters. The months consumed by it were full of activity and alarm on the home frontier, and his neighbors thought very hard of Major Wheelock for drawing away men sorely needed at home, to aid a wealthy and populous community foreign to them and remote from danger. It was this that made his success so difficult and his men so uneasy. The result was that he lost favor with both parties, and was subjected to much ill-natured remark in both States. The delicacy of the situation was enhanced by the fact that any explanations tending to allay the irritation on one side would almost of necessity increase it on the other. To meet the case at home, Major Wheelock circulated a printed defence, in the form of a handbill, dated Kingston, Sept. 3, 1777, giving in detail the reasons of his action. But the ill-will of the New Yorkers was manifested, to Major Wheelock's injury and final defeat before Congress, in November, 1778, when he had occasion to appear in behalf of Colonel Bedel's regiment. At that time he defended himself in a long letter to Gouverneur Morris.

The last we hear of the matter is a certificate signed by the United Committees of Safety, in session at the College ("Dresden"), Feb. 1, 1779, exonerating Major Wheelock from the charge of want of integrity and fidelity, and giving him credit for prudence and patriotism in disbanding the corps when he did, "the situation being very critical, and an invasion expected."

It had chanced, indeed, that the period of Major Wheelock's enterprise was upon this frontier the most active of the war. Early in May, 1777, there was a call from the Committee of Safety at Exeter to raise as many of the militia as possible, and send to Ticonderoga with all speed. Josiah Bartlett, the chairman, wrote on the 3d to the several colonies on the Connecticut River, —

"By repeated expresses we are assured our enemies are moving on all quarters, and unless sudden reinforcements are thrown into Ticonderoga, that important post will be lost, and all your part of the country laid open to the merciless rage of our vindictive enemies. . . . I entreat you by all that's sacred to raise as many of your militia as possible, and march them to Ticonderoga. Reflect a moment on such a scene as this. Suppose your house in flames, your wife, your daughters ravished, your sons, your neighbors weltering in their blood, and the appearance of a few moments bringing you to the same fate. Consider these things, I say; tell them to your militia; and surely you may tell them with the greatest probability, unless they, together with the country in general, awake from the sleep they are now in."¹

The response was as prompt as the call was urgent. Under orders from General Folsom, 434 men marched from the regiments of Colonels Chase, Ashley, Bellows, and Hale, engaged for two months, and commanded by Colonel Chase himself, whose regiment furnished four companies, comprising 159 men. One of these companies was drawn from Hanover, and commanded by Capt. Edmund Freeman. Another, commanded by Captain Hendee, of the College company, was recruited from this and the neighboring towns, mostly by volunteers, but in some of the towns by draft. Lebanon furnished more of them than any other town, and the company is styled, in some of the returns, "the Lebanon company." The regiment was recognized as in service from May 7th, but we learn from Dr. Wheelock's Diary that the Hanover contingent set out on the 13th. He had the unpleasant circumstance by which to remember it that they broke down his gates in their march.

Setting out from the rendezvous at Cornish, and overtaking Colonel Scammel and a party at Cavendish, the regiment arrived at Ticonderoga on or before May 22d, and took station at Mount Independence. "The weekly returns of the 13th regiment of militia in the service of the United States at Mount Independence," for May 22d, show 35 men in Captain Freeman's² company, and 36 in Captain Hendee's. On the 31st,

¹ N. H. State Papers, viii. 55r.

² Captain Freeman's company were: lieutenant, David Warren; ensign, Nathaniel Wright; sergeants, James Murch, Isaac Walbridge, Ezekiel Wales, Thomas Page; corporals, Nathan West, Samuel Wright, Gideon Smith, Titus Woodward; privates, David Ames, Thaddeus Ames, Isaac Bridgman, Jonathan Curtiss, Josiah Clark, Benjamin Davis, Adam Durkee, Timothy Durkee, Russell Freeman, Eleazar Goodrich, David Hase, Joshua Harris, Benjamin Hatch, Jonas Ketcham, Daniel

Captain Hendee reports 44 men.¹ During the next week a corporal and six privates were sent from Freeman's company to Lake George.

The danger being in appearance past, the regiment was discharged, according to the official rolls, on the 18th of June, arriving home on the 20th. Some of the men returned a few days earlier, and it would appear that some remained later. Timothy Owen, of Hendee's company (then of Enfield, afterward of Lebanon and Hanover), states in his pension application that he remained at Ticonderoga until it was evacuated, and retreated with the army to Skeensborough in bateaux.

Just a week after the companies returned home the alarm was again sounded, and a general call made. Colonel Chase's regiment gathered once more on the 27th of June, under command of Major Francis Smith, the colonel himself being ill with bilious colic. Hanover sent one company, under Captain Freeman, which marched to Cornish, and crossed the river, when they with the rest of the militia were ordered back, in obedience to despatches received from Colonel Bellows, who was at Ticonderoga, and reported the danger passed. They reached home again on the 3d of July, and on the 4th came a repetition of the alarm, still more urgent, announcing that the ships and gunboats of the enemy had approached Ticonderoga as near as the Three-mile Point, and that an attack was hourly expected. The Hanover company responded still again with its usual promptness, though with different officers, and, for the most part, different men. They took the same route as the others, but this time pushed on some twenty miles farther than before, until, near Cavendish, they met Colonel Bellows and his men retreating,

Kendrick, Joseph Kinney, Nathaniel Lord, Nathaniel Miner, Robert Mason, Moses Person, Dan Parker, Russell Smith, Silas Tenney, Solomon Trescott, Deliverance Woodward, Jehiel Woodward, Nathaniel Woodward, and perhaps Sylvanus Freeman.

¹ Captain Hendee had for company officers: lieutenant, Seth Martin; chaplain, Isaiah Potter; and adjutant, William Dana, all of Lebanon, and Ensign Simeon Dewey, of Hanover. Of four sergeants and four corporals, three of each were from Lebanon, and one of each — viz., Sergeant Henry Woodward and Corporal Joseph Loveland — from Hanover. Of the privates, we recognize as Hanover men, Samuel McClure, Eleazar Woodward, and Charles Sexton, and doubtfully several more; also Timothy Owen and Barnabas Perkins, both of whom became residents of Hanover soon after (Jonathan Chase MS., pp. 85, 86; N. H. State Papers, xv. 17).

Ticonderoga having fallen on the 6th. Turning back, our men reached home on the 11th, wearied out and discouraged.¹

The unexpected success of the enemy at Ticonderoga threw the people on the frontiers into serious apprehension of an advance upon the valley of the Connecticut. These fears Burgoyne took care to foster by sending out detachments to make a show of such a purpose, and by circulating proclamations and handbills, which found their way even as far as the Connecticut valley.² Colonel Olcott summoned the Committees of Safety to meet at Windsor by an express to the towns as follows: —

NORWICH, July 12, 1777.

On my return from Ticonderoga I was desired by Colonel Bellows, Major Bellows, and sundry other gentlemen to appear to a Convention at Windsor to call a general meeting from those towns lying near Connecticut River which are exposed to the ravages of the enemy. On my arrival at Windsor, the Convention was broken up, and as General Bailey, to whom the matter was referred, is gone to Exeter, I am desired by sundry gentlemen and others in those towns where the inhabitants esteem themselves imminently exposed, to request a general meeting of the Committees of Safety and military officers from Cohos to Walpole on each side of the river, to be held at the Meeting-House in Windsor the 16th instant, at nine o'clock A. M., to con-

¹ N. H. State Papers, viii. 613, 616, 643; xv. 38; Adj.-Gen. Rep., 1866, ii. 309; MS. Pension Affidavits.

Following are the rolls of the Hanover companies on the alarm of June 27, in service to July 3. *Captain* — Edmund Freeman. *Lieutenant* — Jonathan Freeman. *Ensign* — Thomas Baldwin. *Sergeants* — Samuel Slade, Samuel Kendrick. *Corporals* — James Murch, Timothy Fisher, Stephen Benton. *Drummer* — David Woodward, Jr.

Privates — Aaron Storrs, Joseph Vincent, Charles Sexton, David Chandler, Samuel Haze, Eleazer Hill, David Eaton, Joseph Curtis, Joshua Ketcham, Bezaleel Davis, David Tenney, John Durkee, John Wright, Deliverance Woodward, William Chandler, Stephen Murch, Lemuel Dow, Zadock Brown, Jonathan Ball, Eldad Taylor, Elijah Smith, Russell Freeman, John Ordway, John Tenney, John Bridgman, Gideon Smith, Jr., John Day, John Jones, John Scofield, Samuel Lathrop.

On the last call, in service from July 4th to 11th, —

Captain — David Woodward. *Lieutenant* — Thomas Durkee. *Ensign* — Nathaniel Wright. *Sergeant* — Gideon Smith. *Corporals* — John Bridgman, Moody Freeman.

Privates — Joseph Vincent, Charles Sexton, Joseph Curtiss, Bezaleel Davis, Stephen Murch, Jonathan Ball, William Richardson, David Huggins, Joshua Cate, Robert Mason, Delano Wright, David Hayes, Benjamin Hatch, Silas Tenney, John Pender, Isaac Bridgman, Elisha Smith, Solomon Trescott, John Wright, Jonathan Freeman (N. H. State Papers, xv. 38).

Dr. Joseph Lewis, of Norwich, acted as regimental surgeon.

² N. H. State Papers, vii. 644; Memoirs of Stark, p. 51.

cert and direct the execution of such measures as may be judged expedient for the quiet & safety of the inhabitants on this Frontier.

PETER OLCOTT.¹

It was evidently a large and important assemblage. Of its proceedings only this fragment, from the records of Plainfield, is preserved: —

“Whereas this meeting voted that the water carriages be not employed any way that shall be inimical to the American States, therefore, to prevent the same, be it Recommended to the Committees, in conjunction with Commissioned Officers, to furnish sentrys to secure the passes at publick ferrys and other places that such Committees shall think necessary for the safety of the inhabitants.”

There is preserved, however, a communication of considerable length, made to the Convention by Dr. Wheelock, recommending the appointment of a day of prayer, the repression of vice and profaneness, a revival of Christian spirit among the churches, and a concert of prayer, besides a practical exertion in every rational mode for self-protection. As it is too long to insert in full, an extract will suffice: —

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, July 15, 1777.

To the Military Officers, Committees, etc., from the several infant Settlements in this vicinity, at their Voluntary Meeting proposed to be to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, at Windsor, on Connt. River, in the new-formed State to be called and known by the name of Vermont.

MOST RESPECTED GENTLEMEN, — I have this moment heard that proclamations from General Burgoyne are posted up (likely by his secret emissaries), calculated to terrify our defenceless inhabitants and compel them to a submission to ministerial power by threatening of an army of thousands of savages, which he pretends to be at his beck to lay us in ruins, and leaves no alternative but submission or destruction by their savage and merciless hands; and that numbers, it is feared, are or will be so intimidated as that for the safety of themselves and families they will subject both to slavery the rather than venture the consequences.

If this report be true (for I have not seen the proclamation), I have no need of any apology for thus meddling out of character, but only to refer you to the genuine effects of that indignation which is inspired in every Christian breast by such proceedings of a servant of a Christian king, and under the countenance and direction of a Christian ministry toward their Christian brethren, who have ever been from the first (and that with every mark and expression of duty, loyalty, and affection) attached to the person and government of their Sovereign; and nothing could detach them less than that which they have already shown, and are ready yet farther, if needful, to show, was dearer to them than life itself, viz., their freedom from abject slavery.

¹ Plainfield MS. Town Records.

And as I am personally, and I think as nearly, concerned in this matter as any of you, I trust you will not be displeased with me for pointing out a course to be immediately and unanimously taken by us, which will effectually secure us and ours from all these mischiefs which we fear.

First. We are all agreed that God sitteth upon these floods, and rebukes them when and overrules them as he pleases. . . .

2d. What I then advise you, my dear Brethren and Friends, to, and recommend it as a main thing in the interesting affairs which you now meet to consult upon, and which I earnestly desire may be by you unanimously and warmly recommended to your constituents in all these towns, as that which is practicable, easy, and will effectually secure us from the present impending evils, viz., that they forthwith take a course to interest the great name of our God in our cause, and when that is done we are safe enough; . . . and the steps which I think to be plainly rational and Scriptural and effectual for the attaining of this are such as these:—

1. That you recommend to your constituents to devote a time for solemn prayer and supplication, in which to confess our sins and spread our distress before God. . . .

4. That you recommend it to all in authority, civil, military, and religious, and to all men of influence in your towns, that they do with all their united force set up a standard against all vice, profaneness, and immorality of every kind. . . .

5. That we all look to God for counsel and direction, and exert ourselves like men in the prosecution of the most likely, natural, and rational means and methods for our safety. To be negligent and slothful in this will prove that what we may call faith and hope in God is only presumption.

And we look to you, dear sirs, to direct as to these things: how every man shall be furnished with arms, ammunition, etc.; what scouts, what forces, etc., here and there; what aids to request from abroad; what posts to ride to give intelligence from time to time; and how the men and days of their riding may be so mutilated [*sic*] and diversified as most effectually to secure them from being waylaid and suffering mischief from secret enemies, etc., etc. In all which your own prudence under God will be your guide. . . .

I only beg leave to add that I have made several attempts to furnish myself and School with arms and ammunition for defence against the savages, but have not yet been able to do it; and will it be unreasonable to desire the country to lend them to the School, since the most or many of them are unable to provide for themselves? I apprehend, if the danger should appear great, but few will think it their duty to tarry in the country thus defenceless, to be massacred by such merciless hounds at pleasure.

That God would be present in your meeting, with all needful counsel, light, and influence, is the hearty prayer of, dear sirs, your brother and companion in these tribulations,

ELEAZAR WHEELLOCK.

Three days later occurred, after a year of comparative local security, the second great alarm of the war. It was spread

during the night of July 19th by a messenger bearing the following open letter, addressed to General Bayley, of Newbury:¹—

HARTFORD [VT.], July 19, 1777.

SIR,—I have this moment rec^d intelligence from Otter Creek of the motions of the Enemy; viz., That yesterday they were at Rutland, and this day they were to be at White's, nine miles this side, with an intent to march to No. 4; also another detachment to march to Cohos. This intelligence comes by way of Windsor to me. I have ordered to raise the militia in these parts. We have sent to Colonel Marsh, who likely will also send to you. I still wait your orders, though I shall march what men I can raise to oppose the enemy.

In haste, I am, etc.,

JOEL MATTHEWS.

From Hanover a general call for assistance was instantly sent out, to the eastward, by two of the College students.

HANOVER, midnight, Saturday night, July 19, 1777.

To the Committees, Military Officers, and Good People in the State of New Hampshire.

Post called on me this moment with the letter of which the above is a copy. As you regard the safety of this Frontier, for God's sake pray come forward without delay. The bearers, Messrs. Wood and Longfellow, are sent Express for that purpose. Please forward them with despatch.

BEZ. WOODWARD, *Clk.*

Com^{tee} of Safety for Hanover.

Assembl^t at Exeter are earnestly requested to send forw^d arms & ammunition for People in this Country, as well as men. Capt. Storrs return^d home this day.

BEZA. WOODWARD, *Clk.*

Colonel Chase being still very ill, Major Smith, on the following day, wrote further to the Exeter committee that he had certain intelligence that a body of the enemy were advanced nine miles east of Otter Creek, judged to be about three thousand strong; that it was as yet uncertain what route they intended to take, but that it was generally conceived that their object was to make a lodgment somewhere on Connecticut River. He urged again the need of arms and ammunition, and the deposit of proper stores at Charlestown, Lebanon, Han-

¹ N. H. State Papers, vii 253; viii. 642-64.

This alarm was a part of Burgoyne's plan. See his later secret orders to Colonel Baum, August 9. "You will use all possible means to make the enemy believe that you are the advanced corps of the army, and that it is intended to pass the Conn. River on the route to Boston" (Memoirs of Stark, pp. 51, 55).

over, and Haverhill. This letter was sent by the hand of Lieut. Jonathan Freeman, of Hanover, with directions to lay the case before the committee, and prosecute such measures as they should direct.

The crisis gave rise to great uneasiness in the College. Many fled, and it was again feared that the College must suspend; but that was happily avoided.

The alarm was intensified by urgent calls for help from Stafford and Thetford (Vt.). About thirty well-known Tories from those towns, comprising near half the effective men in them, having on the 20th set off to join the "Regulars," Colonel Hurd wrote to President Weare:—

"This is esteemed an alarming circumstance, as we apprehend these people, who have been known to be Tories some time past,¹ have held correspondence with the Regular Army, and know their designs of marching in towards this river; so that now we may most certainly expect a visit from them, if our people do not muster strong enough to repel them, which we hope will be the case; for by the reports we have, the whole country appears to be highly exasperated since the unfortunate and unexpected loss of Ticonderoga and its dependencies. The people in this quarter are most of them, we trust, spirited to exert themselves all in their power, but are much in want of good fire-arms."

By this desertion some twenty families were left exposed and panic struck, and it was necessary to remove them forthwith across the river to Lyme, with about four hundred head of cattle and sheep.

In the mean time the alarm, in its early stages, reaching Exeter, the Legislature, convened July 17, held a session of three days, and ordered out the militia in two brigades, under command of Colonel Whipple and General Stark. The orders

¹ Exemplified by the following from a manuscript record in the possession of the writer. The spelling is mostly reformed.

THEADFORD, March 15th, 1776.

At a meeting of the Committee of the Towns in the County of Gloucester assembled. Jacob Bayley, Esq., President. First chose Capt. Peter Olcott, clerk. Then came into the following resolves, viz., That W^m Pinok [and twenty others named] subscribe an oath form^d by us in favor of America, and all those that shall subscribe to said oath are to be rec^d into favour of the Sons of Liberty; & those that don't comply & subscribe are to be decreed as enemies to the American Cause, & are to be treated in the following manner (viz.): They are to be stripped of all warlike weapons, and are to be under the inspection of the committees of the Towns to which they belong, and they are not to hold any correspondence with any that are deemed as Tories.

required one fourth of the militia in this section to be drafted for two months, to rendezvous at Charlestown. The field officers of the four upper regiments (Bellows', Chase's, Morey's, and Hobart's) met at Lebanon July 25,¹ made arrangements for raising the battalion required of them, and elected the necessary officers. Colonel Hobart was chosen to command, and Wheelock's grandson, Davenport Phelps, was made quartermaster. This regiment comprised five companies, the fifth being commanded by Captain Hendee,² of Hanover, and filled up to the number of sixty-two by volunteers from Hanover and neighboring towns. They marched forthwith, and were joined to General Stark's brigade.

Colonel Hobart and his men distinguished themselves at the battle of Bennington, August 16th, leading the attack on the Tory breastwork. They next joined General Gates at Saratoga; but their time being about to expire, they were unwilling to remain, though urged to do so by General Gates, and were discharged September 18th, the day before the first battle, but as of September 26th, the time of reaching home, having then been in service sixty-four days.³

Before Captain Hendee's men reached home, there came another urgent call from General Gates.

CAMP AT BEMUS'S HEIGHTS, Sept. 17, 1777.

I have recd. certain intelligence that General Burgoyne has caused Skeensborough, Fort Ann, Fort George, and Fort Edward, the post he lately occupied to the southward of Lake George and Skeensborough, to be evacuated, and the Artillery, Stores, and provisions to be brought

¹ Jonathan Chase MS., N. H. Hist. Soc., p. 67.

² The following members of Captain Hendee's company are understood to have been from Hanover: Lieut. Joseph Smith, Lieut. Daniel Chase, Abel Bridgman, Nathaniel Babbitt, Jonas Ketcham, Robert Mason, Nathaniel Mason, Daniel Taylor, Medad Taylor, Reuben Tenney, Russell Mason (sergeant), Titus Woodward, Ezekiel Parker, Elisha (or Elijah) Bridgman (corporal). Gideon Bridgman served as a substitute for his brother Abel one month at Cavendish, and for one Abel Dorman in Captain Wells's company in a Connecticut regiment just before the battle of September 18. He was discharged on account of sickness three days before Burgoyne surrendered. Augustine Hebard, a graduate of the College in the class of 1772, was chaplain of the regiment.

An iron cannon, which immemorial tradition assures us was captured from the British at Bennington, was preserved at Hanover down to about 1870. We surmise that it was brought home by Captain Hendee at this time.

³ See Hist. of Hollis, N.H.; N. H. Adj.-Gen.'s Report, 1866, ii. 320; MS. Pension Affidavit of B. Davis; Memoirs of General Stark, p. 73.

to his army, now at Van Vister's Mills, seven miles north of this camp, except some heavy cannon, which are carried to the five-mile island in Lake George. From this it is evident the General designs to risque all upon one rash stroke. It is therefore the indispensable duty of all concerned to exert themselves in reinforcing this army without one moment's delay. The militia from every part should be ordered here with all possible expedition.

I am, sir, Your Obedient humble Servt.,

HORATIO GATES.

To the Honorable the Chairman of the Committee of Bennington, to be forwarded to the Committees of the eastward thereof.

On the receipt of this the committees met, and took the following action: —

LEBANON, Sept. 21, 1777.

At a meeting of the Committees of Safety of several towns on Connecticut River, — viz., Cornish, Lebanon, Plainfield, and Hanover, — the following votes were passed, viz., That Deacon Estabrook be Moderator of said meeting.

That John Wheelock be Clerk.

Voted that the several Committees use their utmost influence to incurage as many able Bodied men as can possibly be spared to march forthwith to reinforce General Gates' army in this important crisis.

Voted that whatever number of men shall turn out for the purpose aforesaid from the towns in Col. Chase's Regiment shall have the liberty to chuse proper officers to their company or companies from amongst themselves.

Voted that all that shall engage as aforesaid shall repair to Col. Chase's by Wednesday night.

Voted that Lieut.-Col. Elisha Payne¹ take the command of the party belonging to Col. Chase's Regiment that shall engage as aforesaid.

Voted that said meeting be dissolved.²

Colonel Chase's regiment marched from Cornish upon this summons, September 26 (the same day that Captain Hendee's company reached home), and joined the brigade of Colonel Whipple. Two of Colonel Chase's companies were officered from Hanover, and made up largely of Hanover men. The first, of about fifty men, commanded by Capt. Edmund Freeman, and made up from East Hanover and Lebanon, left home Sept. 22d; and the second, comprising about twelve men from the College district, under command of Capt. John Wheelock,

¹ Colonel Payne the next day informed the chairman that he was unable to go on account of sickness, and that he did not think that any more men could be spared from Cardigan.

² Jonathan Chase's Papers, pp. 17, 18.

marched on the 24th, and joined the regiment the next day. From the rendezvous at Cornish, as it appears, they went to Number Four or to Walpole, where they crossed the river and struck out for the Hudson.¹ They were posted successively at various points, — Pawlet, White Creek, and Tift's Mills; but finally along the east side of the Hudson, near the mouth of the Battenkill. At that point they were, with the camp of the New Hampshire militia, immediately opposite General Bur-

¹ Until October 4th the headquarters appear to have been at Pawlet Vt.

A return of Captain Freeman's company, dated at headquarters, Pawlet, October 3d, shows there present a total of thirty-nine men.

On October 4th General Orders were issued by General Bayley, at Pawlet, to Colonel Chase to march to White Creek, N. Y., and await orders.

Benjamin Davis, of Captain Freeman's company, testified in his pension application that he was in several skirmishes, but no battle. David Tenney, of the same company, says he was present at the surrender of Burgoyne.

A return made by "Major" John Wheelock, Oct. 5, 1777, at headquarters, White Creek, shows ten then present in his company; viz., a captain, one sergeant, and eight privates. On the 8th they were at Battenkill (Jonathan Chase MS., pp. 34, 146).

"The following is a true account of the Horses, provisions, and men who went to bring horses back, together with their expenses, by us provided for that part of Col: Chase's Reg't of Militia who went out of Capt. Freeman's Company in Hanover to the assistance of Gen'l Gates, Sept. 28, 1777, and does not include the provisions which was carried by individuals in said Company for the use on this march.

Horses of the following persons from

Hanover to Tift's Mills;

viz, Edm'd Freeman's,

Edw'd Smith's,

Nath'l Wright's,

Nathan West's,

Will'm Dewey's,

Timo. Smith's,

John Bridgman's,

Taxhall Cleaveland's,

John Wright, Jun'r,

Joseph Curtiss's,

Eleazer Hill's.

To flour, lbs. 504.

To Cash paid for the Expenses of 11 Horses to Saratoga, and their return back of 10 Horses, £12 10s. 6d.

To Eleazer Hill's time and his own expense to saratoga to bring back Horses, 15 Days.

To Eleazer Hill's Horse lost, supposed to be killed going in a Waggon from Saratoga to fort Edward, taken by the General's order, apprizd at 15s.

To John Bridgman's Bridle lost, apprizd at 5s.

To Zadoc Brown, with 6 horses, to Cornish, 2 Days.

To Abijah Durkee, with 4 horses, to Cornish, 2 Days.

EDM'D FREEMAN,

NATHANIEL WRIGHT.

Select Men of Hanover.

Attest,

Capt. Wheelock was allowed for four horses 135 miles, £12.

goyne's army. Colonel Chase was in the centre, with Colonel Warner on the right and Colonel Bellows on the left. When the boats with Burgoyne's baggage came up the river, they had a skirmish in which they captured several boats. One man exchanged shots daily with the enemy across the river. They did not generally participate in the battle (October 7th), though a portion of them went on to Saratoga and were present at the surrender, October 17th. They were discharged October 19th, and returned in a sad condition, with shoes and stockings in tatters, over frozen ground covered with snow.¹

Captain House's company, in Colonel Cilley's regiment, was present at Saratoga and suffered much. All the Hanover men, but one or two, were wounded, some of them fatally. In the first battle of Bemis Heights (September 19th), Lieut. James Gould was shot through the body, but recovered after a lingering confinement. Dr. John Crane, of Hanover, was also there as surgeon of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment.

In the midst of these excitements matters at home went by no means smoothly with the College. The most serious of the complications were those arising between the College and the town because of the small-pox, an account of which will be given in another place. But no little anxiety was occasioned by the recall late in the autumn of the St. Francis boys, through the

¹ See MS. pension affidavits; also N. H. State Papers, vii. 150; Centennial Celebration of N. Y. p. 191. Following are the Hanover names: Capt. Edmund Freeman, Ensign Nathaniel Wright (joined the regiment with a detachment, October 2) *Sergeants*: William Woodward, Henry Woodward, Gideon Smith (returned, sick, September 29), Samuel Kendrick (returned October 6, sick). *Corporals*: William Dewey (returned October 7, with horses), Sylvanus Freeman. *Privates*: Thomas Brown, Stephen Benton, David Chandler, William Chandler, Jonathan Curtice, Joseph Curtice, Benjamin Davis, Heman Durkee, John Durkee, Lemuel Dow, Eleazar Hill, Daniel Kendrick (returned, sick, October 6), Nathaniel Lord, Stephen Murch, Gideon Smith (returned September 28, sick), Elijah Smith, Elisha Smith, David Tenney, Silas Tenney, David Wright, David Woodward, Jehiel Woodward.

The Lebanon detachment consisted of twenty-five men, led by Lieuts. Abel Lyman and Nathaniel Hall, William Dana, adjutant, and Samuel Paine, quartermaster. The Hanover men were credited with a march of 135 miles both ways.

The second company comprised Capt. John Wheelock, Sergt. Josiah Kilburn (a student of the class of 1778); *Privates*: Comfort Sever, James Wheelock, Samuel Brigham (a student of the class of 1779), Isaac Osborne (ditto), Sewall Chapin (ditto), Charles Tilden, Lewis Vincent (an Indian of the class of 1781, left the regiment at Battenkill, October 8), George Knox (a mulatto), John Wilcox, Moses Vinson, David Stockwell.

influence of the popish priests. Wheelock records in his Diary:—

“Oct. 27, 1777,—Col^o Beadle [Bedel] came to this place with Capt. Traverse, of St. Francis, and Joseph’s,¹ *i. e.* great Francis’, father, & several others on their way to Albany. I soon heard that orders were soon given that all the boys from that town should go home. They none of them said a word to me. I sent out to Francis’ father; he came in, & Col^o [Beadle] with him,—appeared not with y^e open [face] as heretofore. Joseph² & Montuit concluded if possible to stay; accordingly went up to Col Beadle’s to visit their friends who were left there. They returned after two days. Montuit resolved to go home. Anthony³ & Benedict⁴ discover an ugly Temper; went to Exeter, told him we would not let them have victuals to eat,—he gave them out of compassion for several days before I heard of it,—and many other lies, which looked like seeking an occasion. I told them they should go home and never live here again.

“November 6.—This morning Anthony, Benedict & Montuit set out for St. Francis. I gave each of them a bible, catechism, spelling book, &c.

“There seems to be much reason to believe that Captain Traverse⁵ has inspired prejudices in the minds of the parents of these boys, and how friendly Col. Beadle is to them or the United States I know not.”

Later in the same month orders,⁶ dated November 15, arrived by the hand of Major Whitcomb from General Gates to Colonel Bedel to raise a regiment of five hundred men, at pay and rations double the usual rates, for a secret expedition into Canada. This seems to have been one of the schemes of the “Conway Cabal,” and to have been set on foot without Washington’s knowledge. The officers were mustered from the date of the orders, with Continental commissions. The command of the expedition was, December 3, assigned to General Stark, but in January transferred to Lafayette. General Gates himself particularly designated Whitcomb to be major of the regiment, and John Wheelock to be lieutenant-colonel, and directed that to them alone should the object of the expedition be disclosed.⁷ In the beginning of December Lieutenant-Colonel Wheelock waited again upon Gates, and the President transmitted by his hand the following letter:—

¹ See *ante*, p. 316.

² See *ante*, p. 316.

³ See *ante*, p. 316.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 316.

⁵ Capt. Joseph Traverse, or Traversie, an Indian of St. Francis employed by Colonel Bedel in scouting from Haverhill.

⁶ N H State Papers, xvii. 150.

⁷ See p. 392.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, 2 Dec^r, 1777.

SIR, — May it please your Excellency, these come by my son, whom I humbly recommend to your notice, and whose sudden determination on the present journey allows me but a minute to congratulate your Excellence on the signal smiles of Heaven on your late successful military operations, and the great honor God has conferred upon you thereby; and also to bespeak a renewed instance of your favor, if it shall lie in your way, towards a number of the Indian Charity boys in my School, who have already suffered much, and are like to suffer more, for want of clothing; but for fear of intruding upon you by mentioning particulars, I have desired my son to take a favorable opportunity to supply that defect in my letter by giving you an account thereof, and soliciting your charity therein.

That God may continue his smiles upon your future military designs, and preserve your important life in safety, is the daily prayer of your Excellency's most obedient & most humble servant,

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

GENERAL GATES.

Captain House and his company were now in camp at Valley Forge; Dr. Crane was also there. The following letters of his to Wheelock are worthy of preservation: —

VALLEY FORGE, 15 Miles from Philadelphia,
January 6, 1778.

REVEREND SIR, — I am now in General Washington's camp, employed as a surgeon in Col. Vose's regiment, Gen. Glover's brigade, Massachusetts forces. We have had no battle of any consequence since I have been with y^e army. I am this minute informed some of our people took a ship or two in the Delaware, by reason of their being blocked up with the ice, — they say of great consequence, with a large quantity of clothing on board. Perhaps you would be glad to know in what manner we are disposed of in y^e winter campaign. We are situated on a large hill of woods in little log huts. Y^e camp is about 3 miles in length, and half a mile wide, — a most grand parade. His Excellency Gen. Washington is much beloved by all ranks. I am in great hopes some way will turn up wherein I may be of service to our College. I am appointed by our field officers to wait on y^e Congress on some business of y^e regiment.

Please to deliver y^e enclosed to my wife. Pray be a father to her. I ask an interest in your prayers for me & family in my absence. Pray will you consent to correspond with me. I am, reverend sir, with great respect, your very humble servant,

JOHN CRANE.

N. B. — I am obliged to write under great disadvantages, — ask your pardon.

January, 1778.

REVEREND SIR, — I am not willing to worry your patience with so little consequence. You are the best medium of conveyance of letters to my wife. This I hope will answer as an apology. As to anything public, I do not know of anything turned up to view. I informed you in my other letter

of a valuable prize fell into our hands. Several of y^e enemy's ships blew a ground in y^e Delaware, with a great quantity of clothing, &c. The particulars you have or will have in the papers. Our army is very healthy. I have the care of one brigade, and not one has died out of it since I have had the care of it. In this day's return there is but eight subjects for the hospital. Our brigade consists of about 13 hundred now on the ground. I am informed this Southern army consists of about 20 thousand. It is almost too incredible to express what a sight of provision & forage is consumed in this camp. There is not less than two thousand horses in this camp. All the field officers & surgeons are allowed to keep each of them one on public forage, as well as many others. Provision of all kinds are exceeding dear. The article of potatoes is 2 dollars per bushel, & other things equivalent.

The State of Pennsylvania, where the army now is, by far the major part tories, or them sort of creatures called neuters. It abounds with them proud fariceal quakers, who say that for conscience sake they cannot shed human blood, yet do all the mischief they can behind the curtain. They are abominated and rejected by both armies. Everything relative to the movements of the army is kept exceeding *inter noce*. If should [know of] any movements to be made, I have no right to mention it by letter or any other way. While I am writing this, intelligence is arrived to camp of a skirmish happened last night between 6 of our light horse & upward of one hundred of the enemy's horse, that came out to take this little party. The action happened in the night. Our people secured themselves in a stone house & defended themselves. The enemy retreated; left 2 killed, 5 wounded so bad they could not take them away. Pray be so good as to write me. If you could superscribe a letter, as I have directed my wife, it will reach me undoubtedly. I am, reverend sir, your very humble serv^t, JOHN CRANE.

N. B.—I told you our army consisted of about 20 thousand, but there is near one quarter part on furlough; the other quarter have no shoes to their feet at this inclement season of the year. The provisions we draw consist of Beef & flour only.

Early in March Bedel's regiment was ready, with a large number of Indians; but on the very day fixed to set out, orders for a stay came from General Conway, and the expedition was eventually abandoned. Lafayette wrote Colonel Bedel, on March 4th, expressing regret at the suspension of the expedition, and directing Bedel to keep the regiment together on the ordinary footing and engage it in scouting the frontier. The construction put upon this order by Colonel Bedel afterward gave rise to serious difficulties. The regiment was disbanded under the old enlistment, March 31st, and mustered anew for a year under orders dated April 1st.¹

¹ See N. H. Adjutant-General's Report, 1866; Memoirs of General Stark, pp. 77, 142, 155, 199; Bedel Papers (N. H. Hist. Soc.), printed in N. H. State Papers, vol. xvii.; MS. letter of Moody Bedel, Wheelock MS.

Copy of orders received from the Hon^{ble} Maj.-Gen^l the Marquis de La Fayette to raise a regiment for the defence of the frontiers on and adjacent to Ct. River; also, to build a fort and garrison on the same, and to serve as scouting parties on said frontiers. Said regiment to consist of 520 men. Each company to consist of 65 men, including commissioned officers, — the men to be engaged for a twelve month from this date. They will be entitled to every advantage as continental soldiers, such as pay, clothing, &c. Every man to equip himself with a good gun, powder-horn, & bullet-pouch; if lost or damaged in service, to be paid for; also, he to be paid for the use of the same. You will be as expeditious as possible in raising the men. The head-quarters will be at Haverhill. — For which this is your sufficient warrant. Given under my hand at Haverhill, the 1st day of April, 1778.

T. BEDEL, *Colonel*.

Besides Lieutenant-Colonel Wheelock, Hanover furnished a surgeon, Dr. George Eager, and several enlisted men, few of whose names are preserved.¹ The most prominent among them was Wheelock's Indian scholar, Lewis Vincent, who did excellent service as a scout and interpreter. Two of Vincent's expeditions are particularly mentioned. The first was among the Micmac Indians in February, from which he brought intelligence of value; and a few weeks later, with six Indians under his command, he was sent out by direction of the commanding officer at Albany to visit the Penobscots. Finding the Penobscots disposed to be friendly, Vincent induced them to send three chiefs to visit the general at Albany. Vincent's party left home the last of March, and returned late in June. We find him at Albany making his report, June 26th.²

From representations by Ethan Allen and others, General Stark, in May, conceived a prejudice against Bedel's corps, and wrote from Albany to General Gates (June 2d), urging him to send a Continental officer to muster them and set them to work: —

"It is much doubted [he says] whether he [Colonel Bedel] has half the number enlisted which he returns. Agreeably to your order, I have sent for

¹ We find in Capt. Seth Wheeler's company Asahel Hurlbutt, Abel Hurlbutt, Daniel Hurlbutt, John Larabee; in Capt. Solomon Cushman's company Charles Tilden, sergeant, Elisha Brown, Elijah Baldwin; in Capt. Josiah Taylor's company, John Stockbridge.

² See Memoirs of Stark, p. 199; Bedel MS., N. H. Hist. Soc. Colonel Bedel wrote General Gates, March 31, 1779, that Vincent was "a collegian who had been a faithful subject to the United States as an interpreter and scout," and deserved reward.

100 of them to come to this place; but I think it would be best to send for them all, and then we shall find out the iniquity, if any there be. He has drawn for a regiment last winter, to go to St. Johns, double pay and rations, and none of them ever left their homes (and whether any of them were enlisted or not is uncertain), to the amount of \$1,400, and now he is uneasy because he is not paid for his regiment, of which no man knows where it is. I think it the duty of every lover of his country to endeavor to find out such people, which without ordering them somewhere else is impossible, for he can muster all the inhabitants, and as soon as they are mustered they go to their own business again, & cheat the Continent of their wages & provisions."

Gates immediately (June 6 and 8) despatched an officer to Coos and confirmed the order for a hundred men of the regiment, without delay, to join Stark at Albany.¹ The scandal was propagated by Allen and the others in retaliation for the prominence of Bedel and the rest in the political agitations on the "New Hampshire Grants." A letter from President Weare to the New Hampshire delegates at Philadelphia, Aug. 19, 1778, discloses their animus:—

"I must not omit to let you know [says he] that Col. Timothy Bedel, who has received great sums of money from Congress and their generals, under pretence of keeping some companies last winter, and now a regiment, for the defence of that northern frontier, or to be in readiness for marching into Canada (though very little service has been done, as I am informed), by influence of the money and his command has occasioned a great share in the disorders in those towns. 'T is wished by the more sober solid people in that quarter he could be removed for some other command, if he must be kept in pay and employed." ²

The following letter from Stark to Chittenden shows still further how the military situation was affected by the political complications:—

ALBANY, 21st June, 1778.

SIR,—I have heard with astonishment that your State have been entering into covenant with some upstarts belonging to the State of N. Hampshire to come over and join with you. I am not a little surprised at such unwarranted conduct. You must be very sensible it is not in your power to enhance States [or] part of States without the gen^l consent of the United States; and I can assure you I think such conduct very unwarrantable. You are not only trying to breed disturbance in the State of N. Hampshire, but you may rely upon it, it will run like a raging torrent throughout the whole United States. Such conduct cannot be vindicated by any lover of his country, and it will put me under the disagreeable necessity of withdrawing the troops

¹ Memoirs of Stark, pp. 165-6, etc.; N. H. State Papers, xvii. 232.

² Slade's Vt. State Papers, p. 90.

and Continental stores from your State, and leave you to your own independence, for it plainly appears your motives are to destroy the liberties of America. However, I have not the least doubt they will prove abortive, and your present plans confounded. If you think to break the union which has hitherto prevailed in the States I am sensible you will be mistaken. It must certainly give me pain to see your quarters abandoned, but justice forbids me to stand by you any longer, and without that lust is broke, the troops of consequence will be immediately drawn off. I shall wait your answer with impatience. I am, &c.,

JOHN STARK.

N. B. — Would take it as a favor you would send me the names of the petitioners that want to join with you from N. Hampshire, and the towns they belong to, in order to transmit to State.

GOVERNOR CHITTENDEN¹

General Gates's further orders, however, are evidence that *his* confidence was still unshaken. He wrote to Colonel Bedel at Haverhill from Peekskill, June 26, 1778: "Traversie has my directions to acquaint you with a message I have sent by him. You will send me a full answer in writing by the first safe hand that leaves Co'os." This was the substance of the message:

"General Gates ordered me to tell Colonel Bedel to choose a proper person for a pilot to find out a road to St Francois. I was to consult with them about the same, when the road is looked out, to send Lieut.-Colonel Wheelock, *and no other person*, with the proceedings. To be done with the utmost despatch. Colonel Hazen was sent for to deliver the message, as Genl Gates did not speak good French. Genl Gates also told me not to inform Generals Schuyler or Stark of the same, on pain of punishment. Genl Gates in person would march this way with the troops. Genl Gates upon his arrival at St. Francois would divide the army into two divisions, and would be in Canada in September, where there is plenty of provisions, and that the French would come up the river. Genl Gates said he was a good friend to Col. Bedel, and desired his compliments to him and his Lady." Interpreted by Louis Vincent.

his
JOSEPH X TRAVERSIE.²
mark

Witnesses,

THO^S. HIBBARD,

JON^A. CHILD.

Following this, Colonel Hazen arrived with a like message. The answer sent was as follows: —

HAVERHILL, July 14th, 1778.

GENERAL GATES: SIR, — Colonel Hazen has communicated his business to me, and I must sincerely rejoice in the probability of an expedition to

¹ From a copy preserved in the family papers of Lieutenant-Colonel Wheelock. Referred to, but not printed, in N. H. State Papers, xvii. 243.

² J. Wheelock MS. See also N. H. State Papers, xvii. 237.

Canada. I see no kind of difficulty attending it by the route, or routes, proposed. There are three different routes, either of which I think is very practicable; viz., directly from hence to St. Johns, to the river Musca, and to St. Francois, all and every of which is marked on Colonel Hazen's plan. I shall, by and with the advice of General Bayley and Colonel Hazen, have them all surveyed immediately; and shall also send three different parties to different parts of Canada for intelligence, with orders to return with all possible expedition. A considerable quantity of provisions, both of flour and meat, may be had at this place. Forage is plenty; I have eighty tons at the service of my country if wanted. For other particulars I must refer you to the bearer, Colonel Hazen, and shall hold myself in readiness, with the remainder of my regiment at this place, for your honor's further orders.

Must beg to remind you of some clothing for my men.

T. BEDEL.¹

Before this, in execution of Gates's orders, the detachment marched to Albany in command of Lieut.-Colonel Wheelock. Stark writes again to Gates, July 7th: "Colonel Wheelock arrived yesterday, and informs me that about sixty of Colonel Bedel's regiment will be in this day, but it will be difficult to get the remainder. I believe my prediction will turn out true that those men have never been raised for any service but to stay at home. I have sent to Colonel Bedel to march the remainder agreeably to your orders, which will discover the truth of that matter."²

The result was that Lieutenant-Colonel Wheelock, with four companies under Captains Charles Nelson, Solomon Cushman, Josiah Taylor, and William Tarlton, joined General Stark, and four remained on the home frontier under Colonel Bedel and Major Whitcomb. These were commanded by Captains Ezekiel Ladd, Timothy Barron, Simeon Stevens, and Luther Richardson.³

On reaching Albany, Wheelock's men, thinking themselves ill used in not receiving their pay and clothing, refused to be mustered, and threatened so much of a disturbance that Colonel Stacey's regiment was paraded, and forced them into submission.

¹ From J. Wheelock, MS.

² Memoirs of Stark, pp. 77, 142, 179, 199.

³ MS. letter of Moody Bedel. There were several Hanover men in Wheelock's battalion. We hear of David Woodward, and Jonathan Woodward enlisted in Nelson's company for nine months, in May, 1778, and served at Newbury, White River, and other places in scouting, etc.

There was at that time special anxiety respecting the movements of Brant's Indians on the Susquehanna. The massacre at Wyoming had occurred but a few days previous, and further irruptions were expected. Col. William Butler, of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, was in command at Schoharie, and Col. Ichabod Alden, of Massachusetts, with two hundred and fifty soldiers, at Cherry Valley. Preliminary to an intended expedition against the Indians in that quarter, it was important to ascertain something of the state of things among them; and Lieut.-Colonel Wheelock, because, no doubt, of his former relations with Brant and others, and of his supposed knowledge of their language, was selected by Stark to conduct a scouting party from Cherry Valley.¹ The party was out from the 10th to the 17th of August, penetrating the Indian country about sixty miles. No special result was secured, but Wheelock foretold the later descent on Cherry Valley.

Notwithstanding Stark's bitterness against Bedel's corps in general, he spoke well of Wheelock. He wrote to General Washington, August 19th: "Enclosed is the report of Lieutenant-Colonel Wheelock, who has been upon a scout to Unadilla, which will inform you of the situation of the enemy. If an expedition should be made to that quarter, a number of pack-saddles will be necessary. Colonel Wheelock's information may be depended on, as he is a gentleman of undoubted character."²

Profiting no doubt by this information, Colonel Butler, by Stark's orders, led over in October from Schoharie a party of his own troops, with twenty rangers, and destroyed Unadilla and Brant's town Onohoquaga.³

In the mean time, conformable to Wheelock's forecast, Brant made in September a descent upon German Flats, where he destroyed a hundred houses; and on November 11th, with Walter Butler (who also had been for a while one of Dr. Wheelock's pupils), destroyed Cherry Valley with circumstances of great atrocity.⁴

Young Wheelock's success in this expedition (he was then

¹ *Memoirs of Stark*, pp. 184-8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 188.

³ *Stone's Life of Brant*, i. 186, 192, 367; *Hardenberg's Journal*, Cayuga Coll., No. I., p. 63.

⁴ *N. Y. Centennial Celebration*, 1878.

twenty-three years of age) gained him considerable temporary reputation. Rev. David McClure writes, October 5th, to the President, his father, congratulating him on "Colonel Wheelock's safe return from the Susquehanna country, where he has won *lasting fame*." ¹

But the fate of Bedel's regiment had come, as we have seen, to be involved with the political agitations on the "New Hampshire Grants." The Bennington and the Exeter parties, at odds in most other points, were united in hating this organization, which was beyond their power, and was patronized by General Gates, in spite of their accusations; while the New York leaders, alienated from Colonel Wheelock by his failure in recruiting for them, were ready to join in breaking him down. Charges were freely made, involving Bedel's integrity, some of which came finally, in March, 1780, to be tried by court-martial.²

The regiment, organized as a special corps under Continental authority, was amenable only to Congress. But when, in November, 1778, the year came round from the date of the original order, the adversaries of the regiment found their opportunity. The status of the regiment, upon the true interpretation of Lafayette's order in March, came up for determination by Congress. Lieutenant-Colonel Wheelock attended, and, through Washington, presented the case for retention. But his own unfortunate miscarriage in the New York service now came up to plague him. Under the influence of charges growing out of that affair, and of the hostility of the Exeter party, a vote was easily carried, November 27th, "that the regiment be disbanded."³ It is not surprising, under the circumstances, that Washington's own recommendation (read on the 27th) was itself hardly such as to help the matter: —

HEAD QUARTERS, FREDERICKSBURG, 20th Novr, 1778.

SIR, — Mr. Wheelock will have the honor of presenting this letter to your Excellency. He waits on Congress upon the affairs of a regiment under

¹ Some years after the close of the war General Stark manifested his good feelings by passing through Hanover and spending the night at the house of Colonel Wheelock, then President of the College. In the evening he was presented to a large party of the village people, and on leaving town next day was escorted several miles on the road by Wheelock himself and others on horseback. (See *Memoirs of Stark*, p. 188.)

² N. H. State Papers, xvii. 356-8.

³ *Journal of Congress*, iv. 680.

the command of Colonel Bedel, which, it seems, was raised in the Cōds Country, or at least has been kept up since March last, upon the recommendation of the Marquis Fayette, when at Albany. This corps, according to the inclosed state by M^r Wheelock, who is the Lieut. Col^o to which I beg leave to refer Congress, and according to other information I have received, was at first assembled under the direction of Major Gen^l Gates, about this time twelve months, for the purpose of a sudden enterprize against St Johns & the Enemy's armed Vessels lying there, and was engaged till the last of March. I cannot undertake to say in what manner or how usefully this regiment has been employed, or to what extent in point of men ; but M^r Wheelock says it has been of great service. And the object of his present journey is to obtain the direction of Congress for their being paid when proper rolls are produced, and their determination whether it is to be disbanded now, or continued till April next, the period for which the men are said to have engaged, thō the Marquis's recommendation extended only to the end of the present Campaign. The Reg^t may or may not be necessary in future. Much will depend on the system of conduct the Enemy pursue the next campaign and on our own operations. I would observe under its present engagement its services were to be local, or at least confined to a certain Quarter. If it should be deemed expedient to re-inlist it, if practicable it should be done on the general scale of acting wherever it may be requisite, tho' perhaps it may not be possible to accomplish it ; and in such case it will also be material for the Public to have a more perfect knowledge of its arrangements than what I apprehend it has hitherto had.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your Excellency's most obedt Servant,

G^o WASHINGTON.

[Addressed]

[*Public Service.*]

His Excellency HENRY LAURENS, Esquire,

President of Congress,

G^o WASHINGTON.¹

Philadelphia.

¹ From the original on file in the U. S. State Department. Wheelock thus stated the case to Washington : —

The Principles on which Colonel Bedel's Regiment was raised, and reasons for continuing the same.

As the Country of Co'os is the most extreme frontier towards Canada, the Inhabitants, early in the Spring, were generally apprehensive of great danger in that Quarter, considering the vigorous efforts of the Enemy, the last Year, on the West of the Green Mountains, and that they could probably have a more easy access to the principal of the New England Settlements in this channel than in any other. The Marquis De la Fayette, who commanded at Albany in March, influenced by motives of this kind, gave written orders to Colonel Bedel (who before had received orders from General Gates to raise a regiment for a winter expedition) to engage the same men & others to the amount of 500, during the Campaign ; that the said men should serve, for the defence of those frontiers, as scouting par-

Bedel's battalion on the frontier seems to have remained of necessity in service until relieved by others in March,¹ and by Colonel Hazen's regiment in April, 1779. Some of them

ties or otherwise, agreeable to future command, and that they should be entitled to pay and every advantage accruing to Continental soldiers.

Pursuant to these orders and the desire of the committees of a considerable number of Towns in that Country, about 400 men were enlisted in three or four weeks after the said orders were issued, to continue in service twelve months from the first day of last April. Since which time a detachment of the regiment was on duty at Albany a considerable part of the summer, some parties scoured the woods by Onion river to the Post at Rutland; a company was stationed some time at Royal Town. Spies have been repeatedly sent into Canada, who returned with useful intelligence from the Enemy. Scouts have been continually maintained in every part of those frontiers; a number now employed in clearing a road from Co's towards Canada, and others assisting in guarding & collecting stores at that Post. Upon the whole, I am of Opinion that the regiment has done as much duty of the fatiguing kind as could be reasonably expected, though not more than between 60 or 70 men have received any part of their pay, and in general very destitute of Cloathing

The Militia before the Regiment was raised were much interrupted & deterred from their Business; but have generally since been free & easy, the farmer having improved the late season by far more land than ever in a year since the first settlement of the Country.

Had the regiment not existed, those frontiers by appearance would before this time have felt the fatal effects of the Enemy, as they gained intelligence that upwards of three hundred Canadian regulars & Tories did in August penetrate to within one days march of the settlements; but returned, being likely annoyed.

The Inhabitants where the Regiment is raised, besides those men, have commonly engaged their full proportion of Continental troops, & such is their attachment to the cause of the United States that I do not recollect one person really convicted of Toryism in the whole County of Grafton.

The settlements on the grants are mostly scattered; but yet those only adjacent to Connecticut river can muster near three thousand warriors. Should the regiment not remain, fears & apprehensions would likely inspire the people; nothing to prevent the ravages of the Enemy in a winter campaign, should their policy lead them to the measure, especially as in August they received the recruit of a (*sic*) 1,000 Hessians, & their Troops being chiefly stationed at St Johns & the Quarters adjacent. On the other hand, should there be an expedition into Canada, this regiment, being conveniently on the most direct passage, might be of real advantage; nor do I think there would be difficulty in recruiting the men for another campaign, should there be occasion.

These thoughts are humbly submitted to your Excellency's consideration by, Sir, your most devoted Servant,

JOHN WHEELLOCK,
L' Col. of the aforesaid regiment.

PAULING'S PRECINCT, Nov^r 20th, 1778.

His Excellency GENL. WASHINGTON.

¹ General Bayley writes Bedel, March 16, 1779: "Agreeable to your letter to the committees met at Dresden, Captain Morey is arrived with a party to relieve your guards. Twenty men were ordered with Captain Morey, and twenty are ready from Lebanon and Colonel Olcott" (N. H. State Papers, xvii. 320-21).

remained still longer. Further question being afterward made respecting the status of this regiment, Congress voted, Nov. 3, 1783, that certificates should be given to it the same as to the line of the army. The members received their pay in Continental money, which realized to each man about \$12 for the year's service.¹

On losing this command, Lieutenant-Colonel Wheelock was taken by General Gates upon his military staff, with the same rank.²

We now turn back to take up the thread of events at home. In January, 1778, one George Knox, a mulatto, who had been several years a servant in Wheelock's family, and more recently a soldier in the army as servant to James Wheelock at Albany, was discovered in a systematic course of thieving. He had a hut in Relhan, now Enfield, to which he transported his plunder, and some of it was found there in his baggage. The matter was referred to the neighbors, who at a meeting, Feb. 20, 1778, appointed Messrs. Sever, Tilden, and Plumley to hear and judge of the same, which they did, and awarded, besides a fine, *fifteen stripes on the naked body*, which Knox duly received.

The town, at a meeting Feb. 2d, 1778, voted £140 to raise its quota for the Continental service, to be paid in by May 1, and that any two men who shall hire a third for said service, and produce certificates thereof, and of his being mustered for the State of New Hampshire, shall be entitled to draw £20 till seven men shall be hired.³

¹ See MS. letters of Moody Bedel, Journals of Congress, ix. 7.

² The following certificate is preserved in the Wheelock family.

NEW YORK, 25th September, 1792.

These certify that Mr John Wheelock received a commission from Congress in November, 1777, appointing him Lt. Col. in the regiment commanded by Col. Timothy Bedel. After that regiment was disbanded in 1778, he continued to serve until the 20th June, 1779. Having faithfully and diligently executed all orders given by me while I continued in the Eastern Department, such service being, as I conceive, necessary for the public interest, I therefore conceive he is entitled to pay & rations as Lt.-Col. until the 20th June, 1779.

HORATIO GATES.

³ The following were hired in March, and paid for under this agreement :-

Moses Pearson and Dan Parker	hired	John Pendal.
Benja. Davis and Tyx ¹ Cleaveland	"	Nahum (Nathan) Davis.
Jehell Woodward and Delano Wright	"	David Wright.
David Eaton and Silas Tenney	"	Luther Linkon.
Joseph and Jona. Curtiss	"	Robert Mason.
Tyx ¹ Cleaveland and Ewad Taylor	"	Medad Taylor.

In March came still further demands for men for the Continental service. The militia had been so constantly harassed that it was no easy matter to furnish them. The officers indeed insisted that no more men were due. The same month Moody Freeman, Benjamin Davis, and Jonathan Curtiss went upon a scout to the heights of land, for which they were paid £2 14s. by vote of the town. On April 3d there was a meeting of fifteen towns at Haverhill to concert measures about the frontier forts.¹

Toward the 1st of June there was renewed alarm along these frontiers. General Stark writes to Gates, May 24:² "We expect an invasion, for the enemy's vessels are now at Crown-Point, cruizing along the lake; and I have ordered Colonel Bedel to keep scouts at Onion River and St. Johns, and report to me of any movement of the enemy in those parts." At the beginning of June word came of a large body of Indians, painted for war, destroying the country in the neighborhood of Caghnawaga; and on the 6th Colonel Bedel sent out to "notify all officers and soldiers who engaged in the regiment under my command for the defence of the frontiers to be ready and equipped as quick as possible, as they may depend upon it that our most unnatural enemies threaten ruin to these settlements." "I have," says he, "the certainty of it three different ways, and all agree that a number of Indians and tories (the worst of enemies) are coming against the inhabitants on the river by three different routes."³

On June 18th, Lieut. Thomas Durkee, in command of the First Hanover company, reports to Colonel Chase: "Pursuant to your direction, the half of our company are drafted to take the field on the shortest notice. Our number of effective men is forty-two; one half well accoutred, the remainder destitute, excepting a number of old arms of no dependence. Our town stock consists of about sixty pounds of American manufactured powder and eighty weight of lead."⁴

In August there was another alarm, occasioned by the re-

¹ Bedel Papers, N. H. Hist. Soc.

² Memoirs of Stark, p. 199.

³ Jonathan Chase MS., p. 39.

⁴ Jonathan Chase MS., p. 42. Captain Freeman removed to Lebanon prior to March, 1778, and Lieutenant Durkee remained in command. The town in

ported approach of a body of three or four hundred Canadian regulars and Tories, which turned back when within one day's march of the settlement.

This town, in common with those around it, had now dissolved, so far as they could, political relations with New Hampshire, and in March entered into union with Vermont, as will be more fully explained in the next chapter. The College district in that union became an independent town by the name of Dresden. They were in consequence subject to requisitions from Vermont, without being relieved from the claims of New Hampshire, since the Exeter government did not acquiesce in the separation. This first union with Vermont was, however, so soon dissolved that little practical inconvenience resulted. The towns thereafter, though still maintaining a theoretical independence, complied in fact, so far as they could, with the military orders from Exeter communicated through Colonel Chase. Their position is well defined in a letter addressed to the colonel from Lebanon in 1780:—

LEBANON, NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS, July 7, 1780.

TO COL JONATHAN CHASE:

SIR,—As this Town hath been Repeatedly Called together on Account of orders Rec^d from you, for men for scouting and other servise, &c., we haveing Collected the Sentiments of the Town with Regard to Raiseing men to stand thus, that they acknowledge subordination to you as a Col^o of there own Choice, and ever will obey you as such. But at the same time think to obey you haveing athortative Power from the State of New hampshire in Derogatore To the Birth Rite of Englishmen, it being a Tax laid on us for men, without being Represented, &c. Sir, we wish for the future you would be pleased to send as Request^d To us we shall own the Power we Committed To You. We mean Not to set up our alter in Deffiance to the Public Cause. And be Pleased, Sir, to excuse our simplicity, and except this With our sincere obedience, from Your Humble Servants,

SIMEON PECK.

THEOP. HUNTINGTON. } *Select Men.*

NATH. STOORS.

March had allowed Lieut. Timothy Durkee 15s. for bringing powder. They also allowed to—

Beza. Woodward, Esq., for his agency to Exeter	£6	16	0
“ “ 13 days with United Committees	11	14	0
Jon ^s Freeman, for 8 days with United Committees	7	4	0
Capt. David Woodward, 2 days at Windsor	1	16	0
“ “ “ 4 days at No. 4	3	12	0
Dr. Ordway and Lieut. Thomas Durkee, each, 1 day at do	0	18	0

The plan of an expedition into Canada was urged again by the united committees early in 1779. President Wheelock wrote to Gates, Feb. 5, 1779: "I entirely concur in the sentiments that are contained in the letter from the committees from this country to your Honor respecting the medium of another expedition, should it be determined upon by Congress; and I cannot but think that a road into Canada would be of the greatest service to this country, and especially to this institution." He takes the opportunity to administer a word of flattery. "In times of public calamity, the reflection animates good men that there appears in you a Brutus on the stage, whose republican principles are [so] universally known; and who so largely possesses the affection of these Northern States as your Honor does?"¹

The committee's letter is not preserved, but in April the regiment of Col. Moses Hazen was ordered up from headquarters at Charlestown to relieve the remnant of Bedel's regiment (still on the frontier), and to complete the road begun by them the year before.² On the way up Colonel Hazen camped on the 29th near the College. Here he picked up two recruits, Elisha Brown and Amos Ames, both of whom had seen service before, and also another, who was afterward somewhat notorious.³

¹ Gates's ambition to supplant Washington was not yet quieted. See General Sullivan's letter to Washington, Dec. 1, 1779 (Sparks, ii. 367).

² The Bedel-Hazen road extended about fifty miles beyond Peacham, through Cabot, Walden, Hardwick, Greensborough, Craftsbury, Albany, and Lowell, crossing the Green Mountains by "Hazen's Gap."

³ This was the Rev. Eden Burroughs's son Stephen, then about fourteen years of age. He seized this opportunity to realize his dreams of military glory by enlisting in an artillery company; but his father speedily obtained his discharge. The regiment returned in about six weeks, and camped again near the College over Sunday. Stephen, taking advantage of the absence of his father, tied up a bed blanket full of clothes and provisions, and shouldering it with his father's musket and powder-horn, set off, Sunday night, to the camp, five miles distant, where he arrived a little after sunrise. "My appearance in camp," says he, "in this ludicrous plight was an object of universal curiosity and amusement. Sweating under an enormous load of bread and cheese, brandishing an old family musket of my father's accoutred with a due quantity of powder in a horn by my side and a sufficiency of ball in my pocket to kill thirty men if rightly directed, I made the appearance of more than Quixotic bravery." But it was of no avail; before noon his father arrived, and carried him home again. "All that day and night I was guarded," he tells us, "with the utmost attention. About ten o'clock the next morning I was sent on an errand to the next neighbor's, about the distance of ten

Besides other requisitions at this period, there was in July, 1779, a call for Continental men to fill up the regiment of Col. Hercules Mooney for service in Rhode Island. Eight were required from Colonel Chase.¹ At a meeting of the town of Hanover, held July 13th, a committee was appointed, consisting of Captain Woodward, Sergeant Slade, Jonathan Freeman, Captain House, Deacon Ordway, Nathaniel Woodward, and Lieutenant Durkee, "to procure the men required for the Continental service;" but they accomplished nothing. The Dresden company, according to Captain Hendee's report of May 3d,² comprised at this time seventeen officers and men between sixteen and sixty years of age. On July 21 he reported that, pursuant to orders from Major Smith, he had drafted Benjamin Chase for six months for the "Rhode Island" service. This man's name appears on the rolls of Colonel Mooney's regiment.

After the departure of Hazen's regiment, the frontiers were guarded by the regiment of Col. Moses Nichols for a short time, when that too was withdrawn to West Point, and the people were left to take care of themselves as best they might, under the command of Major Benjamin Whitcomb.³ In January, 1780, information was received that the Indians were preparing to make a descent during the winter. There was a general apprehension of an attack, not only on account of the defenceless state of the frontier, but also from an idea that the Indians were especially exasperated against New Hampshire because of the havoc made among the Six Nations the preceding autumn by the New Hampshire troops under the New Hampshire General Sullivan.⁴ The orders in Colonel

rods. When I had gotten that distance I ran with all my might, and never stopt until I had run twenty-eight miles from home, where I overtook the regiment." His father followed to Charlestown, but was unable this time to obtain his release, and Stephen marched with the regiment to West Point; but finding himself in all the alarms and skirmishes kept back as a boy with the baggage, notwithstanding his entreaties for active service, he left the army in disgust, and returned home. Whereupon his father, by an appeal to General Washington, sent by the hand of Mr. Woodward, procured his discharge, cured of military aspirations (*Life of Burroughs*).

¹ N. H. State Papers, xv. 655; viii. 829-30.

² Jonathan Chase Papers, p. 101.

³ N. H. Adjutant-Gen. Report, 1866, p. 366; N. H. State Papers, viii. 869, 872.

⁴ Mr. Ripley to Dr. Phillips, Feb. 2, 1780; N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., ix. 110.

Chase's regiment are not preserved. Those issued by Colonel Bellows were as follows, and give evidence of the urgency of the situation: —

By the best information that I can depend on, the enemy are a preparing to make a descent on our frontiers this winter, which, if they should (and I make no doubt but they will), will distress the inhabitants exceedingly. And it behoves us to be prepared to assist them as soon as possible. I therefore require you to raise and equip eighty men (including ten of the alarm list, which I request), with each a good gun and a pair of snow-shoes, with four or five days' provisions, that they may march at the shortest notice. If they cannot furnish themselves with ammunition, they shall receive it at Charlestown. If there be any that are not able to furnish themselves, the selectmen are desired to assist them. The alarm list will be commanded by a field officer. Let there be no time lost in preparing.

BENJ^A BELLOWS, *Col^o* ¹

Dated at WALPOLE, January, 25, 1780.

The response of the towns was immediate, —

At a meeting of Comm^{es} of Safety from a number of towns, convened at Captain Brewster's in Dresden, Jan. 20, 1780, to consult on measures for the safety of this frontier country:

1. Chose Deacon Neh^b Estabrook, Chairman.
2. Chose Aaron Storrs, Clerk.
3. Voted that it is necessary to raise a scouting party of men.
4. Voted to raise two companies of men, to consist of sixty men each, including officers, to be raised forthwith out of all the respective towns here represented.
5. Voted that Capt. John House, Noah White, Lt. Elias Stevens, Capt. Tim^y Bush, and Mr. Charles Bailey be a committee to consider of the no. of men necessary to be raised, and report to this Meeting: Voted to add Capt. Edmund Freeman and Capt. Caleb Clark to the above Comm^{es}.
6. Voted to recommend to all the towns represented here, and to the authority of the same, to put a stop to the transportation of Grain or other provisions out of this country untill the danger of the enemy be over.
7. Voted to take up and examine all Vague Stragglers persons and examine them, and stop such as cannot give Satisfaction.
8. The Committee returned and reported that they recommend that the Towns of Bath, Haverhill, Newbry, More-Town, Pearmont, Orford, Lime, Norwich, Hanover, Dresden, Lebanon, Hartford, Royalton, Sharon, Canaan, and Strafford inlist or detach five hundred minute men to be in readiness on the first notice to march in defence of these towns; that each town make return of their No. of militia to a Com^{ee} which this Convention may appoint for that purpose, upon which return s^d Comm^{es} shall make out the quota of each town, and give notice thereof to the Comm^{es} of Safety or Selectmen

¹ From original MS. in possession of the author.

of each town. That this convention nominate and appoint a Col., Lt.-Col., and Major to command said Regiment of minit men; and that each company of minit men chuse their Capt., Lt., Ensign, and under Officers; and also that the whole of the militia be mustered and Equip^d for the field in case of alarm. Wherefore, Voted, approved, accepted, and adopted the report as it was brought in.

9. Chose Lt. John Wright, Doct. Gideon Smith, and Capt. Elisha Burton a Com^t to assess the quota of minit men and the Scouting party.

The proportion of scouting men for each town is as follows, viz.:

Bath,	5	Norwich,	15	Officers:
Haverhill, ¹	11	Hanover,	9	Tim ^y Bush, Capt.
Newbury,	12	Dresden,	3	James Ticknor, Lieut.
Moretown,	6	Lebanon,	13	Calvin Parkhurst, 2 Lieut.
Piermont,	7	Hartford,	10	
Lime,	7	Royalton,	5	
Orford,	6	Sharon,	4	
Strafford,	7	Canaan,	2	
	61		61	

10. Voted that the Field Officers of the Minit Reg^t appoint the Staff Officers for said Reg^t.

11. Voted to recommend to the Commanding Officers of each town to appoint an alarm post for their companies to repair to in an alarm.

12. Chose Deacⁿ John Ordway, Elisha Burton, and Lt. Webb, Lt. John Powell, and Capt. Aaron Storrs a Com^{ee} to draw out lines of scouting and guarding.

13. Chose Doct. Gideon Smith, Col. Charles Jonson, and Aaron Storrs a Com^{ee} to draw Stores for the Troops.

Field officers appointed for the minit Reg^t: David Woodward, Col^l, John House, Lt.-Col^l, John Barnes, Major.

The proportion of minit men for each town is as follows, viz.:

Bath,	17	Norwich,	66	Royalton,	17
Haverhill,	41	Orford,	20	Sharon,	14
Newbury,	63	Hanover,	40	Canaan,	8
Moretown,	20	Dresden,	13	Strafford,	31
Piermont,	24	Lebanon,	56		
Lime,	28	Hartford,	42		

A true copy of Records; attest: AARON STORRS,
Clerk.²

The next day (January 21) the town of Hanover voted to raise nine men to join Captain Bush's company as a scouting party on the frontiers for the term of two months, and that the town will pay them forty shillings each per month in wheat at

¹ Haverhill, Jan. 18, 1780, "Chose Charles Bayley to meet in convention at Dresden, January 20, to consult upon some united measures to be taken for the defence of the frontiers."

² From MS. in possession of the author.

five shillings per bushel. Eight were sent, who enlisted for three months, but were discharged at the expiration of six weeks and three days. They received forty-eight shillings per month, and twelve shillings bounty.¹

Dresden sent two men, who were out two months, and were paid £3 per month; their names are not known. These men marched to Haverhill, where they drew snow-shoes and provisions, and thence to Kingsland (now Washington, Vt.), where a fort was built, and they engaged in scouting under Major Whitcomb.²

The following letters and requisitions indicate a continued state of uncertainty and alarm on the frontiers, though the immediate cause of it is not clear:—

LYME, March 17, 1780.

SIR, — I have been with Gen^l Bailey, & he is a mind the Committee should instantly meet on our affairs. He desired me to request you to call the Committee together. Should be glad you would write to Col. Chase, Col. Payne and Esq. Freeman, & I will meet them at the College next Wednesday at 10 o'clock. — Should be glad you would not fail of notifying them on any account. Gen^l Bailey thinks there is matters of importance for to be taken care of, &c. I am, sir, &c.

PETER OLCOTT.³

BEZA WOODWARD, ESQ.

Mr. Woodward called a meeting the next day as requested; but we have no record of the proceedings.

NEWBURY, 27 June, 1780.

SIR, — I attended at Exeter the week I left you. They engage to do everything respecting our defences & purchasing grain, but completed nothing. I left a request as was proposed, but have not heard since.

The wages for the soldiers is forty shillings a month. I should think you had best raise your men first proposed, & send them on duty. I shall desire the people on this side the river to raise one company.

¹ They were David Tenney, John Durkee, Samuel Kendrick, Abel Bridgman, Robert Hayes, Jonathan Woodward, Barnard Wright (?). Tenney says he was detained in the company eighteen months, and that he was in Captain *Ordway's* company at Royalton, Newbury, and Barnard.

² Lebanon directed her authorities to prevent the transportation of provisions from or through that town "until the danger of the enemy be over, excepting such as are purchased for the use of the Continental army." Their authorities were further instructed "to examine all strangers suspected to be spies.

³ Jonathan Chase MS., p. 79.

I should be glad to see you at Cohos, where we may consult what may be best. I look for the resolutions of the Exeter Court every minute.

JACOB BAILEY.¹

COL JONATHAN CHASE.

CORNISH, 16th June, 1780.

The State of New Hampshire having agreed to victual and pay one Company, to be employed for the Defence of the frontiers for the time of six months, unless sooner Discharged, on Condition the towns on the Grants Raise the above Company, and it being of the utmost importance for the safety of these frontiers that their be Recornotring Parties sent out fourth-with, You are hereby ordered and Directed immediately to raise, by inlistment, Draught, or otherwise, five men from your Company for the above purpose. It is expected that the good people in your town or Company will give such Bounty or incourigement as is needfull to Raise the above men. By reason of hurry of business the Court did not ascertain the wages, — no doubt it will be Equil to others in Like Service. I have Ingaged Capt. Samuel Paine, of Lebanon, to take the Command of the above Company.

Hereof fail not, and make Return to me of your Doings Given under my hand att Cornish the date above.

JONTH CHASE, Col^o.²

To LT. THO^S DURKEE, Hanover.

Upon this requisition the town of Hanover, June 30, 1780,—

“Voted to raise five men, for the term of six months, for the defence of these frontiers, in pursuance of orders from N. H. by Col. Chase for that purpose, and to pay to each man a bounty of 40s, equal to wheat at 5s. per bushel, and 40s per month in like pay during the time they shall be held by their enlistment; payable, bounty & one month's pay, in three months from enlistment, and the balance at discharge; the town to be entitled to the wages that should be drawn from the State.”³

While this levy was in progress, two additional calls were made by the New Hampshire Legislature. The first, by Act of June 16, called for six hundred men to serve till December 31st, “towards compleating the battalions of this State in the Conti-

¹ Jonathan Chase MS., p. 21. By vote of the Assembly, June 24, the militia of the State was divided into four brigades, of which the third comprised the regiments on the river,—those of Colonels Hale, Ellis, Bellows, Chase, and Morey (N. H. State Papers, viii 867).

² From original MS. A similar call was made upon Lebanon for five men.

³ Under this vote were enlisted from Hanover, July 3, 1780, Salmon Dow, *et.* 18, Benjamin Smith, *et.* 17, Nathaniel Ketcham, *et.* 18, Robud (Daniel Robud) Hayse, *et.* 18, and (some say) John Durkee. From Dresden went Lt Samuel McClure, and, July 11, James Winton, *et.* 18. These were all attached to the independent company commanded by Capt. Samuel Paine, of Lebanon, and stationed on the frontier as a guard and scouting party at Strafford, ninety miles up the river. They were discharged November, 1780. James Winton then enlisted for the war in the 1st N. H. Regulars.

mental army," and apportioned twenty to be furnished by Colonel Chase's regiment. The printed copy sent to Hanover is indorsed as follows, in Colonel Chase's own hand: —

CORNISH, June 24th, 1780.

The proportion to the towns or companies are the same in these as in the former orders, and those towns which do not comply with orders to guard the frontiers must with these.

Per JONTH CHASE, Col^L.¹

The second, by Act of June 27, contemplated the raising for three months of one thousand one hundred and twenty-five men, besides officers, and three companies for home defence. Colonel Chase's proportion of this demand was a captain, ensign, and forty-three privates.

Pursuant, no doubt, to these requisitions, very urgent orders were received at Hanover from Colonel Chase, July 2d, to raise without a moment's delay, by draft or otherwise, to join the Continental army at Winchester by July 12, six additional men from Hanover, and one from Dresden. In making a similar call, at the same time, upon the selectmen of Lebanon, Colonel Chase wrote: —

"No time must be lost, — all is at stake. Your men for the northward that have not yet gone forward must be at Dresden Tuesday next, at which place I will then be in order to muster them, as I have now received orders for that purpose. Send your returns as soon as possible. Have your company in the best readiness to turn out immediately in case of alarm."²

At an adjourned meeting, July 3, 1780, Hanover voted to raise the six men "to join Captain Stevens' company, agreeably to a requisition from New Hampshire," and on the same terms as Captain Paine's men above named.³ Pursuant to this vote four men were enlisted on the part of Hanover for three months; namely, Silas Tenney, corporal, Eliada Brown, Daniel Jacobs, and Jonathan Woodward. These were out from July 10 to October 24. Two were drafted; namely, Ebenezer Kendrick, who "paid his fine," and Abijah Smith, neither of whose names appears on the rolls.⁴

These men were attached to Capt. Abel Stevens's company,

¹ Original in possession of the author.

² Jonathan Chase MS., p. 22.

³ David Eaton, Beza Davis, David Woodward, Jr., Roswell Fenton, and Zenas Coleman were excused from paying any part of the bounty and wages.

⁴ N. H. State Papers, xii. 169; xvi. 104, 150.

in Colonel Moses Nichols's regiment in the Continental army at West Point. They rendezvoused at Springfield, Mass., and at West Point, August 4th. From affidavits in the pension office we learn that Woodward was of General Arnold's body guard at Robinson House, and was present when Arnold deserted. Silas Tenney was a corporal in Arnold's post-guard, and also witnessed his escape. He saw Arnold take his portmanteau from his horse and board the barge in which he left, while his wife, amidst the excitement of the soldiers, was screaming and had a fit, — hysterical, no doubt. I am not aware that this circumstance is elsewhere noticed.

Augustus Storrs, afterward a prominent citizen of Hanover, was at Peekskill in a Connecticut regiment, and witnessed the execution of André.

Dresden paid Joseph Clough at this time \$1,800, Continental currency, equal to £9 10s., as a bounty "for engaging for us in Captain Stevens' company to join the Continental army six months." At the expiration of this term of service Clough enlisted for the war.

The following memoranda relative to the Hanover meeting, of July 3d are preserved, though not recorded on the books of the town: —

"1st. Whether y^e Town as such will support y^e militia officers in the execution of the Office in making Drafts of men to serve in y^e Public Defense when called for, and will make provision for inflicting a penalty on such persons as are so Drafted and shall refuse to join their respective Corps.

"2d. That any person so neglecting his Duty in joining y^e Service shall by the militia officers be brought before the Committee of Safety, who shall hear him in his own defense; and unless he can offer reason for his neglect as they shall judge sufficient, he shall by them be imersed in such fine or penalty as is common in such cases in the neighboring States, and that y^e town will support said Committee in the final execution of the same.

"3d. That y^e Officers of y^e Militia be directed to have regard, in making such, to what each able-bodied man that is fit the service has done therein, and to govern themselves accordingly.

"Voted, that each man belonging to y^e militia and alarm list within y^e town of Hanover make returns to the officers of said company of what time y. y. [they] served in y^e publick service since y^e commencement of y^e war, and that the said officers, together with y^e Selectmen or Committee of Safety, be directed to take an account of y^e whole,¹ in proportion to what each man has

¹ The following appears to be the list so returned. It unfortunately gives no particulars, nor does it purport to give a complete account of all service rendered

served, and y^t the six men voted that day to be raised be drafted agreeable to the return."

On June 27, 1780, the New Hampshire Legislature ordered a levy of 11,200 cwt. of beef for the Continental army. Of this, Hanover's proportion was 8,832 lbs. No attempt seems to have been made to raise it.

On the 9th of August word came that the enemy was killing the people on the White River, and the Hanover militia turned

by Hanover men, but only by those who were in July, 1780, able-bodied members of the company in Hanover, exclusive of Dresden. Some of the names have not appeared in our previous lists:—

Jon ^a Ball	two tours	
Abel Bridgman	one tour	two months.
John Bridgman	three tours	3½ weeks.
Isaac Bridgman, Jr.	" "	8 "
Thomas Brown	two "	5½ months.
D ^r [Joel] Brown	three "	11 months.
Zadoc Brown	" "	8 months, and ½ a week.
Zenas Coleman, by hires and himself	" "	18 months, and 2 months.
Bezaleel Davis	four "	5 months.
Deacon [Ichabod] Fowler	two "	2 months, 3 weeks.
Roswell Fenton	four "	13 months.
Freeman	two "	15 "
Eben ^r Goodrich	one "	4 weeks.
Nath ^l Heaton		8 months.
Dier Hastings	one tour	
Esq ^r [Eleazar] Hill	two tours	1½ weeks, to take horses back.
Samuel Haze	one tour	2 days.
David in his behalf one more.		
Solomon Jacobs	three tours	9 months.
Jonas Ketcham	two "	3 "
Samuel Kendrick	four "	3 "
Zophar Ketcham	one tour	one week.
James Murch	two tours	3 weeks.
Gideon Rudd	" "	11 months.
John Smith	" "	2
and half a continental man.		
Aaron Smith	two tours	3 weeks.
Elijah Smith	" "	14 months.
Edw ^d Smith (by son)	" "	6 months, 1 week.
Reuben Tenney	one tour	2 months.
David Tenney	three tours	3 "
Isaac Walbridge	at Ticonderoga	6 weeks.
Nath ^l Woodward	two tours	5 months, 3 weeks.
Deliverance Woodward	three "	8 months.
David Woodward, Jr.	" "	7 weeks.

out, with others, to meet them. The alarm was occasioned by a descent upon the towns of Barnard and Bethel by a party of twenty-one Indians, who carried away four prisoners. They were out of reach before the militia arrived, and the latter returned home next day.¹

There was during the same year an alarm from Captain Webb in Piermont, which drew Captain Durkee and seven men from Hanover. The occasion is not specified, but in 1789 the town paid Captain Durkee nine shillings for the expenses of the party.

But the most serious alarm of the year was caused by the sacking of Royalton, Monday, October 16th. It was the only genuine Indian attack that came within striking distance of Hanover during the war. As afterward learned, the expedition had been planned for Newbury, in the hope of capturing Lieutenant Whitcomb and taking revenge for his cowardly murder of General Gordon four years before. The party was commanded by a British lieutenant, Horton, with a Frenchman named Lamotte, and guided by a fellow named Hamilton, who had been at Newbury the year before on parole and received kindness. It comprised a number of Tories, variously stated at from seven to twenty, and from two hundred and fifty to three hundred Caghawaga Indians, under two of their own chiefs, and, according to report, one of the Mohawks.

Passing up the Onion River, they surprised, near the site of Montpelier, two hunters, who pretended, in answer to their questions, that Newbury was on the alert and strongly garrisoned. Some of the tribe, having had children at Dr. Wheelock's School, were more or less familiar with Hanover. Indeed, it would appear, from some of the accounts, that Wheelock's old friend Captain Phillips was of the party, though his son was still at the School. Balked of their first object, they turned their thoughts toward Hanover, and pushed on in that direction, through Chelsea into Tunbridge, where they halted two days in ambush and sent out scouts. These coming to the river, and finding it not only broad and deep, but swollen so as to be practically impassable for a hasty retreat under pursuit, reported against the enterprise. Disappointed also in that

¹ Hist. Eastern Vt., B. H. Hall, p. 382; D. Kendrick's MS. pension affidavit.

direction, the party could wait no longer, but broke out of concealment before dawn Monday morning, and discharged their fury upon the settlers along the first branch and the main stream of White River in Royaltown and Sharon and Western Randolph. They were bent upon plunder and burning rather than massacre, and killed only those who tried to escape. The alarm spread, of course, rapidly down the White River, and reached Hanover (about fifteen miles distant) early in the day, and the following circular was instantly sent out:—

DRESDEN, Oct. 16th (11 o'clock), 1780.

This may inform by the last express that there is a large party of the enemy have burnt Capt. Ebⁿ Parkist's house and taken his family. Assistance is desired. I am y^r humbl^e serv^t,

EBEN^R BREWSTER.¹

The militia in the towns east of the river turned out in goodly numbers. Hanover and Dresden furnished about fifty, under Captain McClure and Captain House. The savages, expecting them, hastened their operations, and by the middle of the afternoon set out on their retreat, with twenty-six men as prisoners, having released all the women and children. They returned to Tunbridge the way they came, and over the hills into Randolph.

The militia did not arrive in numbers till night. They gathered at last about three hundred strong, and choosing Colonel House to the chief command, started in pursuit, some on foot, and some on horseback. They stumbled upon the Indians soon after midnight camped on the second branch, in Randolph. The advance guard fell into ambush in passing a stream on a log, and Charles Tilden, sergeant of the Dresden company, was shot through the arm with a ball that was claimed to be poisoned; but the wound was not fatal. Daniel Kendrick, of the Hanover company, was of the advance party, but was with the rest unhurt. The Indians in ambush, being very few, promptly fled, and one was killed. The main body was thrown into confusion by the unexpected night pursuit, but kept their heads sufficiently to secure an escape. Releasing one of their prisoners, old Mr. Kneeland, on parole, they gave him a letter to Captain Phillips's son at the College, and bade him inform the militia that if they were attacked, all the prisoners would be instantly killed, otherwise they would be well treated and cared

¹ From MS. in possession of the author.

for. Well knowing that the Indians would not hesitate to execute the threat, Colonel House and his party decided to refrain; and the Indians, breaking camp in great haste, pushed on up the stream the same night, through Brookfield and down the Dog River, through Northfield, to Berlin.

Next day the militia followed the trail into Brookfield. Some of them turned off to patrol the frontier as far as Newbury, and returned home on the third day. The prisoners were taken to Caghnawaga, where, through the influence, it would appear, of Captain Phillips, they were fairly well treated, and finally such as chose it were turned over to the British at Montreal, where they fared much worse than among the Indians.

The conduct of the pursuing party has been generally criticised as cowardly, and laid at the door of Colonel House. But the author of the "Standard History of Eastern Vermont" takes a more sensible view, declaring the aspersions to be "far from just," and the conduct of Colonel House prudent, and "in the highest degree praiseworthy and magnanimous," since any one having the smallest knowledge of the Indian character must have known that the murder of the prisoners would infallibly occur if the pursuit were pressed. It is fair also to remember that the pursuing party was composed of men held to Colonel House's authority by the slenderest tie, and not likely to acquiesce in any course that did not commend itself to general approval.

Tilden's wound was the only casualty that befell the militia in the whole affair. Of the settlers, four were killed,¹—three trying to escape, and the last in cold blood, by way of revenge for the Indian killed at the ambush. Phineas Parkhurst was shot in the back. The ball passed through his body under the ribs, and lodged under the skin of the abdomen. Notwithstanding this, he made his escape the same day, supporting the weight of the ball in his hands, sixteen miles, to Lebanon, where he afterward resided for many years in the practice of medicine. Among the killed, as first reported, was Experience Davis, who went from Hanover in 1777, and became the first settler in Randolph. Two years, *to a day*, after the raid he reappeared in

¹ Thomas Pember, Elias [or Peter] Button [or Butler], Giles Gibbs, and Joseph Kneeland, who was found tied to a stake in the camp.

Hanover, having escaped with Steele and others from captivity. He returned to his Randolph farm, where he died in 1809.¹

Among the unpublished incidents handed down by tradition is the following, not altogether flattering to the eastern militia. Dr. Joseph Lewis lived at that time with his family in a log-house in the forest, not far from the west bank of the Connecticut, on the south side of Blood Brook, in Norwich. Riding up the hill toward Norwich plain, with his little boy clinging to the saddle behind, the doctor met the messenger from Royalton, and slipping the boy off, sent him back to tell his mother that the Indians were coming, and that she must take refuge, with her valuables, in the ferry-house, while he himself, borrowing a gun and ammunition at the plain, pushed on to the scene of action. On his return, with a number of refugees, he was surprised to find his wife still at home in the woods. She explained that she went to the ferry as directed, but very soon decided that she would rather take her chances with the Indians than with the militia, who streamed over from the eastern shore, and left, as she said, nothing behind that they could carry away.²

The night of the pursuit was one of terror at the homes in Hanover and the neighboring towns. The whole body of the militia was away, and the women and children on the hills near the river lay in mortal fear of an attack, seeing, or imagining they saw, the light of Indian fires along the hills on the other side. There, of course, the alarm was greater still. The women and children turned the cattle into the woods, and after trying in vain to get over the river, cowered all night in the bushes.³

The alarm did not subside with the retreat of the marauding party. Other attacks were expected all along the frontier to Newbury, and the militia from more distant points down the river continued to arrive, until by the 19th there were, as appears by the following letter, a thousand men on guard, under Gen-

¹ Hist. Eastern Vt., B. H. Hall, p. 392; Zadock Steele's account, Vt. Hist. Gazetteer, ii. 980-3; MS. in Jonathan Chase Papers, N. H. Hist. Soc., p. 33; W. W. Dewey's MS.

² Hanover voted, March, 1788, £11 4s. to John Wright for 13 gallons of rum, which he purchased for the use of the militia on this occasion, and £12 5s. 6d. to Isaac Bridgman and John House for beef cattle killed for them. The General Assembly of Vermont did not allow a claim of Ebenezer Brewster for supplies furnished on the same emergency (MS. in author's possession).

³ Experience of Mrs. Wheeler, of Thetford, related by herself.

erals Bayley and Bellows. The militia of Hanover had no sooner returned from Royalton than they set out again for Newbury; but not being needed, they turned back.

ORFORD, 19th Oct^r 1780, 10 o'clock.

DEAR GENERAL, — It looks to me that all y^e men on y^e Road for Co.os, and what men is gone this and the other way, cannot be wanted, unless you have more of y^e enemy than we have any acc^t of. But you must be the best judges; but should be glad of your orders in the affair. I am just informed that there is now on y^e Road betwixt this and Northfield 1000 men. I believe nigh 200 gone through Orford this morning. With much respect,

Your humble s't,

ISRAEL MOREY.¹

GENERALS BAYLEY & BELLOWES.

A few weeks later a general alarm arose south of Royalton, in Cumberland County, from the careless or malicious imitation, by one of the settlers, of the Indian war-whoop. It does not appear to have reached the upper towns.²

These events drew renewed attention to the Tories, and Lebanon sent out the following circular:³ —

LEB'N, N. H. GRANTS, 23 Oct, 1780.

Whereas the present day calls for every exertion touching the public cause, that our lives and property may be secure from inroads of our natural and unnatural enemies, and that we have reason to believe we have many of the most abandoned wretches, that are lost to all feelings of humanity, among us, who do intend the destruction of this flourishing country if not prevented, — We whose names are here subscribed do request that no time be lost in taking up all suspected persons that are inimical to the liberties of this country, — That every town would exert themselves for that purpose, — That the towns on the frontier would form into some plan for the design and purpose of purging out this detestable leaven. We desire the Committees and Selectmen and principal Inhabitants of the neighboring towns would attend at Mr. Bliss', innholder, in Lebanon, on Monday, the 30th of October, 1780, for this purpose.

NEHEMIAH ESTABROOK.

ELISHA LATHROP.

ELISHA HYDE.

Committee of Safety, Lebanon.

SIMEON PECK.

THEO. HUNTINGTON. } *Selectmen.*

NATH. STORRS. }

We have no record of the proceedings of the Convention, but Lebanon voted, November 9th, "to keep a guard on the

¹ From original in author's possession.

² Hist. Eastern Vt., B. H. Hall, p. 395.

³ Jonathan Chase MS., p. 27; N. H. State Papers, xii. 377.

public roads as long as it shall be thought necessary; that the military officers be requested to class their men for this duty, who in case of delinquency should be fined a bushel of wheat, or its equivalent in money." The public provisions were ordered removed from Strafford to Royalton. Dresden, for the next month, maintained two men guarding at Strafford, and scouting, at an expense of £3 each.

There were not wanting those who, with appearance of reason, ascribed these troubles to machinations of the Allens and their party at Bennington (whose secret negotiations with the British began to be suspected), by which they relieved themselves from danger, and encouraged the enemy to make inroads upon their brethren east of the mountains. Colonel Bailey wrote from Newbury, November 6th:—

"All the force that can be spared from Canada is at Crown Point and Onion River; and though they have been for six weeks in that quarter, and it has been in their power to distress the people on the Grants west of the mountains, yet not a man killed or captivated, nor a house burnt; but look on this side, where people are opposed to the people on the west,—in their extravagancies they burn, kill, and captivate, and have been and now are watching to destroy this and other places on these rivers."¹

Mr. Tutor Ripley wrote to the Hon. John Phillips, Dec. 6th, 1780, that—

"The state of the country is unhappy and gloomy, exposed to the enemy, and in no proper state of defence; deserted by the States, and torn with political dissensions among ourselves, which not only affect our military operations and measures concerted for our general defence, but even disunite our church. . . . If we attempt to regulate our militia and to put them into a proper situation against an alarm, one says, 'I will go under a Vermont officer;' another is for a New Hampshire officer; and a third will go under neither, but is for manufacturing his own officer,—so that we are presented with the very picture of anarchy."²

On the day this was written, the General Convention met at Charlestown to try to amend the political situation; and a General Convention of the churches was called for the first Tuesday of January at Thetford to "attempt a revival of church discipline, which is generally here very languid, and in some places wholly extinct."

In this condition of the public mind false alarms arose, of

¹ N. H. State Papers, x. 377.

² Phillips's MS., N. H. Hist. Soc.

course, on the smallest provocation. One of these has a ludicrous side, which leads me to describe it in the words of its chief actor. Stephen Burroughs, after his final release from Hazen's regiment, had been entered by his father as a Freshman in Dartmouth College. One evening, being in company with a number of others, they all agreed to make a visit to a yard of watermelons belonging to a man in the vicinity: —

"We accordingly [says he] put our plan in execution, and went as far as the river, half a mile out of town, in order to eat them more securely. After we had finished our repast every one took his own way to get to his room unperceived. I came directly into town by the most obvious route in company with one Paine [of the class of 1784, son of Col Elisha Payne, of Lebanon] When we had gotten to the green around which the buildings stand, we discovered some person walking before my door, suspecting, as I supposed, my absence from my room, which, being against the laws of College at that time of night, would give him an opportunity, if he made the desired discovery, to involve me in difficulty. We therefore turned off in another course than directly to the College, and rolling our gowns close together, tucked them up on our backs, so as to make the appearance of men with packs on. This man, Higgins by name, seeing us by this time, came towards us. We ran, and he ran after us and hallooed with all his might. I was now sensible that an alarm would be made among the inhabitants, and of course some immediate and decisive means must be taken to prevent a discovery or a suspicion of the watermelon business falling on me. I therefore turned a short corner, where my pursuer lost sight of me, and ran directly back to the College, and got into my room undiscovered. Fortunately my roommate was absent. Hearing an inquiry in the adjoining rooms respecting the noise, I went into one of them, and found they were about starting after Higgins to learn the difficulty. We accordingly all started together, and after running about a hundred rods, came up to him, who was still hallooing for help. On inquiry, he told us that he had discovered two men carrying packs on their backs, lurking about the town, whom he supposed to be spies from the Indians, and they had fled on discovering him. The town was alarmed, the militia turned out, the boats up and down the river were stopped, the woods were scoured, but nothing found. All night the fruitless search continued." ¹

But it happened that Burroughs and Paine had been seen and recognized by Captain Storrs as they passed his house; and when the people came together in the morning that fact was known. Burroughs's reputation was anything but savory; but the students in the College readily established his presence

¹ Life of Stephen Burroughs, p. 28. The editor of the second edition tells us that the effects of the scare were not quite as lasting as here represented.

there at the time of the outcry, and he would have escaped had not Paine betrayed the secret on being cross-questioned. But Burroughs outwitted them yet; for seeing how it was, he sought out the owner of the watermelons, paid him, and took a receipt, which, on being confronted with the College authority, he boldly displayed, to the confusion of his accusers.

By an Act of Jan. 12, 1781, New Hampshire ordered the raising of 1781 men to complete the quota of the State in the Continental army. Sixty-five were apportioned, to be drawn from Colonel Chase's regiment, of which Hanover (including Dresden), was to furnish eleven. It does not appear that any steps were taken to comply with the requisition, for at the very same time the exigencies of defence upon the frontiers led Colonel Chase to apply to the New Hampshire Assembly for aid, and on Jan. 13, 1781, their committee, by Josiah Bartlett, reported a recommendation, —

"That Colonels Chase and Morey be authorized to raise forthwith not exceeding sixty men, with a captain and two subalterns, to be employed in scouting upon the frontiers until April 1st, to defend the western frontiers, to be paid by the State as soon as the towns in Cheshire and Grafton pay their taxes into the State treasury, after which the State will do everything in its power for their further protection."¹

The unexpected turn of affairs two weeks later in the direction of a second union with Vermont interfered with this arrangement, and the delegates of the towns in convention at Cornish, Feb. 22, 1781, undertook to carry out what New Hampshire had planned: —

Resolved, that Col^{os} Chase & Morey be & hereby are desired to call on the several Towns in their Regiments that they forthwith raise sixty men for the defence of the frontier, as a scouting party under the direction of Col^{os} Chase & Morey, or the Board of War for the State of Vermont, to rendezvous on or near Connecticut River, to be paid & supplied by their several Towns; and when the union proposed takes place, then to apply to the State of Vermont for said pay, & to continue in Service until the first day of April next, unless sooner discharged.

Pr. Order,

SAMUEL CHASE,
*Chairman.*²

At a town meeting, Feb. 26, 1781, Hanover "voted to comply with the requisition from Colonel Chase for raising *six* men

¹ N. H. State Papers, viii 888.

² From MS. in Plainfield files.

to march with Capt. Charles Nelson for the defence of these frontiers, to be paid, by April 1, 8 bushels of wheat per month per man, or money equivalent."¹

The men set out about March 7th with their arms, and on snow-shoes marched through the forest in snow three feet deep or more to Newbury, where they remained about a month.

In March a party of British and Tories captured Col. Thomas Johnston, of Newbury, at Peacham. An alarm was raised, and the militia of Hanover turned out, under Capt. Thomas Durkee, and went to Haverhill and Newbury; but meeting no enemy, returned within three days.

At the March meeting it was voted to raise £54 in silver money, to be repaid by May 1st in like money or in good wheat flour at 18s. per hundred, for the use of a public store in said town,—the flour to be stored at the house of Ichabod Fowler (where Capt. Edmund Freeman formerly lived) and the house of Joseph Curtiss.

Under the scheme of union with Vermont, Colonel Chase's regiment became the third, and fell into the brigade of Gen. Peter Olcott, of Norwich, and Gen. Ebenezer Brewster was a member of the Board of War. The following orders show that since the descent upon Royalton a sharp eye was kept upon the Indians at the College:—

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, 6th May, 1781.

SIR,—Whereas there was last week a Canadian frenchman in this place, & appeared very intimate with Baptiste & Phillips, members of the school, & whereas the said youths went with the frenchman aforesaid toward Charlestown, & from other circumstances it may seem that he had an

¹ Asa Parker was appointed to provide for these men while in the service, at the expense of the town, and was paid in March, 1788, £2 15s. 6d. for doing it. There went from Hanover under Lieut. James Marsh, Abel Parks, sergeant, David Woodward, Jr., Eliada Brown, Elijah Wright, Reuben Tenney, and Salmon Dow. Dresden sent Ezra Ellsworth.

The requisition upon Hanover is not preserved. The following is taken from the files of Plainfield:—

To the Selectmen and Commanding Officer of the Military Company in the Town of *Plainfield*:

You are hereby requested forthwith to raise five able-bodied, effective men, being your proportion according to the above resolution, and when raised, immediately to march, under the command of Capt. Charles Nelson, to the frontiers, in order to guard the same, agreeable to said resolutions.

Pr. JON^o CHASE, Col^o

CORNISH, Feb. 22, 1781.

undue influence on their minds, the man being a stranger to my acquaintance, that any supposable unfavorable consequence may be prevented, I have judged it not improper to communicate this hint to you, & am, Sir, with sincerity & esteem, your most obedient, hble. servant,

J. WHEELOCK.

COL^o EBEN^s BREWSTER,

Officer of the Board of War [of Vermont].

DRESDEN, 6 May, 1781.

SIR,—In consequence of the above intelligence from President Wheelock, as well as from several circumstances that have occurred to my knowledge, there is some foundation to suspect that there may be an unjustifiable intention of the Frenchman [referred to in the preceding letter], & which may perhaps in greater or less degree affect the prosperity of this state. You are therefore hereby requested to find where the said frenchman may be with the Canadian youth, members of this institution; & if upon examination you may judge it necessary, you are empowered to apprehend him, & see that he is properly secured under proper authority. You will please to act with prudence & discretion with respect to them in this matter.

I am, sir, yours, &c.,

EBEN^s BREWSTER.¹

The following order is in the handwriting of Bezaleel Woodward:—

To JONATHAN CHASE, Esq.,

STATE OF VERMONT.

Colonel of the Third Regiment of Militia in said State.

Pursuant to orders received from his Excellency the Capt. Genl and Commander-in-chief in the said State, you are hereby required to call on the commanding officers of the several military companies to a choice of officers proper to command them, and to any bodies of men within the limits of your regiment who are not already formed into companies, to convene together and make choice of proper officers, according to the laws of the State. And you are further required forthwith to raise two Sergeants, three corporals, and thirty-eight privates out of the part of your regiment east of Connecticut river, to serve in the regiments raising for defence of this State till the 15th day of Dec. next, unless sooner discharged; which men are to be apportioned to the several towns east of said river by you, in an equitable way and manner, to be raised according to the laws of the State. And you are also to call on the officers of the several companies on the west side of the river (Connecticut) within your regiment to see that the raising of men within their several companies, for defence of this State, pursuant to orders herewith issued for that purpose be forthwith completed. And you are further required to call on the commanding officers of the several companies within your regiment to make returns to you, so soon as may be, of the state of their several companies in respect to members, arms, accoutrements, &c.

¹ From original MS. in author's possession.

Hereof fail not, and make returns to me of your doings hereon, and such returns as you shall receive in consequence of your orders, as soon as may be.

Given under my hand at Norwich, this eighth day of May, A. D. 1781.

PETER OLCOTT,

*Brigadier General.*¹

In pursuance of these orders it was voted by Hanover, May 31, "to give 20s. L. M. per month to each man of the present quota who engage in the State service, to commence and end with their wages from the State." Eight men were accordingly enrolled in June for six months, on wages of 40s. per month and £6 bounty.² They went on duty in Capt. Charles Nelson's company of rangers at Corinth, Vt., under command of General Enos, Colonel Waite, and Major Sanford Kingsbury, guarding at Colonel Waite's headquarters, and scouting. Dresden had two men in the same company for the same period, to whom £18 each was paid as bounty, and £3 per month as wages. These were Josiah Goodrich and Daniel Hovey. Hovey was taken prisoner Oct. 10, 1781, and was detained in Canada nine months. He was living in 1832 in Lyme. There was also another company at the same place, under Major Kingsbury, in command of Capt. Abner Seeley, drawn from the west side of the river, in which Woodward and Goodrich say they served for a while.³

In September, 1781, Hanover paid £12 to five men for scouting eleven days. Their names are not known.⁴

We have no definite indication that Hanover furnished any men later than these. Though active hostilities in general

¹ Jonathan Chase MS., p. 30.

² They were David Woodward, sergeant, Salmon Dow, Benjamin Smith, Jonathan Woodward, Eliada Brown, Elijah Wright, Daniel Jacobs, Nathaniel Ketcham. At this May meeting, Hanover chose John House, Jonathan Freeman, Thomas Durkee, James Murch, and Nathaniel Wright a committee to adjust and settle accounts with such persons as have done service in the militia in the several alarms the year past.

³ See their pension affidavits at Washington.

⁴ There was at this time renewed anxiety regarding the Tories that were still numerous in some of the neighboring towns. They were credited with a purpose to capture the person of Colonel Chase, for whom the enemy had offered a reward, and to destroy the army stores habitually kept at his house in Cornish. The capture of two Tories (Jones and Buel) in arms west of the river, opposite Cornish, gave point to the rumors. The house was therefore constantly guarded (see Pension Affidavit of Samuel Putnam).

ceased with the surrender of Cornwallis, Oct. 19, 1781, the northern frontiers remained to some degree under arms for more than a year. In January, and again in March, 1782, the New Hampshire Assembly ordered the maintenance of small scouting parties at Haverhill, and in June directed the levy out of the several regiments of two companies to rendezvous at Haverhill.¹ Of these men, seven were to be taken from Colonel Chase's regiment. We have not Colonel Chase's order, or the record of the Hanover contingent.²

¹ N. H. State Papers, viii. 927, 939, 946.

² The order in Cheshire County was as follows [original in possession of author]:—

To CAPT. OLIVER ASHLEY, Claremont.

Pursuant to orders from the General Court of this State, you are required immediately to raise, by draft or enlistment, from your company, one good, able-bodied, effective man, to be well equipt with arms and other necessary accoutrements, and send him forward to Haverhill, there to wait on Col. Charles Johnson for orders, and to serve as soldier for the defence of the frontiers to the last day of November next, unless sooner discharged, which man is to be paid the same wages as soldiers in the Continental army; and make returns to me of your doings hereon.

CHRISTOPHER WEBBER.

WALPOLE, June 29, 1782.

CHAPTER VII.

1774-1784.

THE COLLEGE HALL IN POLITICS.

UNTIL 1771 the fountain of justice, as well as of political authority for the whole Province, was at Portsmouth. By the Act published March 19, 1771, the Province was for the first time divided into counties. These were five in number; but Strafford and Grafton (including what is now Coos), being not fully inhabited, were "for the present deemed to be parts and members of the County of Rockingham," until the Governor, with advice of the Council, should "declare them sufficient for the exercise of jurisdiction." That condition having been fulfilled as to the County of Grafton, it was "made active," and courts were established at Haverhill and Plymouth in February, 1773. Hanover had contested with others for the honor of being a half shire-town; but Haverhill won the prize through the management of Col. John Hurd, for which the proprietors had contracted to give him a thousand acres of land. The court-house was built on the bluff at the great ox-bow, just where Colonel Phelps had chosen a site for the College three years before. Considering the circumstances of that affair, one may be pardoned who should see in the present result something of poetic justice. In the course of the negotiations it was represented, to the disadvantage of Hanover's aspirations, that Dr. Wheelock was himself opposed to them; but he informed Governor Wentworth, in a sort of negative pregnant, that he never did oppose the plan, "except on the supposition we were to have judges and officers of such immoral, dissolute lives as have been appointed on the other side of the river." In the organization of the County Court of Common Pleas, Bezaleel Woodward, of Hanover, was made the junior justice, and in

his capacity of justice of the peace a member of the Court of General Sessions.¹

As yet Hanover, in common with the other towns in Grafton County, was without representation in the Provincial Assembly. The only towns west of the Merrimac valley enjoying that privilege were Charlestown, Keene, and Winchester. At a special town-meeting, April 30, 1774, Hanover appointed John Fenton, of Plymouth, its agent to petition the Governor for representation, and Bezaleel Woodward as a substitute in case Mr. Fenton declined. Though this application was fruitless, writs were the next year issued to three towns in Grafton County, — Lyme, Orford, and Plymouth, — and their representatives presented themselves at the last session of the Assembly, in May, 1775, but were excluded by the House. Hanover had not even this degree of recognition.²

The revolutionary body known as the "Provincial Congress" was first organized at Exeter, July 21, 1774. There is no positive evidence that Hanover sent delegates to any Congress prior to the fourth, or that it was asked to do so. It is certain, however, that some of the other towns in this region were invited to the second Congress, and it is probable that Hanover was.³ In the Convention which assembled at Exeter, May 17, 1775, known as the "Fourth Provincial Congress," there was a large attendance from the Connecticut valley, and Hanover was for the first and only time represented. The town records make no allusion to the matter, but Dr. Wheelock records in his Diary, "May 11th. — My son John and Dr. Estabrook were appointed to represent their towns alternately at the Congress." This

¹ Col John Hurd, of Haverhill, was chief justice, and Asa Porter, David Hobart, and Bezaleel Woodward were associate justices, with John Fenton as clerk. This court was closed in April, 1775. It probably did but little business.

² The excluded representatives were Israel Morey, of Orford, Ebenezer Green, of Lyme, and the same John Fenton, of Plymouth. N. H. State Papers, vii. 445; Sketch of Fenton by Charles R. Corning; Grafton and Coos Bar Association, Proceedings, 1885.

³ Printed circular from J. Wentworth, chairman, dated Nov. 30, 1774, now in Plainfield files. The following is from Orford records: "At a meeting held January 16, 1775, voted not to send a Deputy to the Provincial Congress which is to meet at Exeter the 25th instant, but voted the Town Clerk send a letter in behalf of the town that we will concur with the doings of the Congress in choosing Delegates to the Continental Congress, and that we will be at our part of the charges of the meeting of said Continental Congress."

Congress was in session at intervals until Nov. 15, 1775, when it was dissolved. Its records show that John Wheelock was in attendance for Hanover fifteen days in all, and Nehemiah Estabrook nineteen days for Lebanon.¹ Wheelock had the first turn of nine days in May, Estabrook being absent through that session. How the remainder of the time was apportioned does not appear. Young Wheelock, then barely twenty-one years of age, is said to have made himself conspicuous as a debater, but in rather a sophomoric style.²

By an Act passed Nov. 14, 1775, the day before the dissolution of the Congress, a new plan of representation was adopted, by which all the towns of Grafton County were for the first time thrown into classes, and accorded but *six* representatives in a body of eighty-nine members, of which Cheshire had fifteen, Hillsborough seventeen, Strafford thirteen, and Rockingham thirty-eight. Hanover was classed with Lebanon, Relhan (now Enfield), Canaan, Cardigan (now Orange), and Grafton, and a single representative allowed to the whole. Precepts for an election, signed by the President of the Congress, were ordered to be sent to the selectmen of the principal town in each class. Hanover was designated as the chief town in its class, and a precept was duly sent; but the arrangement being wholly unsatisfactory to the towns, no meeting was held, so far as appears, and the precept was sent back by the selectmen without any return upon it. The towns in other classes, though dissatisfied, complied so far as to send delegates, and when the Congress convened, December 21, 1775, the Hanover class alone in Grafton County was unrepresented. John Wheelock appeared as an agent in their behalf with a petition for a change of the law, which, on December 25th, was "read, debated, understood, and dismissed." The petition was as follows: ³—

To the Honorable Provincial Congress of New Hampshire assembled at Exeter,
Dec. 25, A. D. 1775.

The petition of John Wheelock for and in behalf of the towns of Hanover, Lebanon, Relhan, Canaan, Cardigan, and Grafton, Humbly sheweth, — That

¹ N. H. State Papers, vii. 409, 665.

² "He was prompt to speak in the style and with the flourish of students on the stage at College." Quoted from the Hon. Paine Wingate in "The Dartmouth," July, 1843, p. 287.

³ N. H. State Papers, vii. 658, 693, 696. In 1796 young Wheelock, then Presi-

the towns of s^d Hanover and Lebanon contain nine hundred souls, a number more than is necessary to be entitled to the privilege of sending a member to the Congress; and as the six towns above mentioned contain about eleven hundred souls, and as their communication is so difficult, and distance is so great that they can't be properly represented by one person; Considering a representation in this unsettled, critical, and interesting day as being most necessary, — it is his request in behalf of s^d towns that your Honorable House would grant them the privilege of two representatives during the year only, by which the present plan of representation is limited, and issue all precepts accordingly. And your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

Signed for and in behalf of the towns of Hanover, Lebanon, Relhan, Canaan, Cardigan, and Grafton,

By JOHN WHEELOCK, *Agent.*

EXETER, Dec. 25, 1775.

The petition seems to have been treated with something like contempt; at the same time young Wheelock, then but a year out of College, was highly complimented by his friends for his behavior in the affair.¹ The adverse response, and the manner of it, bred increased dissatisfaction in Hanover and the other towns of that class. A second precept, issued by order of Congress to the selectmen of Hanover, was, like the first, ignored. Though the people, as already shown, joined heartily in the current measures of resistance to British encroachment,² and the influence of the College was thrown unequivocally in the same direction, yet tame submission to what they regarded as the usurpation of the Exeter party was quite another matter. Fuel was added to the excitement by certain provisions of the temporary constitution, adopted by the Exeter Congress Jan. 5, 1776. The people in this quarter, finding, as they thought, that the change was to be but a change of masters, and not at all for the better, determined, if redress should be denied, to relieve themselves at a stroke from despotism both foreign and domestic, and to be indeed free and independent, and in their own words, "not to spend our blood and treasure in defending against the chains and fetters that are forged and prepared for

dent of the College, demanded from the town \$20 for his services and expenses in this mission, with interest for twenty years; but the town, on recommendation of a committee, declined to acquiesce in the claim at that late day without further information.

¹ Letter of John Phillips.

² If there were any Tories in Hanover, I have been unable to find evidence of the fact. Some of the neighboring towns, as we have seen, were not so fortunate.

us abroad, in order to purchase some of the like kind of our own manufacturing." ¹

In all this, Hanover and Lebanon appear to have taken the lead from the start. Their class alone persisted in an unwavering refusal to submit to representation in that form. All the other classes in this county had at the first acquiesced, though unwillingly, so far as to be represented in the Fifth Congress, which assembled in December, 1775, and in January, 1776, resolved itself into the first House of Representatives. At the session in March, 1776, the Haverhill class² joined that of Hanover in refusing to be represented, and before long substantially the whole of Grafton County and a considerable part of Cheshire came into a similar attitude. In the Council, however, Grafton still figured in the person of Col. John Hurd, who adhered to the Exeter party, and left to Timothy Bedel the leadership of the disaffected in the town of Haverhill.³

Plans of combination were promptly on foot. The earliest sign of them appears in a vote of the town of Lebanon, February, 1776, "to pursue the present plan proposed in the warning for the redress of their grievances," and the choice of a committee to correspond with the other towns. In April, circular letters were sent out from Hanover,⁴ in compliance with which the matters of grievance were taken up by the united committees of eleven towns, at a meeting held at the College Hall in Hanover, July 31st, 1776. A printed address of considerable length was issued by this body in the name of the towns, setting forth their complaints in apt and forcible language, and soliciting correspondence. Notice was given of an adjourned meeting, to be held at the same place, on the second Thursday of October following.⁵ In this address the ground of their discontent

¹ See the "College Hall" address, July, 1776, N. H. State Papers, x 235.

² Haverhill, Bath, Lyman, Gunthwaite (Lisbon), Landaff, and Morristown (Franconia).

³ Colonel Hurd removed to Boston in 1777. The division of parties in Haverhill was quite even and very sharp.

⁴ Orford, at a special meeting, May 16, 1776, voted "an answer to the letter from the committee of Hanover, which has now been read."

⁵ N. H. State Papers, x. 229, and Vt. Gov. and Council, v. 507, where the address, now somewhat famous, is printed in full. It is supposed to have been written by Prof. Bezaleel Woodward, clerk of the convention. The towns represented were Plainfield, Lebanon, Enfield (*alias* Relhan), Canaan, Cardigan (Orange), Hanover, Lyme, Orford, Haverhill, Bath, and Landaff.

and the position taken by the towns were thus pointedly stated:—

“A former convention, sitting in the Colony,¹ elected much, as it chanced to happen, under our then broken and confused circumstances, assumed to themselves the prerogative to regulate and determine how the assembly should be elected, — omitting some towns, uniting a half dozen others together for the purpose of sending one, . . . as they of their sovereign pleasure thought fit to dictate, . . . by which means many towns were deprived of any representation at all, and others so in effect. . . . The number of inhabitants in this case, in point of right, argues nothing in favor of the proposition; *for every body politic, incorporated with the same powers and privileges, whether large or small, is legally the same.* We may with parity of reasoning as well argue that a small body, consisting of all the constituent parts to a man, is not a man, because there are some others of the same species of a larger size.”

The address was widely circulated, and produced a profound impression. President Weare, in communicating a copy of it to the New Hampshire delegates at Philadelphia, Dec. 16, 1776, spoke of it as “fabricated at Dartmouth College,” and added that “with the assiduity of the College gentlemen, it has had such an effect that almost the whole County of Grafton, if not the whole, have refused to send members to the new assembly.”²

At the adjourned meeting in October certain additional resolutions were taken that appear not to have met with universal acceptance.³ Their purport is not known, neither do we know directly what was done at a subsequent meeting, held at the same place, November 20th.⁴ But in consequence, no doubt, of action taken at that time to obtain support from abroad, one Edward Jewett appeared as “agent of sundry towns⁵ in upper

¹ The name of “Province” was retained till July 3, 1776; it was then “Colony” till the name of “State” was taken, Sept. 11, 1776.

² N. H. State Papers, viii. 420; x. 228.

³ Orford at a meeting Oct. 15, 1776, called in connection with other objects “to see if the town will fall in with the doings of the Committee that met at Hanover respecting Government affairs, or whether they will rest easy under the doings of the present Assembly, . . . voted on the first branch of the article in the negative.”

⁴ Orford records, Nov. 15, 1776, when Israel Morey was chosen “to meet the committee at Hanover on the 20th of that month to consult on government affairs.”

⁵ Ringe, Morristown, Bath, Landaff, Haverhill, Piermont, Hanover, Lebanon, Plainfield, Jaffrey, Cardigan, Canaan, Enfield, Cockermouth, Orford, and Lyme. It is fair to infer that these were the towns represented at Hanover, November 20th.

New Hampshire," at a large convention of towns in New Hampshire and northeastern Massachusetts, held, Nov. 26, 1776, at the house of Major Joseph Varnum in Dracut, Mass. The convention had assembled "on account of the exorbitant prices that are demanded for many of the necessities of life, by which means our paper currency is daily depreciating in value, and the honest mechanic and laborer very much distressed by the extortion of the trader and farmer;" and it resulted in a petition¹ to the governing bodies in both States for limitation of prices, and was followed by stringent legislation in New Hampshire, Jan. 18, 1777, amended April 8th, and repealed as ineffectual November 27th the same year.

This Dracut Convention gave Mr. Jewett liberty to relate "certain grievances that many of the back settlements in New Hampshire were laboring under," and appointed a committee to hear him and to make a report the next day. On hearing their report, with Mr. Jewett's account of affairs and his request for advice from the convention, they resolved that—

"Apprehending themselves unauthorized to give advice in matters of such a nature at this time, they could only, in their several private capacities, say that we applaud the vigilance of those towns in endeavoring to procure a just, fair, and equal representation of all parts of the State to which they belong, without which there can be no security either of person or property; and, allowing Mr. Jewett's representation of facts to be just, we do by no means censure or disapprove of the conduct of those towns in that behalf, so far as it has been made known to us."²

The Provincial Congress had, in January, 1776, reappointed (with other officers for Grafton County) Dr. Wheelock as justice of the peace and quorum, and, as has been said, Bezaleel Woodward justice of the peace and one of the justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas.³ In September following, it made an effort to conciliate the disaffected towns by dividing the Hanover class so that Hanover, Canaan, and Cardigan should send one representative, and Lebanon, Relhan, and Grafton another. To precepts issued accordingly, September 30th, for

¹ The petition to the New Hampshire Legislature is on file in the State archives.

² N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., ii. 59-67.

³ N. H. State Papers, viii. 13, 19, 63, 64. The other members of the court were John Hurd, chief, and Israel Morey and Samuel Emerson; the court seems never to have organized. See "Bench and Bar," by A. S. Batchellor, *Grafton County Gazetteer* (1887), p. 35.

the election of a representative and councillor, the selectmen of Hanover made the following return: ¹—

HANOVER, NOV. 27, 1776.

Pursuant to the within precept, we notified the inhabitants paying taxes in the towns of Hanover, Canaan, and Cardigan to meet at the meeting-house in said Hanover this day, for the purpose within mentioned, who being met, passed the following votes, viz.,—

[Chose Dea. Ichabod Fowler moderator]

I. *Voted* unanimously that the address of the inhabitants of this and other towns to the people of the several towns through this Colony, published by their Committees in July last, is truly expressive of our sentiments respecting representation and the unconstitutional formation and procedures of the present Assembly of this State.

II. *Voted* unanimously that we will not choose a representative as directed in the precept issued by the Assembly of this State, for the following reasons; viz, (1) Because no plan of representation is as yet formed in this State consistent with the liberties of a free people, in that the people have not universally had a full representation in any Assembly since the State was declared independent of the Crown of Great Britain, by which declaration we conceive that the power of Government reverted to the people at large, and of course annihilated the political existence of the Assembly which then was; notwithstanding which they have since presumed to act in the name of the people, and in their precept undertake to prescribe and limit the mode of procedure in our choice of a representative, while it does not appear that they are to be chosen for the purpose of recognizing the right of the people, and assuming such government as shall be agreeable to them, though nothing of that nature has at any time been done in this State, except a plan formed by the representatives of a part of this State, by which the whole rights of the people are assumed by that House. (2) Because the precept, in consequence of which this meeting was called, is inconsistent with the liberties of a free people, in that it directs to have different corporate towns (who have a right to act by themselves in all cases) to unite for the purpose of choosing a Representative and Councillor. (3) Because it limits us in our choice to a person who has real estate of two hundred pounds lawful money; whereas we conceive that there ought to be no pecuniary restriction, but that every elector is capable to be elected.

III. *Voted* unanimously that the selectmen be directed to make return of the foregoing vote, with the reasons annexed, together with the precept, to the Assembly, proposed to be held at Exeter on the third Wednesday in December next.

IV. *Voted* unanimously that we will not give in our votes for a councillor, as directed in the precept,—(1) Because we can see no important end proposed by their creation, unless to negative the proceedings of the House of Representatives, which we humbly conceive ought not to be done in a free State. (2) Because every elector ought to have a voice in the choice of

¹ N H. State Papers, viii 421; x 215, 236.

each councillor (in cases where they are needful), and not be restricted in his choice to any particular limits within the State. For which reason we protest against any councillor being chosen in this county as directed in the precept.

V. *Voted* unanimously that the clerk be directed to make return of the last vote, with the reasons annexed, and our protest, as the precept directs, relative to a vote for a councillor.

VI. *Voted* that this meeting be dissolved. And it was accordingly dissolved.

Attest: ICHABOD FOWLER. } *Selectmen of Hanover.*¹
 THOMAS DURKEE. }

Other towns took a similar course, so that the whole of Grafton County, excepting the Rumney and Lancaster classes, was without representation in the new Congress that met on the 18th of December, 1776.² Its place in the Council was also vacant, Colonel Hurd's term having expired. On December 20th a joint committee of twelve was appointed by the House and Council to take these matters into consideration, which made, Jan. 3, 1777, a conciliatory report that was adopted, and Benjamin Giles, John Wentworth, Jr., and Josiah Bartlett were chosen to visit the county, with President Weare, and try to allay the excitement. The President sent out on behalf of the Committee, to be circulated in advance of their coming, a printed handbill announcing their purpose to be at the inn of Mr. John Payne in Hanover, near the College, on the 10th of February, 1777, to converse with any persons the people should appoint, "in order to give them all the satisfaction they can with regard to the proceedings of the Assembly, for the promoting peace and harmony."³

¹ What appears to be the original draft of this document is in the handwriting of Professor Woodward.

² The class composed of Lyme, Orford, Piermont, Dorchester, Wentworth, and Warren voted, Nov. 15, 1776, not to send a representative; and at a special meeting, called for the purpose, December 13th, Orford again refused, and recorded the following reasons: "First, because we are denied the privilege of a fair and just representation by being coupled with five other towns, and allowed only one representative for the whole; second, that we are allowed to vote for but one councillor, and that within the limits of this county, whereas we apprehend we have a right to vote in the choice of all the councillors of this State, and that we are not to be confined to any limits less than the bounds of the State."

³ N. H. State Papers, viii. 422, 430, 442, 450; xii. 165. See proceedings of Haverhill, Bath, Gunthwaite, Landaff, and Morristown, Dec. 13, 1776, MS. in State archives.

Upon the heels of this announcement came the following circular letter from the College party:¹—

A Letter to the Freeholders and Inhabitants of New Hampshire :

MY FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN, — It is a point generally allowed that internal oppression is more intolerable than that of a foreign enemy: for in this latter case it is at a distance; but in the former the usurping or tyrannical eye is immediately over the oppressed, and the infernal passions are qualified by present objects. We have set out to defend the rights of human nature against invasions from abroad; but what is our condition in the mean time at home? A bare conquest over our enemy is not enough; and nothing short of a form of government fixed on genuine principles can preserve our liberties inviolate. But there are a number of canting *deluders* who whine about that we had better not be very critical in matters of internal police while we are engaged in a public war. We will first triumph over our enemies, and then settle matters among ourselves. What! shall we set our houses open, and leave them to be plundered by thieves and robbers, while we are gathering our grain in the fields? Believe me, my Countrymen, if we do not settle our affairs at home as to the principles of free government while we are settling them abroad, it will finally be too late. Human nature does not change with a climate or country, but is everywhere in general the same. We have doubtless among us tyrants enough at heart, though not unalterable in power. And if we follow the advice of puny patriots, we shall exchange the gallows for fagots.

Mistakes and errors in the principles of government eat like a canker. At first they may be but small; but as they grow they will get beyond the power of remedy, and at length destroy the body. It is observed by Mr. Burgh, in his *Disquisitions*, that a time of danger is the most favorable to correct abuses in a civil state. Apply that thought to the present case. Examine every corruption, and especially of that fundamental principle, the mode of representation. 1^{stly}. Has each incorporated town any distinct powers? 2^{dly}. Is each incorporated town vested with any legislative privileges? If so, then let it have an independent weight in the legislature of the *State*, as far as the said distinct privileges may intitle. 3^{dly}. Has one incorporated town as much power in itself as another? Then it may claim the same weight in government. 4^{thly}. Does every State, small as well as large, have equal weight in the American Congress? If so, then every town incorporate has the same right in the assemblies of each State. In short, a political body that superintends a number of smaller political bodies ought necessarily to be composed by them, without any regard to individuals.

We proceed to observe that the declaration of independency made the antecedent form of government to be of necessity null and void; and by that act the people of the different colonies slid back into a state of nature,

¹ There is now in existence, so far as known, but a single copy of this document, and that recently discovered in manuscript, in the handwriting of John Wheelock, though the style indicates a different author. On account of its novelty it is reproduced in full.

and in that condition they were to begin anew. But has it been so in the government of New Hampshire? I ask how shall we know that independency has been proclaimed, if we only consult the civil œconomy of this state? In fact, we have no other sign of it but the bare declaration of the Congress. I ask again, what advantage independency has been of to this government, since it had the same legislature before as after the declaration? Think on these matters; and though it is now late, yet that very consideration proves the necessity of dissolving soon the present unconstitutional legislature, and planting the seed anew.

But if it be still asserted that the legislative constitution is founded on independency, it will prove, if anything, that this very constitution established independency itself, before it was proclaimed by the congress. All power originates from the people. A state of independency before a plan of government is formed, supposes the whole right to be vested in them who by a full representation are to rear a new fabric. But it has not been so in the present case; for this very assembly, which was in being before the declaration of independency, has dictated the regulations, that took place afterwards. The grossest absurdity, which will appear in one word [is], viz., the legislature over the people before independency was unconstitutional, and deprived them of their rights, yet this very unconstitutional legislature has marked out their liberties for them in the state of independency. As much as to say, an unconstitutional body have made a constitutional one. Would to God that you might carefully weigh these matters, and that every one would measure them by the feelings in his own mind.

There has been for some time a dispute among you as to the right of each incorporate town to a distinct representation. But that it is just seems so plain from the nature of the thing and what has been wrote upon the subject, that there remains but little room for objection. The chief argument now made use of is that if every small incorporated town is represented distinctly, it will be a great expense to the people. The absurdity of this will appear in a few words. Suppose, for instance, that the small towns in general contain fifty voters, and suppose a representative is annually at the assembly forty days, and receives for his whole expense 5s. L. M. per day: multiply those numbers, and we shall have £10 = 200s., which if we divide by the number of voters (50), there will remain 4s. per man. This account is most favorable, and the cost to each is a little more than one day's labor in a year, if the towns themselves are at the expense (which really ought to be borne by the government), and if they will cheerfully spend as much as that in chusing officers only to execute, &c., certainly they cannot think their interest illy laid out in procuring by it a proportionate weight in the legislative body. And these considerations are greatly obviated when you consider that these towns are increasing, and may very soon double in the number of inhabitants. It is no fantom, but on this very point the foundation of your liberties stand.

Should any, in the character of a Committee or otherwise, endeavor to compound matters with the people in the aggrieved towns, as an impartial writer I conjure you strenuously to adhere to these two important articles:

1. That you give not up an ace of the rights that the *smallest* town has

to a distinct representation, if incorporated, — the bare number of individuals being, in this case, out of the question.

^{2nd}. That as the present assembly is unconstitutional, being the same, virtually, as before the declaration of independency, they do dissolve themselves, after having notified each corporate town to form a new body that may fix on a plan of government, which can be the only proper seal of your concurrence in independency. Thus you will act a consistent part, and secure your palace from being pilfered within while you are filling up the breaches that are made without.

I am, my dear friends and Countrymen, Yours, &c.,

THE REPUBLICAN.

January 30, 1777.

The people of Hanover, at a special meeting, February 3d, called to consider how to receive the committee, ordered a message to be despatched to intercept Mr. Weare and his companions at Walpole, by which they were informed that —

“This meeting, having taken the matter under consideration, and being desirous of facilitating any design to promote peace and harmony, as well as secure the liberties of the people through this state, think it necessary that Mr. Weare be informed that this Town have heretofore appointed their Committee to join with the Committee of a number of towns within this state for the purpose of pursuing some proper measures to obtain a redress of those Grievances we labour under in consequence of the proceedings of the late Congress and Assembly at Exeter; that the doings of said joint Committees have been laid before & approbated by said town; ¹ that this meeting stands adjourned to the 13th of this instant Feby. at Mr. Ordway’s at Lebanon; and that we think it expedient that in this matter we act in concert with said joint Committees, as it appears to us the most likely method to answer the end proposed; namely, to satisfy the minds of the people and promote harmony and peace, which we earnestly desire may be effected on reasonable terms; for which reason we omit appointing any persons to meet the Committee at Mr. Pain’s, and refer them to the aforesaid meeting at Lebanon.

Voted that the Selectmen be desired forthwith to send a copy of the above to Mr. Weare.

DAVID WOODWARD, *Moderator.*

JONATHAN FREEMAN, *Clerk.*²

In order to a clear understanding of what followed, it is necessary to take notice at this point of the state of things

¹ No account of the previous meetings is now to be found. Major Francis Smith charged Plainfield for six days’ attendance with united committees prior to Feb. 14, 1777, besides two days writing circulars, and with attendance at Lebanon, February 14th and March 11th.

² These proceedings are not recorded in the town books, but the copy sent to Mr. Weare is preserved in the State archives. See N. H. State Papers, xii. 165.

beyond the river, upon which light is shed by certain documents now for the first time published. A similar controversy, though based on different grounds, and of a still more serious nature, had arisen between the State of New York and the people of the New Hampshire Grants west of the Connecticut. New Hampshire had ceased to assert any active claim to jurisdiction over that territory since the king in council, July 20, 1764, "ordered and declared the western banks of the river Connecticut *to be* the boundary line between the two provinces."¹ This decision (aside from the ambiguity of the words "to be"²) was for several reasons unpalatable to the people in the Connecticut valley, especially to those on the western side. But it would doubtless have been submitted to with a fairly good grace, had not New York undertaken arbitrarily to re-grant the lands covered by Governor Wentworth's charters, and forcibly to drive out the settlers holding under them, notwithstanding a prohibition obtained from the Crown, July 24, 1767.³ The settlers naturally resisted these unjust and violent proceedings, and turned their thoughts still more earnestly toward a restoration to the former jurisdiction.

In November, 1768, John Wendell, of Portsmouth, as their agent, petitioned the New Hampshire governor and council to join in laying the matter before the king.⁴ Early in 1770, encouraged by Governor Wentworth, a petition was actively circulated among the people of the Grants. In February Governor Wentworth writes to his cousin, Paul Wentworth, of

¹ The whole number of towns granted by Governor Wentworth west of the river was one hundred and thirty, including Hinsdale, which lay on both sides of it. Bennington was the first, and sixteen were chartered between 1749 and 1754, one in 1760 (January 7), fifty-nine in 1761, beginning with July 4, ten in 1762, thirty-eight in 1763, and five in 1764 (N. H. State Papers, vii. 62; xiii. 746; Slade's Vt. State Papers, p. 13).

² The doubt was whether the words denoted an existing condition or a new enactment (Belknap's History of New Hampshire, ii. 243).

³ This was obtained by the representations of Samuel Robinson, of Bennington, who went out in December, 1766, as agent of the settlers west of the mountains, where the tactics of New York were most violently exhibited. Captain Robinson died in London, Oct. 27, 1767, and his papers fell into the hands of William Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Conn., who was with him as agent of Connecticut. The petitions are now on file in the State Library in Montpelier, Vt. (Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll., i. 271).

⁴ N. H. State Papers, x. 215.

London, that such a petition is in preparation, to be forwarded to him as agent to prosecute it.¹ But the partisans of New York were on the ground, among the people of the Grants, with counter petitions, by which they were able to prevent the completion of the others.

Such being the state of affairs, as soon as Wheelock arrived in this region his influence was solicited in favor of the New Hampshire claims, and willingly given, though guarded by a prudent reserve. Gen. Jacob Bayley writes him from Newbury, Jan. 15, 1771: —

You, sir, was pleased to promise your assistance that the lands on the west side Connecticut river might be receded back to New Hampshire, & depend upon it your advice is wanted to this unstable people. Temptations and threats are made use of. I am writing to Gov^r Wentworth on the affair; but what shall I write? If I appear active for New Hampshire, where is my credit in York? If that sinks, we have a Separate² party takes place, who I may properly say are avowed enemies to the cause of Christ, at least by practice. By which means we are tied up; but God overrules all things, and deliverance will come to his people some way most for his glory. If I had paper, I would have wrote more particularly. This from your real friend and humble servant,

JACOB BAYLEY.

Wheelock replied Jan. 22d, 1771: —

"I am truly and greatly afflicted with the state of the Province; but I think the late agents employed to get subscriptions to a petition to his Majesty have laid their way very open for a redress, if there were men of zeal, fortitude, and prudence to manage the cause and procure proper testimonials of facts. I should act out of character if I should move anything in the affair; nor is there need that I should, since you who are the most proper man are already embarked in it. I wish you success, and pray God to give you the desire of your heart. I understand that letters are going to his Excellency our Governor from this quarter."

The following letter from the Governor discloses that one of the letters "from this quarter" was written by Wheelock, and that he was taking a more active part than his guarded language would imply: —

PORTSMOUTH, January 29, 1771.

REVEREND SIR, — I have this day the pleasure of your letter of the 21st inst., accompanying one from Mr. Smalley and others; my answer to which I beg leave herewith to enclose unsealed, requesting your perusal, and that you'll please to seal and forward. I have been very plain in my answer,

¹ Wentworth's MS. Letter-book, N. H. State archives.

² Alluding to the religious tenets of the Bennington party.

being desirous that no mistake should arise, particularly the Epithet on the idle report of my family aggrandizement. It is not too strong; the occasion fully demands and justifies it. I will also forever maintain it. You will readily join with me, and therefore naturally suggest to Mr. Smalley the impropriety of giving out any copys of my letter upon any pretence whatever, alth^o I've no objection to his communicating the contents or reading it where and when they please.

The affair is too extensive for the small allotment of a letter. However, I wish to assure you that there is not the least doubt but that these lands on the west side of the river will be immediately re-annexed to this Province, if it is the earnest and serious desire of the inhabitants. That it is their interest, there can be no doubt. The whole matter depends on themselves, I verily believe, and that they will assuredly succeed if they prefer a petition to his Majesty for that purpose, expressed in such Stile of Honesty and Earnestness and nearly in the same expression as that letter to me. Perhaps they may be apprehensive that their signing the other petitions will destroy the success of this. But on the contrary, it may possibly promote their hopes, if they fairly set forth the practises, threats, fears, promises, and present distresses that induced a defenceless, unwarned, & unadvised people to come into such a measure. Neither do I think they have anything to fear from the resentment of N. York, more for their signing to revert to N. H. than if they did not. Already it is well known that their interest, inclinations, connections, and political good make them the perpetual adherents to this side, however fear or hope may at present compel many to disguise; but by this disguise a confirmation being obtained to N. Y., will they not suspect people whose natural attachments are the reverse, and of course depress, reduce, and exterminate them by every means which suspicion can invent, resentment provide, or power execute? At this time it will avail nothing for them to say, "We were deceived, we were surprised, we were not prepared." As yet their fate is undetermined; therefore if they are in earnest, if they do now suffer, if they reasonably foresee multiplying grievances accumulating on their posterity from their present jurisdiction, now is their day to avert the impending evil. Our gracious Sovereign is truly the Father of all his people, and will redress their real grievances, nor suffer the iron rod of oppression to smite his faithful subjects in his name. Yet if every man says he is poor, and looks to his neighbor to begin, procrastinating out of indolence or base covetousness, they must take their fate, or blame only themselves. As much might they hope for a crop without planting, as for redress without timely setting forth the calamities they endure.

Truth and justice is the cause of every good man, but essentially the duty of every magistrate in degree according to his station & influence. To comport myself with this principle as far as relates to the matter particularly, I have ordered an actual survey of Connecticut River from Hinsdale to the source of sd. River, under inspection of an officer appointed by the King, who sets out from hence on the 1st Feby. I am well informed that your river is laid down tending to the Westward and heading to Lake Champlain,

in a map transmitted from N York, upon which it was tho: proper to annex the District in consideration to N. York. I therefore imagine that the true course of sd. river being proved by this survey, will exceedingly discover the practised impositions on Gov: and promote a restoration. Hence it will be prudent and useful that all the people on the river aid and assist Mr. Grant on this service; also to communicate to him their hopes of returning to N. H., the reasons therof, also the many practises used to mislead them into false petitions. I have directed Mr. Grant to wait on you. He is a sensible young man, and uncommonly accomplished in the business of surveying. I beg your favor & notice of him. Capt. Church and Mr. Whiting are appointed Assistants, and that nothing may be wanting, the Gen: of the Council have freely subscribed 120 dollars to defray the Expence. I trouble you thus far, both as a friend to the Province and to the poor distressed inhabitants on the other side, who may profit from your discreet advice. . . .

I sincerely wish you every blessing, & rejoice in the prosperity of the College, being unfeignedly your friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

Per Mr. GRANT. Received Feb. 20, 1771.

He writes again Jan. 31, 1771: "The appointment of a new governor for New York is an happy circumstance for the ag-grieved inhabitants on the contested river claims. If they are wise, they will eagerly embrace the opportunity in furnishing a proper petition to accomplish their hopes." The matter nevertheless dragged along two years, no one exactly knew why. In January, 1773, a new petition was drawn (as would appear) at the College, and, perhaps in the same connection, application (by one James Brackenridge, agent) was made to the Provincial Assembly for a pecuniary grant to cover the expenses of presenting the matter to the King.¹

To the King's most Excellent Majesty in Council. The Petition of your Majesty's Loyal and obedient Subjects living on the Lands west of Connecticut River, lately in the Province of New Hampshire, now within the jurisdiction of the Province of New York, most humbly sheweth: —

That alth^o their grievances arising from the removal of the line of jurisdiction between said Provinces, which has left them within the jurisdiction of s^d Province of New York have repeatedly been attempted to be laid before your Majesty, yet as these grievances still remain, are daily increasing, and growing more and more insupportable, threatening them with unavoidable ruin, Emboldened by your Majesty's universal goodness and tender care for your subjects in distress, they would prostrate themselves at your Majesty's feet, and again humbly beg leave briefly to represent that they Entered upon their lands with the fullest confidence that their Title under the Patents

¹ N. H. State Papers, vii. 314.

issued by Benning Wentworth, Esq^r, late Governor of s^d Province of New Hampshire, was indisputable; that they were, and should continue to be, within that distinguished loyal Province of New Hampshire, and of consequence should enjoy their civil and religious privileges not to be enjoyed in any other Province within their knowledge; that animated thereby they went on in improving & cultivating those lands, so lately a howling wilderness, until they have expended their substance; that thro^o the greatest Fatigues & labours they have made those their lands profitable; that they are altogether unable to pay the exorbitant sums demanded by the Province of New York to quiet them in their Possessions; that their Lands are daily patented to Strangers, and they turned out of their rightful possessions; that they are about 300 miles from the City of New York, & about 100 miles from Portsmouth, the Capital of New Hampshire, and of consequence under the greatest disadvantages in point of Government; that amidst all the late political tumults and their own personal sufferings they have yielded the strictest obedience to all your Majesty's righteous commands.

They therefore most humbly pray that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to review their most distressing circumstances, with the distresses of their fellow sufferers, and of your mere good pleasure grant them relief, by confirming to them their possessions, and reannexing them to the Province of N. H., where they with their fellow subjects of s^d Province may peaceably enjoy, not only their lands, but their civil & religious privileges as heretofore, under the wise administrations of his Excellency John Wentworth, Esq^r, Governor of s^d Province, which has been and still is such that the Eye that sees him blesses him, & the Ear that hears him gives witness to him, not only as an important Protector of the Properties and guardian of the civil and religious Liberties of all within his Government, but as a great promoter of virtue, learning, & of whatever else tends to make a people truly happy. To your Sacred Majesty your petitioners most humbly look for deliverance from their present distresses & for the restoration of their former liberties, and they, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

July. 15, 1773.

On the presentation of this petition for signatures in Norwich, a condition of things was disclosed that had not been generally understood. It is summarily stated in the following paper:—

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, March 11, 1773.

Mr. Burton, of Norwich, now in the Province of New York, gives the following account:—

“About two years ago Col. Jacob Bailey, of Newbury, in the aforesaid Province, came to Norwich with a petition soliciting the inhabitants of said Town to sign in order to facilitate our getting back to the Province of New Hampshire, in which affair Col. Bailey was very strenuously engaged in favor of New Hampshire, which said petition, I think, was universally agreeable to the people of our Town, as they had then a strong inclination to revert to the Province of New Hampshire, which affair rested pretty much in sus-

pense and in silence till about a year afterward I was surprized with a report that Col. Bailey was at New York negotiating such business, viz., endeavoring to get a patent for the Town of Newbury, and likewise attempting some alterations in the county of Gloucester which before had been set off into a county form. I wondered at it, and I could not account for it.

"About two months ago Col. Bailey was at my house, which opportunity I embraced, and desired him to satisfy me with regard to the inconsistency of his conduct respecting the above-mentioned affair. He replies, 'I will tell you truly and plainly;' and related, as near as I can recollect, as follows. Says he, 'When Governor Wentworth came up to the first Commencement he was at my house, and appeared to be very jealous to get the lands on the western side of Connecticut River added to the Province of New Hampshire, and desired my assistance in the affair;' and when he took his leave of me, he gave me his hand, and added that he would use his utmost efforts to recover the aforesaid lands. In about two months afterward I received a letter from Governor Wentworth, in the following tenor, viz., that I must make the best terms I could with New York; for he could do no more to help me toward my getting into the Province of New Hampshire: at the perusal of which I was very much surprized, and in consequence of which my quiet was very much disturbed, and to such a degree that I immediately took my horse and rode to Portsmouth, and enquired of the Governor the reason of his writing in the manner as has been related. But I could not get that satisfaction from the Governor that I desired and Expected; but he rather seemed to put me off, and discover a good deal of coldness and indifference, the reason of which I could not learn. Being still perplexed, I mounted my horse and rode to New York. When I arrived there, the Secretary smiled, and addressed me in the following manner: 'What! you are come now; now you are obliged to come, for your Governor is come before you, and now you are come.' Says I, 'What do you mean by your Governor's coming, I don't undersand you.' 'Here,' says he (handing me a letter), 'you may see what I mean.' The contents of which were thus, viz.: that if the Governor of New York would grant patents to the Governor of New Hampshire of those five hund. acre lots which old Governor Wentworth had reserved for himself in every town on the western side of the river when he gave charters of said towns, then he, viz., Governor Wentworth, would be contented to resign his claim to those towns, and would exert himself no more to have them revert to the Province of New Hampshire.

"This is as I understood then and remember now the substance of what Col. Bailey related. In consequence of which I was fully satisfied with regard to the consistency and legality of his conduct (for he assured me it was matter of fact), and was also quite discouraged with regard to our coming back to New Hampshire. And our town since that has been plotting and endeavoring to settle ourselves peaceably under the Province of New York on as good terms as we possibly could. And I believe this account from Col. Bailey, together with another report we have heard respecting the Province of New Hampshire (viz., that the Governor has the sole power of electing his council, and that civil cases that have been determined by a jury

may be finally referred to the council for decision, which makes the decisive power virtually to be lodged in the Governor alone), have been the only reasons that have rendered our inhabitants easy and contented to remain under the jurisdiction of New York, but principally the account of Col. Bailey, which was given before a number, and which I hear he has reported freely up and down this river.”¹

These astounding allegations, being communicated by Wheelock to the Governor, elicited the following reply:—

PORTSMOUTH, April 27, 1773.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am favored with yours of the 20th ult. and 14th instant. The former has been often in my hand to answer, but as often has some unexpected intervention delay^d me. Surrounded on all sides with various affairs & my Secretary absent, necessity compels me to rely on your friendship and candour to pardon me. Col^o Gilman inclos^d me your letter, whereon I directed the Printer to insert an advertisement in your name, notifying a meeting² [of the College board] on the day of your appointment, and at a place & spot most respectable to the College, which I hope will be agreeable to you.

Accept, my dear Sir, my best thanks for your measures in the town of Norwich. The credulity of that people does no credit to their judgment any more than Col^o Bailey's hypocrisy and falsehood does to his Honesty. Happy for me those that wou^d do me mischief seem always to frustrate themselves by their own Absurdity. It has prov^d so abundantly with Mr. Livius in England, whose complaints against me my friends write are now known to be calumnys only. Thus it will be with Col^o B. when it is consider^d that I cou^d by no means whatever have ever wrote the Letter he reports to have been. For It has never been Supposed that I had any personal claim to the District in question. As an officer, common sense tells them, after his Majesty had order^d I had only to obey; whence it is evident that it wou^d have been folly & impertinence for me to have written that I gave up any claim.

As to the usefulness & propriety of those lands being re-annex^d to this Province, I have ever declar^d it my opinion, and my endeavors are not now wanting to that point; & still more powerfully to ascertain and establish the private property under the Grants of New Hampshire, of which they feel the good Effect—in the reported injunctions from home to New York not to grant over the N. H. actual settlers & *bona fide* proprietors. So far from yielding up any claims or even Entering into the merits of it, you^l see by the Enclosed Copy That I expressly & carefully avoided it by applying for those Lots *as ungranted* in this Province, in which view alone cou^d I apply for them at all; that there might be no imputations of this sort, I was cautious to mention the particular conduct of the Gov^t & Council here & upon what principle; afterward as cautiously to describe ‘if the lots *in like circumstances.*’

¹ From a MS. in possession of the author.

² N. H. Gazette, April 23, 1773.

Thus, sir, youⁿ see how very different Col^o B. has represented the case, which I shou^d be glad when convenient you wou^d communicate & Explain to such as you think worth notice, without permitting them any copies. As to the Explanation Col^o Bailey gives in his Letter dated Norwich, 10 March, 1773, it is wholly a puerile evasion, and the meanest subterfuge of unprincipled ignorance, not to insist on the contradiction between what he said to Mr. Burton as taken by Mr. Ripley, and his Letter just above mentioned, by which he clearly proves the first line of the letter, viz^t "It is possible that matters may be represented *wrong* even on oath." I have only to say that I told both Johnson & Bailey The people were so indolent and backward in their own affairs, so covetous in money matters, & so unconnected with one another, and that N. York was so much the contrary, that I saw no prospect of success, but that I ever did & ever shou^d hold their title good under N. Hamps: altho I apprehended, from the above reasons only, that the jurisdiction wou^d remain to N. Y., in w^h case I tho^t it prudent for them to claim their lands under N. H. titles, which I knew in my own opinion wou^d be accepted; and that I wou^d soon as was in my power give them what information I cou^d. This is the whole matter, as far as I can in the least remember. It wou^d wound my charitable hopes to draw a conclusion in regard to Col^o Bailey. I therefore leave it to his Conscience; & from this Hour forget him and forgive him. After these poor people are undeceived upon the reports that have alarmed them, it may be eligible to decline their address, for as it wou^d be much more for their use than it cou^d be to mine, I am quite contented as it now is.

Col^o Phelps when in town mentioned something propos^d by way of petition & address from the west side on which he was to advise with you. I shall have great pleasure in seeing you at Portsmouth on the time propos^d, when I hope our Assembly will be dispos^d more generously toward the College. The memorial was refer^d to that time for consideration; that it may be one effectual for both yourself & the College I shall zealously urge, Because it is both my warm desire and best Duty to the people.

I am, with perfect Esteem and affectionate solicitude for your Health & every Happiness, Dear Sir, your truly sincere friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

REVEREND D^r. WHELOCK.

Governor Wentworth to Governor Tryon.

[*Enclosure.*]

NEW HAMPSHIRE, 14 Dec^r. 1771.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR TRYON, at New York.

SIR,—Yesterday, I had the Honor to forward to your Excellency, thro^o Capt. Holland's aid, & with his desire, the plan of Connecticut River as surveyed last year. It is reported that many of the Inhabitants who reside in that District which was lately annexed to New York are about waiting upon your Excellency concerning their respective possessions. From them it will appear that Depositions have been obtained in that country in such a manner, & of such people relative to their conduct & interest, as can by no means

merit belief. It gives me great pleasure that it is probable their true situation will be by them represented to your Excellency.

I beg leave to intreat your friendship to me, which may in some degree relieve a misfortune lately thrown on me. The late Governor of this Province, Benning Wentworth, Esq^r., at an advanced Age & extremely debilitated with Infirmary, was prevailed on to destroy his will & make a new one some time after, to the utter disherison of myself & every other Relative he had. Many peculiar circumstances aggravate this event. During his administration were granted by him many Townships of Crown Lands both on the East & West side Connecticut River, in each of which was one Lot of five hundred acres reserved, which he intended as a grant to himself. The Impropriety of this mode was often represented to him, but he still persisted until my arrival, when he thought it best to desire some more valid Security. But thro^t delay natural to old age, he neglected acquiring it. Since his death all those Lots that are in this province have been granted to his Majesty's subjects, being esteemed only reservations & insufficient to convey any property to him. If the lots in like circumstances that have fallen into the province of New York are yet ungranted, and it is consistent with your intentions, I should be happy in soliciting a grant thereof, and should place an additional value on any such recovery as being effected thro^t favor, which permit me to assure your Excellency I shall rejoice to cultivate & establish with the greatest attention. I am, &c.,

J. W.¹

There were several other reasons for the failure of the retrocession movement. One seems to have been a jealousy of extension in this quarter existing in the New Hampshire Assembly, where of course eastern interests predominated. Another was the want of unanimity among the western people themselves.²

New York had divided her territory east of the Green Mountains into the Counties of Cumberland at the south, and Gloucester [Glouchester] at the north, having the line of separation between Hartford and Norwich. The wish to return to the jurisdiction of New Hampshire was prevalent chiefly in Gloucester. The southern parts of Cumberland were earlier settled, came into more intimate relations with New York, and gave generally a strong support to that interest. The people west of the mountains, though having little sympathy with the settlers of the Connecticut valley, cherished to a large degree still greater dislike to New York. They carried it so far that in

¹ See also Governor Wentworth to Governor Tryon, Oct. 19, 1771, and Tryon to Wentworth, Dec. 23, 1771, N. H. State Papers, x. 218, 219.

² N. H. State Papers, x. 380.

March, 1774, Ethan Allen and others were proclaimed as outlaws by Governor Tryon. A year later the people of Cumberland County came into armed collision with the New York troops at Westminster, not out of hostility to New York, but to the royal authority.¹ They had organized in October, 1774, a County convention in opposition to British rule, which was kept thereafter on a permanent footing, in harmony with the revolutionary government of the New York colony, but subordinate to it.²

In January, 1775, several towns west of the mountains organized in opposition to New York in a convention at Manchester. At a second meeting at Dorset, in January, 1776, they appealed to the Continental Congress, and were advised by that body to submit for the present for the sake of the common success in the more important controversy with Great Britain. But they were not so easily soothed; and a third convention, called June 24, assembled at Dorset, July 24, 1776, to which the people of the Grants east of the mountains were now for the first time invited, and one article of the summons was "*to know the minds of the convention relative to their associating with the Province of New Hampshire.*" The people east of the mountains (excepting one town, Townsend, in Cumberland County) paying no attention to the invitation, the convention adjourned till September 25th, and sent committees to visit the people in the river towns and induce them to join. They appear to have met the people in local conventions at Windsor, August 6, and at Thetford, August 13, and no doubt elsewhere. Ten of the eastern towns appeared

¹ Vt. Gov. and Council, i. 303-7.

² The territory on Connecticut River was first made into a county by Act of the New York Assembly in 1766. This Act was repealed or disallowed, and for a time there was no government machinery there, so that it became "an asylum for persons guilty of all sorts of crimes, and a great number of wretches who had fled from justice in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut took up their quarters there and committed all kinds of disorders with impunity;" whereupon the County of Cumberland was re-established by executive order in 1768. As then bounded, it extended to the north line of Norwich. Gloucester County was established by an ordinance of Lieutenant-Governor Colden and Council, March 16, 1770, and in 1772 the boundaries were changed so as to include Norwich. Kingsland (now Washington) was the county seat. New York courts were held there in August, 1770, notwithstanding there was no dwelling-house nor any inhabitant in the town. Docs. Col. Hist. of N. Y., viii. 65; B. H. Hall's History of Eastern Vt., pp. 2, 5. See also some interesting particulars in "The Bench and Bar of Orange County," by Ex-Governor R. Farnham, pp. 35-37.

at Dorset in September.¹ All these were in Cumberland County. The people of Gloucester County still held aloof, for the reasons, probably hinted at in the letter of General Bayley, just quoted. In order more effectually to conciliate them, the convention adjourned, after three days, to meet in Cumberland County, at Westminster, on the west bank of the river, October 3. The meeting was postponed to Jan. 15, 1777.²

The settlers in the Connecticut valley on the New Hampshire Grants *west* of the river held to those west of the mountains centring at Bennington much the same relation as did the settlers in the valley *east* of the river to the dominant party at Portsmouth and Exeter. In both cases a degree of jealousy and distrust prevailed which stood in the way of a hearty union; and from both sides the settlers of the valley were looked upon with a certain undeserved supercilious and arrogant contempt. In both directions communication was difficult, over a wide barrier of mountainous, unsettled country, covered with forest and destitute of roads; while as between the settlers themselves, the river, so far from presenting a barrier, afforded a ready channel of intercourse; so that the people on the opposite sides of the river cultivated intimate relations among themselves, and a cordial sympathy with each other in their respective troubles. This was especially marked among the settlers of the northern counties, Gloucester on one side and Grafton on the other, coming as they did mostly from the same limited region in Connecticut at about the same time.³ It was not surprising, therefore, that the committees sent out from Dorset found in Gloucester, and to some extent in Cumberland, a prevalent desire that their friends on the other side of the river (then in the heat of their contest with the Exeter government) should be invited to join them. In the course of their tour the committees visited Norwich in September, where they met, by arrangement, Mr. John Wheelock, of Hanover, and discussed some propositions of that sort. But notwithstanding the intimations held out (clearly for a purpose) in their call of June,

¹ The proceedings of the Dorset and other conventions are printed in *Vt. Gov. and Council*, i. 16-79.

² *Vt. Gov. and Council*, i. 31.

³ Bennington was likewise settled from Connecticut, but by Separatists and others of a different creed from that which prevailed in the river valley. See *Conn. Valley Hist. Soc. Papers*, i. 160. This accounts in part for their mutual distrust.

this part of the scheme was in truth wholly distasteful to the Dorset managers; nor indeed were the towns east of the river "prepared to enter into a confederacy with the people on the west side of the river until the latter had formed their plan of government."¹ So nothing definite was accomplished, and in the following April we even find Wheelock active in the military service of New York²

The Dorset convention, meeting according to adjournment at Westminster, Jan. 15, 1777, with a large number of delegates from the river counties (Gloucester being now for the first time represented by two delegates from Norwich), but with a diminished representation from beyond the mountains, proceeded unanimously to declare the territory known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants *a free and independent State*, under the name of *New Connecticut*.³

Here were evidently the materials of four well-defined parties, whose struggles for supremacy during the next six years kept New Hampshire and New York, as well as the new State itself, in an unceasing turmoil, that involved even the Continental Congress, and threatened, not only civil war at home, but at one stage, through the unscrupulous tactics of one of the parties, the surrender of the disputed territory to the British. This last-mentioned party, dominated by the Allens and Governor Chittenden, we shall style, for convenience, the "Bennington Party."

Another—that with which we are now chiefly concerned, since it was directed in general from Hanover—had for its prime object from this time on, not only a recognition of the important political principles for which its leaders had been contending with New Hampshire, but the union under one jurisdiction of the valley towns on both sides of the river. The occurrences now to be related were essentially a tactical duel between these two parties.

The four towns of Hanover, Lebanon, Norwich, and Hart-

¹ "Public Defense," N. H. State Papers, x 299-300. Ira Allen says that the proposition for union came first from the east of the river, and took the committee by surprise (Gov. and Council, i. 291); but besides the fact that his veracity is not always to be relied on, his statement is directly at variance with that of Messrs. Bayley, Payne, and Woodward, and with the language of the Dorset call itself.

² See also a letter of General Bayley to the N. Y. Convention, Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv. 560; Vt. Gov. and Council, i. 373.

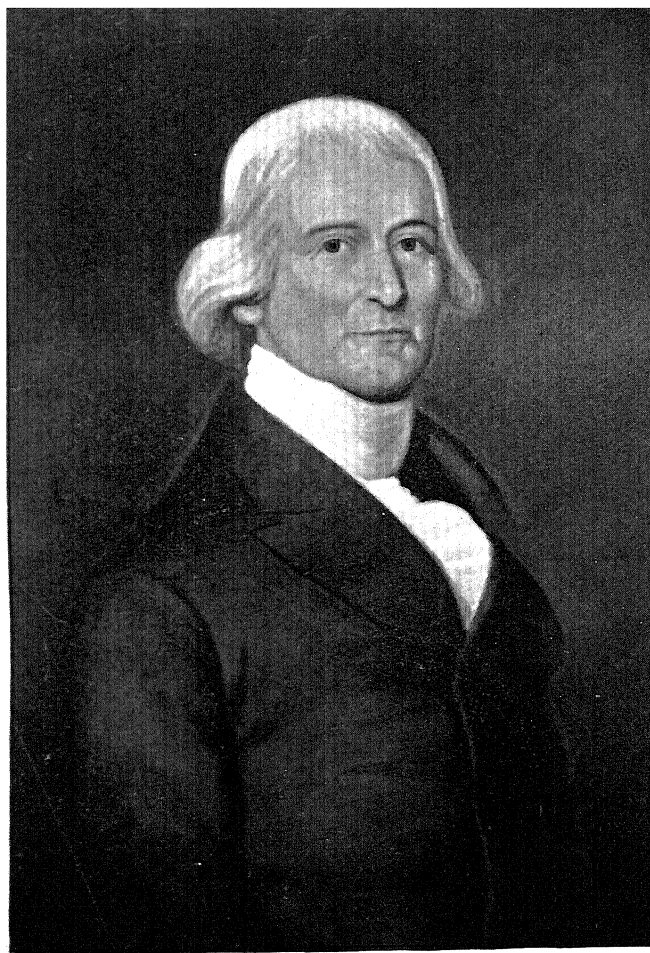
³ Vt. Gov. and Council, i. 41 and note.

ford having been located, as we have shown, designedly together by an associated body of petitioners from the same general locality in Connecticut, applying through a common agent and by a single petition, and granted on the same day in 1761 (the first of the new crop of grants), it was natural to expect that peculiarly intimate relations of business and friendship would subsist among their inhabitants, and that their people would be particularly averse to an arbitrary establishment of a line of separation which should place them under widely different jurisdictions.

These four towns, situated midway of the valley—equally distant from Charlestown and Haverhill, from Brattleboro and the upper Coos—had for their exact geographical centre the Dartmouth College plain, which in the course of these agitations took on, as we shall have occasion to explain, the name of DRESDEN. Here was the most populous village of the upper valley, with education and literary and business talent adequate to the emergency. Here the movement among the Eastern Grants was first commenced and here publicly inaugurated, and from hence was it principally directed throughout its course. Here it was fondly hoped to rear the capital of the new State proclaimed at Westminster. Its very name of *New Connecticut* testified to the influence of this interest in its formation, as does the subsequent change to *Vermont* the returning predominance of the Bennington interest. This party, therefore, in spite of the most scrupulous care on the part of the College authorities to preserve an appearance, at least, of neutrality, was from the first commonly, and not inaptly, known as the "College Party." I shall prefer to style it the "Dresden Party."¹ It enjoyed the contempt of the Allens, as composed of "a Petulent, Pettefoging, Scribbling sort of Gentry, that will keep any Government in hot water till they are thoroughly brought under by the exertions of authority."

Prominent in its direction from first to last we find a group of four towns. Norwich (with Newbury, whose circumstances were in some respects similar) appears to have been the centre

¹ It is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to Hon. John L. Rice for his intelligent and able article on "Dartmouth College and the State of New Connecticut," published in the first volume of papers of the Ct. Valley Hist. Soc., 1881.



BEZALEEL WOODWARD.

of the earlier efforts on the western side for restoration to New Hampshire, and it was (with Newbury) the last on that side to give up the contest and yield submission to Vermont;¹ while Hanover and Lebanon held out with equal persistence, on this side of the river, against the authority of New Hampshire, till they stood alone in their opposition. Hartford only (through the changing influence, it is said, of Mr. Joseph Marsh) drew away from the combination before the end of the struggle.

Each of the four towns furnished to the Dresden party a leader of high position and of more than ordinary ability. They were Joseph Marsh, of Hartford, Peter Olcott, of Norwich, Elisha Payne, of Lebanon (first of Cardigan), and Beza-leel Woodward, of Hanover.² Mr. Woodward was the most

¹ Vt. Gov. and Council, iii. 281.

² Joseph Marsh was born in Lebanon, Conn., in 1726, and followed Wheelock to this region in 1772. He lived in Hartford, near the present village of Queechee. He became the largest landowner, and for many years "carried the town in his pocket." He was colonel of the upper regiment in Cumberland County in the Revolutionary militia, a member of the Provincial Congress of New York, 1776, vice-president of the Windsor Convention, 1777, Lieutenant-Governor of Vermont, 1778-90, chairman of the court of confiscations in eastern Vermont, 1778, and chief judge, Windsor County, 1787-1795. His wife was Dorothy Mason, an aunt of Hon. Jeremiah Mason. He died in 1811, *at* eighty-five. Hon. Charles Marsh, of Woodstock, prominent on the side of the College in its troubles of 1815-19, was his son (Vt. Gov. and Council, i. 23, 235; N. H. State Papers, x. 291; Life of George P. Marsh; History of Woodstock; History of Hartford, p. 370).

Peter Olcott, born at Bolton, Conn., April 25, 1733, remained there as a merchant till 1772, when he removed to Norwich, on the New Hampshire Grants, and continued in the same business. He was chosen colonel of the New York regiment of militia in Gloucester County, 1776, and brigadier-general under Vermont in 1781. He was judge of the Vermont court of confiscations, 1777-78, councillor of Vermont, 1777-79 and 1781-90, judge of the Supreme Court, 1782-84, Lieutenant-Governor, 1790-93. He was a trustee of the College, 1778-1808. He died at the house of his son in Hanover, Sept. 12, 1808, *at* seventy-five.

Elisha Payne (third of the name in America) was born in Canterbury, Conn., February, 1731. Graduating at Yale College in 1750, he settled at Canterbury, and became one of the most prominent lawyers in Windham County. His father, Elisha, was also a lawyer, and a prominent lay preacher in the Great Awakening. Payne married Anna Waldo, of Canterbury, in 1753. She died in 1762. He married, second, Elizabeth Spaulding, of Plainfield, Conn., and removed thither in 1765. From 1762 to 1765 he was partner with his brother-in-law, N. Waldo, at Canterbury, in mercantile business. From 1765 to 1768 he was a member of the Connecticut Assembly. With Waldo he had acquired large interests in Cardigan (now Orange), and removing there in 1774 or earlier, built a grist-mill and a saw-mill, and went to farming, living in a log-house, in which was held the first religious meeting in the town. He moved to Lebanon about 1780, and built a house and mills at the

active, and second to none in ability. He enjoyed the further distinction of being a ready, effective, and logical writer. Their most prominent supporters were Israel Morey, of Orford, Jacob Bayley, of Newbury, and Jonathan and Samuel Chase, of Cornish. Though eventually defeated in their plans, they are entitled to our respect and admiration for the ability displayed in all departments of their work, and for their upright and honorable course,—in favorable contrast with the methods of their opponents west of the mountains, by whose dissimulation they were brought to a final defeat when substantial victory was in their grasp. Their regular constituency lay chiefly to the northward in Grafton and Gloucester, with the contiguous town of Plainfield (and from February, 1778, Cornish) in Cheshire. It was somewhat fluctuating, owing in part to a sharp division of sentiment in some of the towns. Even Lebanon was not free from dissentients. If there were any in Hanover, no memorial of them survives.

The College itself was fairly successful in maintaining an appearance of indifference. Professor Woodward, as soon as the matter took definite shape, gave up, ostensibly, his connection with the College faculty, and did not fully resume it while he continued active in politics. It is not to be forgotten, indeed, that although the most stirring period of the struggle,—viz., from April, 1779, to October, 1780,—Professor Woodward, notwithstanding his nominal resignation, was the actual executive head of the College. There is not the slightest doubt that the elder Wheelock was in hearty sympathy with the movement, and did whatever he safely could

outlet of Enfield Pond, on land given him to induce his settlement. He was a trustee of Dartmouth College from 1774 to 1801. The Exeter Government made repeated efforts to detach him from the opposition by judicial and other offices. He was elected councillor in Vermont, October, 1778, but declined the office, being at the time a member of the House from Cardigan. In October, 1781, he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Vermont by legislative joint ballot, and at the same session chief judge of the Supreme Court. He was, in December, 1781, commissioned by virtue of his office major-general of Vermont militia. In January, 1782, he was delegate to Congress. After the restoration to New Hampshire, he was State Senator in 1786, member of the House from Lebanon 1787, and in 1788 member of the Convention on the Federal Constitution, and voted for its ratification. He died at Lebanon, July 20, 1807 (Vt. Gov. and Council, i. 276; Grafton and Coos Bar Proceedings, 1888; Tracy's Great Awakening, p. 316; Granite Monthly).

to help it on; but he preserved, after all, a discreet reserve, in spite of which he was nevertheless generally credited with being a prime mover in the affair, so that the College interests suffered much in consequence at Exeter. The second Wheelock, coming to the College presidency in the midst of the excitement, consistently preserved the same attitude. Suspicion was aroused by his appearance on the scene in Philadelphia during the heat of the fight in the Continental Congress, in December, 1781. Mr. Livermore wrote to Mr. Weare: "President Wheelock is here, and professes to have no hand in politics, but is trying to get contributions for his Indian Charity School."¹

Yet the College had, as was well understood, small reason to expect sympathy or support from the Exeter party; and it was openly urged in the "Public Defence" (December, 1779) as one of the eight reasons why the Grants ought to be a separate State, "upon principles of prudence and equity," that the College, "which we esteem an inestimable benefit and advantage to this new State as well as to the Continent," would thereby fall into a jurisdiction "disposed to patronize it to the utmost," while, "on the contrary, if it falls into the State of New Hampshire, it will be in a State which has heretofore (as such) shown a very cool disposition towards it, and probably will continue the same neglect of it, and principally, perhaps, on account of its situation."² The old animosities, which the presence and power of Wentworth hardly kept in check, were still cherished to a considerable extent in the southeastern part of the State, and there were persons of prominence who seized every opportunity to keep them alive. During the winter of 1776-7 (for example) much odium was cast upon the elder Wheelock by the diligent circulation in that quarter by Col. Nathaniel Peabody and others of copies of a letter (not now extant) that Wheelock was said to have written to persons holding office under the Crown, advising them as to their acting on their commissions.³

It was under this condition of affairs that President Weare and his committee appeared on the scene, and met the United Committees at their adjourned meeting at Mr. Ordway's tav-

¹ N. H. State Papers, x. 452.

² *Ibid.*, 322.

³ MS. letter of David McClure, May 8, 1777.

ern in Lebanon, Feb. 13, 1777. It was a notable occasion and a notable assembly. Twelve towns were represented, by twenty-eight delegates.¹ Wheelock himself ventured to attend as a spectator. Hanover was represented by Capt. David Woodward, Capt. Aaron Storrs, Lieut. Jonathan Freeman, and Bezaleel Woodward, Esq. Following is the record of proceedings so far as preserved:—

LEBANON, Feb^y 13, 1777.

The Committees for treating with the Assembly's Committee, after having waited on and held a free Conference with them, were called on to meet by themselves; and they met accordingly.

1. Chose Col^o Timothy Bedel chairman.

2. Chose Bezaleel Woodward, Esq^r, clerk.

3. These Committees, taking into consideration the Conference this day held with the Assembly's committee, unanimously agree to make the following report to the United Committees, whose meeting is to be held here to-morrow, viz, That we have held a free Conference with said Assembly's Committee, particularly respecting the plan of representation which has been pursued in this State; and that no one of us is as yet in any degree convinced of the justice or Equity of said plan, but that an apprehension of there being just grounds for our uneasiness in that respect are still as great as they have ever heretofore been.

4. Voted that the assembly's Committee be served with a copy of the foregoing proceedings of these committees.

5. Voted that Major John Griswold be desired to wait on them with said copy.

A true copy from the minutes.

Attest: BEZA. WOODWARD, *Clerk*.

The record of the meeting of the following day (February 14) is not, as far as we know, preserved; but the circumstances which followed make it plain that the idea of a union with the State of "New Connecticut," then a month old, was discussed and favorably considered. The visitors from the eastward did not fail to report the presence of Dr. Wheelock at the conference; and so much noise was made about him that he thought it necessary to defend himself by a statement to the General Assembly.

DARTM^o COLLEGE, 16 April, 1777.

To the honorable General Assembly of the State of New Hampshire at Exeter:

MUCH RESPECTED GENTLEMEN,— It may seem rather too forward for a man so conscious of innocence as I am to undertake to exculpate and

¹ Morristown, Bath, Landaff, Haverhill, Piermont, Lyme, Hanover, Lebanon, Plainfield, Relhan (now Enfield), Canaan, and Cardigan (now Orange). N. H. State Papers, xiii. 760, where is a list of all the delegates.

vindicate himself before he is regularly and properly accused of the crime: yet I am so credibly informed, and it has been frequently told me, that it has been generally received as a truth by your Hon^{ble} Assembly and by a great part of this State that I and the College under my care have been the beginners and very much at the bottom of the present dispute and breach between the Eastern and Western part of this State, and that such a charge has been injuriously thrown out on one occasion and another against me and the College, and I am advised that the abuse thereby done to me and the College is so great as at least to justify me in taking this method of self-defence. And to assure you, Gentlemen, that such a representation of the matter, and so far as the nature of such a slander has, will, or may prejudice the subject, is groundless and abusive, I have never been to one meeting of any Committees, nor had one meet at my house, nor as I remember any one who has come to consult with me on that head from the first to this moment; excepting that when the Hon^{ble} Com^{tee} of your assembly lately met our Committees at Lebanon, I had the curiosity to sit awhile in the room with them to hear their debates and reasonings on this subject, that I might get an understanding of the controversy, and be able to think for myself of the merits of it. Nor did I ever look upon it to be a matter within my province to meddle with, unless properly desired so to do. Nor do I remember ever to have heard one of my students discourse one minute on the subject, or that they ever did so in the hearing of others, or that any one of them looked upon himself to have any business or concern in the affair, or that they have ever cared which way the cause turned, so be it should be most for the general good. And whatever has been said or insinuated contrary to that which I now say, I esteem to be, and it is so far as I know, false and unjust.

I heartily wish the well-being and prosperity of the United States, and of this in particular in which I am most nearly concerned, and shall be ready to serve them when and wherein I may do it. I wish you, Gentlemen, the divine presence, guidance, and blessing in all the important matters before you, and have constantly had, and shall, I believe, always have, a disposition to pay a due obedience and respect to all good and wholesome laws and ordinances of men, and most sincerely lament that long want of them which we have had such sad experience of. And am, Gentlemen [etc.],

ELEAZAR WHEELLOCK.

Accompanying this was a memorial asking the privilege for a time of maintaining gates across the highways near the College. Neither of the communications appears to have received any notice from the Assembly.

The convention of February 14 seems to have adjourned to meet April 2d at the inn of Capt. Ebenezer Green, in Lyme. At the annual meeting of the town of Hanover, March 17, the proceedings of the United Committees were read and unanimously approved, and it was voted—

"To appoint Bezaleel Woodward, Esq., and Jonathan Freeman, or either of them, to represent this town in the convention of Committees from various towns who have united in the western part of this state for the purpose of securing the liberties of the people and prosecuting such measures as they judge may have the effectual tendency to obtain a redress of and¹ . . . grievances we labor under, . . . and assembly of this State. And they are directed to take such steps relative thereto in our behalf as they shall judge proper, subject, nevertheless, to such instructions as they shall from time to time receive from this town."

The following instructions were given to the delegates. The original draft survives, in the handwriting of Mr. Woodward, and is in some respects a remarkable document:—

TO BEZA. WOODWARD and JONATHAN FREEMAN.

GENTLEMEN, — You are instructed by your constituents by no means to consent to the present plan of representation and form of Government of the Assembly of this State. Yet we would not have you consent to any steps towards a separation till every proper measure is taken for a redress or alteration thereof, for the effecting which you are to labor to the utmost of your power. And we recommend that the United Committees, as such, lay the true state of the Grievances of these Towns before the Assembly at Exeter, either by committee or agent, that the reasons be fully stated to them, and in case of non-redress be made public.

Respecting government, we would observe that we esteem the article of representation fundamental, and heartily agree to the sentiments relative thereto published in the address of the United Committees to the Inhabitants of this State and those of the Committees in the County of Worcester. Also that all persons in power be dependent, as nearly as may be, on the people of the County or District over whom they exercise it; and we concur in General with the Sentiments published in a pamphlet entitled, "*The People the best Governors.*"²

That you use your influence that the United Committees enter into some measures for suppression of extortion, &c., in which we desire a conformity to the Regulations of the States of New England in general, as near as our local & other circumstances will admit; and that the United Committees take on them to regulate such other matters as they find to be of pressing concern, & equally affect the welfare of the United Towns in general.

In fine, we would have you use your influence that nothing be done which shall induce to a separation from this, or union with any other, state till the steps which shall have been taken for redress be laid before your con-

¹ The record is mutilated by age.

² This was a small quarto pamphlet of thirteen pages, rudely printed, under date of 1776. So far as known, but a single copy survives, — now in the possession of the author; and this is the only allusion to it that has been found. As it is of marked ability and (having been but lately discovered) has never been reprinted, it is given in Appendix D.

stituents, and their sentiments are obtained relative thereto, and that you communicate these instructions to the convention of Committees of the Inhabitants.

HANOVER, March 11, 1777.

Capt. David Woodward, Bezaleel Woodward, Esq., and Capt. Edmund Freeman were chosen a Committee of Safety, and "they or a majority of them" were "instructed and empowered to transact any affairs which may come under their cognizance, agreeable to the former usage and the general practice of other towns in the New England States. Also that they take cognizance of breaches of the peace and any criminal disorder (during the dispute with the Assembly of this State), so far as is necessary to restrain the outbreking of disorder among us."¹ It was voted also "That the Selectmen and Committee of Safety be empowered to license public-houses in this town, and give them instructions; that tythingmen and constables be directed to inspect such houses and enter complaint of disorders to the Committee of Safety, who are empowered to proceed to trial and pass judgment and execution relative thereto agreeable to the recommendation of the United Committees."

The Committee of Safety was also directed to confer with other committees, and join them in procuring standards for weights and measures, if practicable.

The wish so clearly expressed in the foregoing instructions, and shared by other towns, to exhaust all probable means of accommodation with New Hampshire before joining the new State, kept that scheme still in abeyance, especially as no plan of government for "New Connecticut" had as yet been determined on, and the two parties seem to have temporarily turned away from each other. The eastern convention met according to adjournment at Captain Green's in Lyme, on Wednesday, April 2, 1777.² The following fragment is all that has been found of their proceedings. It is valuable as showing the scope of the authority exercised by this body: —

Whereas the Committee from Plainfield have represented to this meeting that some persons having been by s^d Town appointed to the office of Constable

¹ These committees had already been exercising powers of this kind, some instances of which are recorded. See *ante*, p. 323. Lebanon (March 14, 1780) directed her executive authorities to pursue and conform to the laws of Connecticut.

² Orford Town Records.

or Collector, and that Tax Bills have by the Selectmen been committed to them to collect, and that some one or more of them, having received such Bills and collected the same in whole or in part, have converted the money to their own use, and refuse to pay the same in unto the Selectmen for the Benefit of the Town; this meeting having taken the s^d case under consideration, do recommend that the Selectmen of s^d Plainfield warn a meeting of the Inhabitants of s^d Town for the purpose of their directing the s^d Selectmen (after having given such person or persons a reasonable time to settle his Bill) to proceed and take of their estate, and make sale of the same so far as may be necessary to answer s^d Bill & cost; as we conceive that each Town has full right to proceed effectually to collect such Taxes as are raised by them, and to distrain delinquents by warrant from the Selectmen.

NEHEMIAH ESTABROOK, *Chairman*.¹

LIME, April 3^d, 1777.

It is evident, however, that other matters of the highest importance continued under discussion, the nature of which may be inferred from the following instructions voted by the town of Orford to their committee "chosen to attend the meeting of the Committees from Lebanon, Plainfield," etc.: —

"1. That they meet the Committees of the several towns in this County at Capt. Ebenezer Green's in Lime, at the time of their adjournment.

"2^d. that they see if the Committee will adopt some plan for a reconciliation between the Assembly of this State & these towns.

"3^d. That they see if the Committees will make the following proposal to the Assembly, viz., that they issue writs, as soon as the public calamities will admit, for a full and fair representation of each town, to send as many Representatives as they may think proper, which Convention shall agree on a mode of future representation and form a plan of Government.

"4. That they refuse in our behalf to adopt the plan recommended by said Committee for the appointment & regulation of a tavern.

"5th. That they do not act on any other business of importance without first laying it before their constituents for approbation.

"6. That they make report to their constituents as soon as may be of their proceedings with the aforesaid Committee."

Final results were not reached until a subsequent meeting at Hanover, in June, at a meeting of the Convention of the United Committees from a number of towns in the New Hampshire Grants (so called), east of Connecticut River, held, agreeable to adjournment, at the house of Capt. Aaron Storrs in Hanover, on Wednesday, June 11, 1777:² —

Voted to present the following address to the Assembly at Exeter; viz., —

¹ From copy in Plainfield files. The last clause of the document and the date are in the handwriting of Mr. Woodward.

² N. H. State Papers, xiii. 762.

To the Honorable Council and Assembly convened and sitting at Exeter, in the State of New Hampshire.

GENTLEMEN, — The Convention of Committees, from a number of Towns in the New Hampshire Grants (so called) east of Connecticut River, beg leave to observe that in the month of May, 1775, we were invited, with other towns in the Colony of New Hampshire, to unite in Provincial Congress by representatives for the purpose of taking such measures as the alarming situation of public affairs then rendered necessary for the security of the most invaluable privileges granted by the God of nature to the human race, which Congress was proposed to continue for the space of six months only; That said Congress, near the close of their sessions (without any particular authority vested in them for that purpose by their constituents) did undertake to adopt a plan of representation whereby, we apprehend, they abridged the liberties of the people in that essential article by depriving a great number of towns of the privilege of future representation, and assuming the right of regulating that article wholly to themselves; which regulation a considerable number of towns in the above-mentioned Grants not only refused their assent to, but early remonstrated against it to the next Congress, but without any effect. Since which time (*viz.*, in the month of July last past) we in some measure stated our reasons for non-compliance in a printed address to the inhabitants of said State; notwithstanding which the same oppressive mode of representation still continues, as appears by the writs for election issued last winter.

We have likewise had opportunity to confer with a Committee from your body, which has also proved ineffectual, as they were not empowered to enter into articles of stipulation, or make any proposals whereby the aforesaid difficulties might be removed. And in order to the removal of them we beg leave to observe that the only legal bonds whereby the said Grants were ever connected with the former Government of New Hampshire was by the Commissions granted to the late Governor Wentworth, empowering them to exercise jurisdiction over said Grants with the former part of said Province, which Commissions and the extent of their jurisdiction were held at the pleasure of the Crown to enlarge or diminish as the King should see fit; which Commissions being now extinct, the people living on said Grants are become unconnected with the former Government of New Hampshire or any other incorporated State as to any compact of theirs, or any Grant or charter whatever, and are so far reverted to a state of nature.

Yet notwithstanding, as we have heretofore been connected as aforesaid, we are authorized by our constituents to assure you we are not only willing, but desirous to be again united together in one incorporated body or distinct State, if it can be mutually agreed upon, consistent with our just rights and privileges. We would therefore beg leave to propose the essential preliminaries on which we are willing to unite; *viz.*, —

1. That the inhabitants of every town within said State (including said Grants) have liberty, if they see cause, to elect at least one person to represent them in the General Assembly of said State. But that every town, where there are less than one hundred families, have liberty of coupling

themselves with so many adjoining towns as shall agree thereto for the purpose of sending one representative only. And that each town (or towns united as aforesaid) pay their own representative for his service in attending said Assembly, travelling fees to be paid out of the General Treasury.

2. That the seat of Government be fixed as near the centre of the State as conveniently may be.

3. That the further establishing a permanent plan of Government in the State be submitted to an Assembly that shall be convened, as aforesaid, for that purpose only. And as we look upon ourselves free from connection with any incorporated State or particular body, if we cannot agree to unite together on the principles above prescribed, or those which are equivalent thereto, we must seek after connection with some other State, or endeavor to obtain relief in some other way.

All which we desire you to take into your wise and candid consideration, and give us such answer to the above proposals as you shall think proper, that we may no longer remain in the unhappy circumstances that we have been and are now under.

Voted that Major Childs [of Lyme], Lieut. [Jonathan] Freeman [of Hanover], and Capt. [Bela] Turner [of Lebanon], or either two of them, be a committee to wait on said Assembly with said address, and that they endeavor in the fullest manner to enforce the justice and equity of the articles therein suggested, and labor to the utmost of their power that such articles of stipulation be agreed to by said Assembly as shall correspond with those proposed in our said address.

NEH³ ESTABROOK, *Chairman.*

The committee thus appointed, having been prevented by the tumults of war (Ticonderoga, Bennington, and Saratoga) from performing their duty, the Convention met again by adjournment at Mr. John Payne's tavern in Hanover, Oct 14, 1777, and appointed a new committee to present the address as soon as convenient. It was accordingly presented by Col. Elisha Payne and Bezaleel Woodward, Esq.; and being taken up by the Assembly, a committee of five¹ was appointed in joint meeting of both Houses to confer with those gentlemen and report an answer next morning. They presented, November 19th, the following report, which was the same day accepted by both Houses, —

“That they have met said gentlemen, viz., Col. Paine and Mr. Woodward, and freely conversed with them concerning the several matters set forth in said address, and are of opinion that although they esteem the present form of Government and representation of the people as far from being perfect,

¹ Speaker John Langdon, Chairman, Josiah Bartlett, Benjamin Giles, Ebenezer Thompson, and George King.

yet as the same was only proposed as temporary, and the exigencies of the war having been, and still continuing such as to leave no opportunity for the people to enter upon forming a plan of Government and representation with that attention and deliberation that matters of so great consequence require, the present model will answer for the purposes of our grand concern, — viz., carrying on the war, — and in the mean time for the regulation of the most essential concerns of our internal police, without any great injury to any part of the State. But [they] are in full sentiment that as soon as the circumstances of the war will admit, that a full, free, and equal representation of the people should convene and form a permanent system of Government, and settle the mode of representation.”¹

The unwisdom of this temporizing policy is now very clear. Some prompt and hearty concession to the complaints, the justice of which was here fully admitted, would have prevented much subsequent trouble. As it was, the result could not be otherwise than unsatisfactory to the disaffected towns. Meetings of towns and united committees seem to have followed, of which no record is preserved. Cardigan, we know, had a town meeting, December 24th (called December 16th by Joseph Keney and Elisha Payne), “to receive information of the doings of the united committees at their late meetings, particularly the resolves of the Assembly relative to our address presented to them, &c., and give advice to the committee what further steps to take for redress of the difficulties we labor under.”

In the mean time the New Connecticut Convention had reassembled, June 4th, by adjournment, at Windsor, with an increased representation from beyond the mountains.² A committee was appointed to draft a constitution and report it at Windsor, July 2d, to newly elected delegates. The prevailing sentiment of the towns east of the river being now in favor of reconciliation with New Hampshire, and their union with the new State hardly to be expected, the Bennington party, with the help of reports and advice brought by their committee from Philadelphia, was able to rid themselves of the remaining symbol of such a union, — the name of “New Connecticut.” Without opposition they substituted in its place the name of Vermont, the ostensible reason being that the original name had been previously applied to a district on the Susquehanna River.

The second Windsor convention, coming in the heat of Burgoyne’s advance, was in session but a week (July 2d to 8th).

¹ N. H. State Papers, xiii. 764.

² Vt. Gov. and Council, i. 55.

It adopted in haste a constitution, copied mainly from the first used in Pennsylvania, and adjourned, after fixing the first meeting of the General Assembly to take place at Bennington the ensuing January. Being recalled to Windsor in December to give the document further revision, the convention changed the day of inauguration to the 12th of March, and the place to Windsor; induced perhaps in part by the fact that the obstinacy of the Exeter party had by that time once more opened the way for the union with the towns east of the river.

Nothing but soft words and empty promises having been obtained from the Exeter Government, the people of Hanover and the associated towns renewed their agitation. Another letter, signed "Republican," printed in pamphlet form, was widely circulated. It was dated Jan. 6, 1778, and printed at Danvers, Mass., but was supposed to have emanated from Hanover, and from the pen perhaps of Mr. Woodward. This letter advocated with great skill and ability a separate and independent State, including both sides of the river.¹ While this ardent appeal was fresh, the united committees held, June 28th and 29th, 1778, at the house of Israel Morey in Orford, a very important session, of whose records we possess but fragments; though from succeeding events, and from allusions hereafter quoted, we must believe it to have been a critical and decisive occasion, when certain important principles of revolutionary tendency were definitely adopted. The town of Orford had voted that "the whole of the inhabitants paying taxes in the town be a committee to meet the convention." The convention, however, adjourned to a somewhat distant day, an immediate union with Vermont being clearly not then in contemplation.

But hardly had it dispersed when matters took on a new complexion in consequence of some unexpected, and at points inexplicable, advances from Vermont, and the following circular letter was sent out by Mr. Woodward: —

To the Inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants east of Connecticut River:

Since the adjournment of the meeting of United Committees, held at Orford two days ago, some overtures of importance have presented themselves to view relative to a union with the inhabitants on the Grants west of said River, on account of which it appears absolutely necessary that a

¹ It may be found complete in N. H. State Papers, x. 259, and Vt. Gov. and Council, v. 513.

meeting of all the inhabitants on the Grants east of said River be held by their Committees sooner than the time of the adjournment of the meeting as it now stands. I am therefore desired by some members of the United Committees, as well as sundry other Gentlemen of influence and importance on said Grants, to desire a meeting of Committees from all the Towns on the Grants east of said River, to be held at the house of Moses Chase, Esq^r., innholder, in Cornish, on the second Thursday in Febr^y next, at ten of the clock in the morning, to confer together relative to a union with the inhabitants on said Grants. The length and importance of the matters to be considered, together with the shortness of the time which the necessity of the case point out for the meeting, will not admit their being couched particularly within the limits of this letter; but they will be layed open to the said meeting for consideration.

I am, in behalf of the gentlemen above refer^d to, your Most obedient & very Humble Serv^t,

BEZA. WOODWARD,

Clerk of the Convention of United Committees above mentioned.

ORFORD, Jan^y 31st, 1778.¹

The convention accordingly reassembled at Cornish, Feb. 12, 1778, and again by adjournment at the same place, March 11th. On March 12th the first session of the Vermont Legislature convened just over the river at Windsor.

The New Hampshire Assembly, led, perhaps, by the growing disaffection on the borders, made tardy provision, February 26th, for a Constitutional Convention to meet at Concord, June 10th. It was ostensibly to be a "full and free representation of all the people;" but the same objectionable classification was insisted on respecting the western towns, and they remained unrepresented. The constitution prepared at last by this body, in June, 1779, was promptly rejected by the people.

In Hanover the effect of the proceedings at Orford was immediate and important. Besides other things, the convention voted "to recommend the towns to instruct the selectmen to form lists or assessments of all estate as well real as personal, and all rateable polls in their respective towns agreeably to the method gone into in the State of N. H., and that they raise the taxes called for by the Assembly of that State, and pay them into the Treasury of the Town, to be disposed of hereafter as the town shall think proper."² At a special meeting of the town of Hanover, called for Feb. 2, 1778, it was "voted to raise

¹ From an original in the possession of the author.

² Cornish Town Records.

£250, lawful money, to be levied agreeably to the law of the State of New Hampshire, to be paid into the Treasury of the town by May 1, to be disposed of as the town shall hereafter direct for paying expenses of the war.”¹ And a committee was appointed to estimate the value of real estate in the town, and make a tax bill for the £250 on that, together with the common list. It was also voted (apparently at the same meeting) “that we approve of the proceedings of the united committees to this time, together with the *letter signed Republican*, and that Esquire Woodward and Lt. Freeman be further instructed as follows, viz. :” —

TO BEZA WOODWARD, ESQ^R. & LIEUT. JON^A. FREEMAN :

GENTLEMEN, — You are directed by your constituents to use your influence in the Convention of united Committees, that no measures be taken whereby you may be obligated to unite with the State of Vermont until it shall appear that the Assembly of New Hampshire refuse a compliance to the articles of *agreement proposed to them by said Convention*. Yet at the same time we judge it necessary that you endeavour to promote as large a union as may be among the people on these Grants, and to use your endeavors that matters may be so concluded that in case said Assembly shall not comply with said terms, the way may be opened for a union with the [State of Vermont²] Inhabitants of the Grants West of Connecticut River.

The Orford Convention having further “recommended to those towns which are not already incorporated that they forthwith incorporate themselves,” the people of the College district in February seized the opportunity to realize by independent action their oft-defeated plan for a separate organization. The step was hastened perhaps by the fact (if such it was, as we are led to suppose) that the College district held views rather more advanced and less conservative than the town as a whole. That in addition an estrangement (hereafter to be explained) between Dr. Wheelock and the town authorities gave further impetus to the separation, can hardly be questioned. The following appears to have been the form of their declaration of independence : —

WHEREAS the original & great design of Incorporations is to secure the rights & immunities of the people, and to preserve inviolate the residue of that liberty which is delivered into the hands of society; *and Whereas* for

¹ A second vote, in similar terms, was passed in April.

² These words were written and erased in the draft.

the aforesaid purposes, by the Royal Presents of George the 3d, King of Great Britain, Patents were made out whereby two tracts of land were incorporated in the N. H. Grants by the names of *Hanover & Lebanon*; In consideration that an institution of learning was fixed in the South west corner of said Hanover, & a large tract of land contiguous appropriated to the use of the same: The afore mentioned towns of Hanover & Lebanon did at their annual meetings in March 19th & 26th, 1771, resolve to consent & agree to petition the Legislature that a district of land, containing at least three miles square, be made in the South west part of Hanover, & north west part of Lebanon, & be incorporated into a distinct town, which has not hitherto taken place by reason of the public confusions; but as the number of inhabitants is at this time considerably increased, and our distance from the usual place of town meetings in said Hanover is near six miles, and the public road naturally uncomfortable for travelling, whereby it is impossible for us to enjoy all those rights & privileges which were originally designed by incorporations; As all power at present centers in the people, as the aforesaid towns have fully consented and agreed that we should be incorporated into a distinct & separate town by ourselves, and as the united committee have recommended it in their convention at Orford, Jan^y. 28, 1778, that the inhabitants of towns that are not already incorporated should incorporate themselves as soon as conveniently may be:

We do therefore maintain, publish, and declare that we are incorporated into a distinct Town, and do hereby by our own act and deed incorporate ourselves into a separate town by the name of Dartmouth; and we do furthermore agree and resolve according to the votes of the aforesaid towns that all that part of the Town of Hanover, bounded southerly by the southern line of said Town; Easterly by the two mile road and Eastern line of Murch's meadow (so called) and the second hundred acre lots drawn to the original rights of the first minister and Prince Freeman; northerly on the Southern and Western lines of the second hundred acre lots drawn to the Original rights of J. Sherwin, S. Walcott, N. Wright, and O. Freeman, and the 54th river lot, and westerly by the western line of s^d Hanover; also, all that part of the Town of Lebanon bounded as follows (viz.): beginning at the nor-west corner of s^d Lebanon, thence running Easterly on the line between Hanover and Lebanon three miles; thence turning off at right angles and running westerly to the Eastern line of the Town; thence northerly on said line to the first mentioned bound, — shall be forever subject to the jurisdiction and control of the Town of Dartmouth, excepting what belongs to and is or may be appropriated to the use & benefit of the College: provided, nevertheless, that the freeholders of the said town of Dartmouth shall never come into any resolve or determination that shall interfere with the interests or jurisdiction of the incorporation of Dartmouth College; and we do farther assert the rights & jurisdiction of the said College to be inviolate according to its original intent, & that the Trustees of the same, or their representative, shall forever have a right to negative any votes or resolves that the freeholders of this town may pass respecting the persons, estates, tenements, hereditaments, or jurisdiction of the same.

And we do further determine that the freeholders of the aforesaid town shall from this time forever have a right & power to make all laws and choose a representative for the general court, selectmen, & all other town officers in as full and free a manner as any other town may or ought to do; and we do appoint the Second Tuesday of March annually, forever, to be the day for the freeholders to meet upon and choose such town officers, and other officers, and make such laws as they shall think proper, and that the freeholders may meet at any other time & at such place as they shall think proper to transact business; *provided*, nevertheless, that no meeting shall be considered as legal unless warned at least fourteen days beforehand in a public manner as the freeholders may hereafter determine most proper; the design & reasons of said meeting being specified. Excepting that special matters may sometimes demand a shorter time for said warning, and we do hereby except from the premises and appoint Wednesday, the 25th of this month, to be a day for our annual town meeting for the present year, — the said meeting to begin at ten o'clock A. M.

And it is our final declaration that no resolve that may be hereafter passed touching the immunities, interests, or privileges of the aforesaid College shall have any force or efficacy until it has been laid before the Trustees of the same, or their representative, & had his or their approbation; & that all the aforesaid resolutions may have the greater faith and credit, we hereby publish, declare, & bind ourselves, our Estates & interests, to defend them against all oppressors.

Signed by our Hands, & Sealed with our Seals, this 19th day of February, 1778.

The original declaration is not preserved. It is known to us only by two copies, both unsigned, but identical in terms and in date. Still another draft is preserved, slightly different in form, but incomplete. The name of Dartmouth having already been appropriated to a township in the northern part of the State, now Jefferson, the people of the College District at their meeting (probably) of February 25, substituted DRESDEN. The reasons for the first selection and for giving it up are obvious, but what motives determined the final choice it is not easy to conjecture. The area of the new town was 5,760 acres, of which over four thousand acres were owned by the College and Dr. Wheelock and his family. The town of Hanover at its regular meeting, March 10th, was served with the following official announcement, of which the original is preserved: —

To the Inhabitants of the Town of Hanover, in Town meeting assembled:

GENTLEMEN, — The Inhabitants in the vicinity of Dartmouth College expected at their settlement there to be incorporated into a distinct Town, agreeable to the tenor of your consent at your Town meeting in March, 1771,

the effecting which has been prevented by the tumults of the war; and as the United Committees at their meeting in Jan^y last passed a vote which implies that they conceive that the power in such matters lies in the hands of those who are the subjects of such incorporation, We have therefore, in conformity to that principle, proceeded to incorporate ourselves by the name of DRESDEN, taking in all that part of your Town which you gave your consent to have taken in at your meeting in March, 1774 [1775], and have agreed to exercise every right within ourselves proper for a corporate town, and will hold you harmless in the neglect of any duties which might otherwise be incumbent on you within those limits: notwithstanding which we mean to pay our due proportion of those charges which have accrued to this time (and which are now unsettled), in the same manner as though we were not incorporated; also, that we will pay in like manner our due proportion of State or continental taxes with you until we shall be assessed therefor within ourselves. Pr. order of the Inhabitants of s^d Dresden.

AARON STORRS, *Moderator.*

DRESDEN, 9 March, 1778.

Hanover, without recorded vote, acquiesced in this action, appointed Jonathan Freeman to adjust accounts with the College district, and from time to time as occasion demanded tacitly recognized the new relations as duly established. Lebanon also made no objection, and the arrangement continued in actual harmonious operation during the next five or six years, until the final collapse of the union and the return of the towns to the undisputed jurisdiction of New Hampshire, when the division was unrecognized, and of course ceased. Cardigan seems to have been to some extent in the same predicament.

Payments were at this meeting ordered (besides others) as follows: to Beza Woodward for his agency to Exeter, £6 16s., and for eighteen days with the united committees, £11 14s.; to Capt. David Woodward for two days at Windsor, and for four days at No. 4, £1 16s.

The united committees met, agreeably to adjournment, at the inn of Moses Chase, in Cornish, on March 11, Nehemiah Estabrook presiding. Twenty towns were represented. Bezaleel Woodward and (presumably) Jonathan Freeman appeared for Hanover. The machinery of Dresden not being yet in running order, that town did not appear among them at this time, though named in the convention (with ten others) as expected to give adhesion in the near future. The Vermont Legislature meeting the next day at Windsor, just over the river, it is of course to be understood that negotiations for a union began at once.

The Bennington party was still in the ascendancy in the Assembly, and Ira Allen tells us that a majority determined at first to have nothing to do with the scheme; but the dispute running high, and some of the members from the river towns declaring their purpose in that event to withdraw and unite with the eastern towns, the matter was compromised by leaving it to the people.¹

The result of the mutual deliberations appeared on the 17th in carefully drawn proposals by a committee of the Cornish convention for articles of union, which they desired to have submitted to the people of Vermont. On the next day it was so ordered by the Assembly and the convention's committee, of which Samuel Chase was chairman, summoned by a circular letter a general convention of all the towns in Grafton and Cheshire, to assemble at the meeting-house in Lebanon (on the hill near the river), the last Wednesday in May.²

To the Honourable General Assembly of the State of Vermont, now held at Windsor in and for said State :

We the subscribers, a committee appointed by Delegates of the Towns of Cornish, Surrey, Lemster, Marlow, Acworth, Plainfield, New Grantham, Lebanon, Enfield, Hanover, Canaan, Cardigan, Lyme, Plymouth, Orford, Piermont, Haverhill, Bath, Lyman, and Gunthwaite [20], all lying and being on the New Hampshire Grants (so called), east of Connecticut River, beg leave to represent that by the Declaration of Independence of the United States, all connections which ever subsisted between y^e aforesaid Grants and any State was dissolved; whereby it becomes necessary for y^e Inhabitants thereof to subject themselves to some Regular form of Government, and as their Local and other circumstances render it convenient for them to unite with the State of Vermont, the Delegates above mentioned appointed us to confer with the Inhabitants on y^e N. Hampshire Grants west of s^d river (by their convention or otherwise relative to a union with them, etc.), —

That besides the Towns above named we have confidence, from Information, that the Towns of Croydon, Dresden, Dorchester, Cockermouth, Wentworth, Rumney, Campton, Trecothick, Warren, Landaff, Morristown [11], and sundry other Towns on y^e s^d Grants will unite in y^e measure; and would have united in y^e Appointment of this Committee had they due Information and Opportunity thereto.

Therefore, in order to lay a foundation for such union, we the Committee afore mentioned beg leave to propose the following articles of union, viz. :

¹ Vt. Gov. and Council, i. 405; N. H. State Papers, x. 292.

² These documents are preserved in the town files of Plainfield. So far as I know, they have never before been published, though "searched for in vain." See N. H. State Papers, x. 276, note. They show a state of facts somewhat different from the statements of Slade (Vt. State Papers, p. 89).

I. That the Inhabitants of all the Towns on s^d Grants which lie east of Connecticut River, and west of y^e western line of the antient State of New Hampshire, or y^e Patent Line (so called), or so many of s^d Towns as shall consent and agree thereto, be united with the State of Vermont as y^e same is described in their Declaration of Independence, bearing date January 15th, 1777, provided they amount to a considerable number of Inhabited Towns, and that those Two Territories be erected into one intire and distinct State, by the name of Vermont.

II. That the constitution of s^d State of Vermont, with the following Additions and Alterations, be adopted and established as the Constitution and plan of Government for y^e proposed State (viz.) :—

1st. That in Section 10th the word *future* be omitted, and next after y^e word *meeting* be inserted next after y^e union between this and the United States shall have taken place.

2d. That in Section 17th, next after the word "Assembly," in the third line from y^e bottom of page 16, be inserted "and neither House shall dissolve or adjourne, except from day to day, without y^e consent of both Houses."

3dly. That Section 27th be omitted, and instead thereof be inserted that the Representatives of the respective Counties, when met in General Assembly, shall nominate and appoint yearly the Justices of the County Courts or Inferior Courts of Common Pleas, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and Judges of Probate (except as to the number in each county, which shall be determined by the General Assembly), and to be commissioned by the Governor and Council

4th. That Section 34th, respecting Intails, and Section 32d, respecting Printing Presses, be omitted.

5th. That the Stile of the members of the Supreme and Inferior Courts, in Sections 18th and 24th, be transposed, viz., y^e members of y^e Supreme Court to be Stiled *Judges*, and y^e members of the Inferior Court *Justices*.

6th. That next after Section 21st be added, "and the Supreme Court of Judicature shall consist of a Chief Judge and four Assistant Judges, to be appointed by the Assembly annually, and commissioned by y^e Governor in Council, either three of whom shall be a quorum, and shall be invested with all the powers and Jurisdictions of a Supreme Court."

7th. That next after Section 41st be inserted, viz., "That the common law (so called), as it has been generally practiced and understood by the N. England colonies (so far as the constitution and circumstances of the State will admit) be and is hereby instituted as the common law of this State."

8th. That all clerical and typographical errors in the Constitution be amended, so as it may comport with the foregoing alterations; provided, nevertheless, that the Constitution of the State of Vermont, as it now stands, shall be considered and acted upon as y^e Constitution of s^d State untill the afore-proposed alterations shall be made by some future General Assembly, being previously instructed by their constituents so to do.

III. That all costs which have arisen or may arise to the Grants on each side Connecticut River previous to the proposed union be defrayed by the Grants on each side separately.

IV. That the foregoing proposals of union be laid before the Inhabitants of the respective Towns in the State of Vermont, and that the Union shall not take place unless assented to by the major part of the Towns who are

Represented at this Assembly; nor shall the foregoing Treaty of union be binding to any town East of s^d River other than such as shall assent thereto.

V. That as soon as the foregoing union takes place, those Towns on the Grants east of Connecticut River which shall agree thereto (provided they shall amount to a considerable number of Inhabited Towns) shall have right of Representation in the General Assembly of s^d State, agreeable to the afore-mentioned Constitution.

Windsor, in the State of Vermont, March 17, 1778.

ELISHA PAYNE,	SAMUEL CHASE,
BEZA WOODWARD,	NEHEMIAH ESTABROOK,
ABEL STEVENS,	JONATHAN CHASE,

Committee.

STATE OF VERMONT, IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, March 18, 1778.

The foregoing being considered by the House, Voted and resolved that the same be laid before y^e respective Towns in the State for Their Approbation.

Attestⁿ : BENJAMIN BALDWIN, *Clark*.

A true copy of record compared.

Attestⁿ : THO^s CHANDLER, JUN^r., *Sec'y*.

This Committee made report by a circular letter to the towns in the New Hampshire Grants, calling for a convention of Grafton and Cheshire Counties.

CORNISH, March 18th, 1778.

GENTLEMEN, — The Committee appointed to confer with the convention of the State of Vermont have had an interview with Their Assembly, and mutually agreed to propose Articles of union to the Towns on y^e Grants on each side of Connecticut River for their acceptance.

Therefore, notwithstanding the proposal in our late convention that the report should be made to separate Conventions in the Counties of Cheshire and Grafton, the Committee, who have had a conference with s^d Assembly, considering that this will likely be the last convention previous to the union, and that many signal advantages will arise from their meeting together, have agreed and do hereby request a General Convention of Delegates or Committees from all the Towns on s^d Grants, in both Counties, to be held at the Meeting House in Lebanon, on y^e last Wednesday in May next, at nine o'clock in the morning, to hear y^e report of s^d Committee, and agree to the s^d articles of union, in behalf of their Towns, or act otherwise relative thereto, as the towns shall see fit to direct them.

We are, gentlemen, your most obedient and humble servants,

ELISHA PAYNE,	SAMUEL CHASE,
BEZA WOODWARD,	NEH ^m ESTABROOK,
ABEL STEVENS,	JON ^a CHASE,

Committee.

To the Inhabitants of [Plainfield], to be communicated.

The College was informally but efficiently represented in the person of Rev. Silvanus Ripley, who was introduced as chap-

lain to the Assembly, and whose popularity, talents, and experience were exceedingly well adapted to exert a favorable influence. After this business was concluded, Wheelock summoned him home to undertake another mission of tact and delicacy (hereafter to be mentioned), but he begged to be allowed to remain till the end of the session.

WINDSOR, March 18th, 1778.

REVEREND & HONORED SIR, — I have just received your letter desiring of me immediately to return. If it was suitable and practicable for me to comply with your Proposition, I should do it with the greatest cheerfulness. . . .

In the first place, I am under engagements by promise to tarry here during the session of the Assembly. The people are very desirous for it, and the Assembly have also desired it. In consequence of which I attend on public prayers every morning. Should I leave them, I know of no one to supply my place. And is it not of consequence for me to tarry, in this point of view, considering especially the State is in its infancy? Besides, 'tis dangerous crossing the river, and attended with much trouble should I get over; and if I should, 'tis very unlikely whether I shall be able to get back again by another Sabbath; and if I don't, likely this numerous congregation will be destitute, which I think would be a great pity. I hope the Doctor will think these reasons sufficient to excuse me. Mr. Woodward will inform you of particulars. I am, with duty and esteem,

Your very affectionate and humble serv't,

SILVANUS RIPLEY.

P. S. — The advertisement I thought the Doctor would have opportunity to send before I should, therefore I left it on your table. The mustard I will bring when I return.

It may be fairly supposed that the ensuing weeks witnessed no little canvassing, and that every point likely to bear on the result was carefully guarded. The possession of the Capital of the new State was, after all, a central, but probably as yet un-avowed, object in the struggle between the College party and that of Bennington. To this an indispensable requisite was the possession of a *printer*, of which no place in the State, on either side of the river, could boast. The prospect of a union being so favorable, no time was lost in seeking to establish, through Dr. Wheelock's influence, this qualification at Dresden. In March he wrote to Dr. Pomeroy as follows: —

DART. COLLEGE, March 30, 1778.

MY VERY DEAR & REV^d SIR, — This hasty line is upon a special & important occasion, & an affair which I could fully trust with none who has not

the interest of this College so at heart as freely to exert himself to promote the same. We have been long wishing for a good Printer in this Vicinity, & since the forming of the State of Vermont, in which we expect this College will be included, we apprehend the motives to induce a Printer to come will be very strong & inviting, as he may serve both the State & the College; but we have lately heard that endeavors are vigorously using to obtain a State Printer on the other side of the Mountains, about eighty miles from us, which will wholly defeat the desire as well as purpose of the College, as we shall be nearer to Exeter than to that place proposed. Mr. Trumbull, Printer at Norwich, has been well recommended to us as a man of virtue, learning, & fidelity in his business. — These are therefore to pray you, kind sir, as quick as possible to ride to Norwich and see what you can do for us, having due respect to the moral, religious, & literary accomplishments of the Man, as well as his fidelity & skill in the business of his profession, and let him know that there is now a door open for him in this Vicinity if he will come or engage to come speedily; and will be open till you have had a reasonable time for him to come or you to send. We hear they have wrote a young Mr. Green to go on the other side the Mountains, and one's coming or determining to come hither will better serve the State as well as College, and no doubt stop their proceedings therein. Pray don't fail. I am, thro' the pure mercy of God, able to walk a little. My family *in statu quo*. All give love in abundance, especially your most affectionate

ELEAZAR WHELOCK.

THE REV^d. DOCTOR POMEROY.

P. S. — If Doctor Pomeroy should not be at home, I would pray the Rev^d Mr. Lathrop or Dr. Bliss to undertake and effect the same, as desired above.

E. W.

Dr. Pomeroy being sick, Rev. Elijah Lathrop, as he informed Wheelock May 8th, —

“Rode to Norwich, by Dr. Pomeroy's desire, and find a Printer can be had, proper encouragement being given. Mr. Huffer [Hough] is the most likely to be obtained, who is nearly out of his apprenticeship with Mr. Trumbull; but he cannot resolve in the matter till he has consulted his father, and then will write you a line by his friend; . . . can be better able to determine in the fall. He has no types, which are difficult to be obtained at this time, & the scarcity of paper is another objection, there being no paper-mill in your State. From what has been necessarily said in the affair, there is danger of some endeavors to intercept the design and fix the business on the other side the mountain.”

Assured by this that the matter was of instant importance, Col. John Wheelock was despatched early in June, by subscription among the citizens,¹ and procured one Alden Spooner

¹ Wheelock's Diary, June 18, 1778.

to undertake the business, who came up from Norwich, Conn., to Dresden without delay, and established his press, in time for the adjourned meeting of the Vermont Assembly, upon a lot of a half acre given him by the College, where the "Tontine" afterward stood. A few months later he issued from that press the first newspaper ever printed on the Grants or in Vermont, the "Dresden Mercury."

Pursuant to the call from the committee at the Cornish Convention, delegates from the whole eastern side assembled at the meeting-house in Lebanon on the last Wednesday of May, whence they adjourned to meet on the 24th of June at Orford.

Hanover, at a special meeting, April 2, chose Jonathan Freeman her delegate, and appointed a committee of six¹ to determine his instructions. At a later meeting (May 25), they joined with him two associates, Capt. John House and Ensign Nathaniel Wright, and again adjourned to the next Saturday to settle the instructions. How they were settled we know not.

We have no record of the meeting at Lebanon, but we know from collateral circumstances that the union was there accepted. Orford (whose delegate was Wheelock's grandson, Davenport Phelps), at a special meeting the first Wednesday of June, "voted *nem. con.* that they accede and agree a union with the State of Vermont, *agreeable to the doings of the above convention at Lebanon.*"

Of the Vermont towns making returns on the question of union, a large majority favored it. On the reassembling of the Legislature at Bennington, June 11th, the representatives of sixteen towns east of the river presented themselves and were admitted, by vote of thirty-seven to twelve, and a general invitation was extended to other towns contiguous to any of them. The towns so received were Cornish, Lebanon, Dresden, Lyme, Orford, Piermont, Haverhill, Bath, Lyman, Apthorp (Littleton), Enfield, Canaan, Cardigan (Orange), Landaff, Gunthwaite (Lisbon), and Morristown (Franconia).² The representative of Hanover was not present; but Dresden was

¹ Capt. David Woodward, Deacon Towle, Lieutenant Durkee, Lieutenant Wright, Deacon Ordway, and John Smith.

² N. H. State Papers, x. 277; Vt. State Papers, 89-90. It is noticeable that of the seven towns in Cheshire County represented at the Cornish convention, but one (Cornish) consummated the union; Grafton furnished all the rest.

promptly on hand by Mr. Woodward, who now devoted himself more exclusively to public affairs, and to avoid compromising the College, tendered a resignation of his professorship, which was "put on file" by the trustees at their annual meeting in August.

The Vermont Legislature adjourned June 18th, and on the 24th there was held at Orford the adjourned meeting of the united committees; at the close of which, relying upon the stability of the union, the body was "dissolved," — though destined, as it proved, to a speedy revival. Following is the record of its proceedings as communicated the next day by Nehemiah Estabrook to President Weare.¹

At a Convention of Committees from sundry Towns on the Grants east of Connecticut River, held by adjournment at the House of Israel Morey, Esq^r. in Orford, June 24th & 25th, 1778, —

Voted and Resolved, that it be and hereby is recommended to the Inhabitants of the Towns on the Grants east of Connecticut River who have lately United with the State of Vermont strictly to comply with and obey those orders which may come to them from Authority of the State of Vermont, or by desire of any General or Field Officer on the Continental Establishment, or commanding officer on this River, through the hands of those Military Officers who were latest commissioned over them by the State of New Hampshire.

Voted and Resolved that the Towns east of Connecticut River who have United with the State of Vermont be notified that the General Assembly of said State have passed an Act empowering each of the respective Towns in said State to convene on tuesday, the seventh day of July next, and chuse a Justice of the peace in their Town (if they Judge proper) to continue in office untill the next Sessions of the General Assembly; and that we recommend that the Select Men of the Towns east of said River which have United as aforesaid call meetings in their respective Towns, for said purpose, on the day above mentioned; and that they be advised to make return of such appointment to his Excellency Tho^s Chittenden, Esq^r., Gov^r of said State, agreeable to the Tenor of said Act.

Voted and Resolved that it be recommended to the Towns east of Connecticut River who have been United with the State of Vermont that at a suitable time and place they agree in Town meeting on some proper method whereby the Inhabitants of their respective Towns may be entitled to the privileges of Freemen of said State, agreeable to the Sixth Section in the Constitution; for which purpose we recommend that they appoint and empower some Person or Persons to administer the Oath therein mentioned.

¹ N. H. State Papers, x. 277, xiii. 127, and original MS. in possession of the author.

Voted and Resolved that John Wheatley, Esq^r, Mr. Abner Chandler, & Capt. John Young be a Committee to receive and adjust accounts of claims for services done in preparing and completing the Union with the State of Vermont.¹

Whereas this Convention, at their meeting held at this place last January did recommend that the Towns raise the taxes called for by the Assembly of New Hampshire & pay them into their treasuries, to be disposed of under the direction of the Town, Voted & Resolved to recommend that having collected their proportion of the forty thousand pounds called for by the Assembly of New Hampshire and the sixty thousand pounds called for by the hon^{ble} Continental Congress, the Towns retain those Sums in their respective treasuries untill some measure may be agreed on whereby the Towns east of Connecticut River who unite with the State of Vermont may disburse them in an uniform manner.

Voted & Resolved to transmit to the President of the Council of the State of New Hampshire a Copy of the Resolves of the Assembly of Vermont relative to receiving the Towns on the Grants east of the Connecticut River into Union with them, together with the following Letter, signed by the Chairman (Viz.):

ORFORD, June 25th, 1778.

HONORED SIR, — The Convention of Committees from the several Towns mentioned in the enclosed copies take this opportunity to transmit to You as President of the Council of the State of New Hampshire a Resolve of the Assembly of the State of Vermont relative to a Union of said Towns, &c., with them, by which you will be avail'd of the political situation of these united Towns and others on the Grants who may comply with said Resolve. We hope, notwithstanding an entire separation has now taken place between Your State and these Towns, that an amicable settlement may be come into at a proper time between the State of New Hampshire and those Towns on the Grants that Unite with the State of Vermont relative to all civil and military affairs transacted in connection with the State of New Hampshire since the commencement of the war to the time of said Union, so that amity and friendship may subsist & continue between the two States.

I am, Sir, in behalf of said Committee, with respect,

Your most Obedient and humble Servant,

NEHEMIAH ESTABROOK, *Chairⁿ*

HON^{BLE} M. WEARE, ESQ^R, President of the Council of New Hampshire.

Voted and Resolved that these estates which are now in the Probate office in the County of Grafton be recommended to be proceeded upon in

¹ In a copy (in Mr. Woodward's handwriting, certified by him as extracted from the minutes) found in the files of Cardigan, this vote is replaced by the following:

"Voted and Resolved to allow the following accounts to Committees who have transacted business for this Convention, amounting in the whole to £66 2s., to be paid by the respective Towns as follows, viz.: Lebanon, £8; Canaan, £4; Cardigan, £3, etc., and that the same be collected and paid to Bezaleel Woodward, Esq., who is hereby appointed Treasurer to receive the said sums from the several Towns, and pay them to the respective persons to whom the accounts are allowed."

that office in the name and by the authority of the State of Vermont until the next General Assembly of said State.

Voted that this meeting be and is hereby dissolved.

Extract from the minutes :

Attest : BEZA. WOODWARD, *Clerk*.

The union appearing now to be an accomplished fact, the town of Hanover, unwilling to be left behind, voted, at a special meeting held July 30, to "join with the State of Vermont, for the same reasons and on the same conditions with the others." President Wheelock was even more prompt to take refuge under the protection of the new State, by a petition dated June 4th, and transmitted by the hands of Professor Smith, who set out for Bennington, June 9.¹

To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, to be convened at Bennington, June, 1778 :

The memorial of the Rev^d Eleazar Wheelock, D D., President of Dartmouth College, on Connecticut River, Humbly Sheweth . . . [After reciting the history of the College, and alluding to the Charter as "amply endowing it with jurisdictions, powers, immunities, and privileges *equal to any University within the Realm of Great Britain*, and whereby it became a body corporate and politic, as independent of any Corporation as any other incorporate body whatsoever is or can be"] . . .

And as it is by the Providence of God located in your Vicinity, and I have with pleasure observed in your well-formed Constitution the Expression of your pious care early to lay a foundation to promote Religion, Learning, and Virtue in your State, and particularly to erect a University in the same for the encouragement of those pious purposes, I am encouraged to make this proposal to you, and desire you to take it into consideration, whether you will or not take this School under your friendly and Charitable Patronage, and assert and Vindicate the rights, jurisdictions, immunities, powers, and privileges which it is entitled to by royal Charter, and which has since been ratified and confirmed by the Honorable Continental Congress.

And particularly that till it shall be in a capacity to appoint such officers and orders as it is by charter entitled to for the Safety, Edification, and well-being of the same, that you would enact that the President for the time being shall be a justice of the Peace, he being duly qualified therefor ; and that the corporation of said College shall have right to appoint another to that office to be an assistant and officiate with him therein, and this more especially for the tryal of causes which concern the School or university, that they shall have right, as occasion shall require, to call in a Magistrate or Magistrates, a Justice or Justices of the Peace, of the Vicinity in your

¹ Wheelock's MS. Diary.

State to assist, as there shall appear occasion, in the tryal of such causes as may be before them ; and that the officers of your State shall be under the same obligation to obey the precepts issued forth by the aforesaid authority that they are to obey any other officers or judicatory whatsoever ; that appeals from this court shall be to the Superior Court of your State ; that all tryals and determinations wherein those are concerned who do not belong to or are not connected with this School or University, and all processes respecting such, shall be according to the laws of your State.

And, moreover, that you Grant unto this University that there be two or three Charity Schools or Academies, besides the present, erected upon the same plan, and under the same jurisdiction, and for the same pious purposes, as the present in connexion with this University is, and they to be fixed in such places as your State shall judge most convenient ; that the respective Schools shall be endowed with landed and other interests as the charity and pious disposition of your State or any individuals thereof shall induce them to liberality toward the same. That this corporation shall have liberty as they see occasion, due respect being had to the friendship and liberality shown to them respectively by the Inhabitants in the Vicinity, to give the preference to either of them as the place for the annual Commencement to confer the honors of said University, or to erect the principal buildings to accommodate the students belonging to the same ; that these glebes of land which were granted in the respective Townships to the Society in London for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts shall, or such part of them as your State shall judge fit, be granted and sequestered for the only benefit, use, behoof, and support of said School, or of the University, to which they shall be subordinate, and this as being most agreeable to the original charitable and pious purpose and design of the same, and I submit to your consideration whether you will not esteem a grant to this University of the Township of Kingsland, which was once granted for the encouragement and building up of an Episcopal College in New York, to be a reasonable & acceptable return & offering to the Lord Jesus Christ for the signal tokens of the divine favor hitherto manifested to your State.

And as to what I have here said respecting your charitable endowment of this Institution, it is wholly submitted to your wise and prudent determination. And as to what concerns the powers, jurisdiction, & immunities of the same here expressed, they do not exceed those which were granted by the Royal Charter. And your own thoughts will suggest whether they are more than are necessary for the safety and well-being of an Institution of such a nature, and so liberally endowed with an invaluable treasure to be defended & secured, or more than will best subserve the honor & reputation of your State, and render it respectable in the account of the present & of generations yet to come.

Respected Gentlemen, with my best wishes and ardent prayers that you may enjoy peace, unanimity, and divine guidance & direction in all your consultations & determinations in the important matters that are before you, and that the word of God in due time may have free course, run, and be glorified, & the Redeemer's Kingdom be built up, and glory dwell in your

State, I subscribe, with much affection & esteem, your honorable Assembly's most obed^t & most humble Serv^t;

ELEAZAR WHEELLOCK.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, 4 June, 1778.

Upon this Ethan Allen wrote as follows:—

BENNINGTON, 14th of June, 1778.

REVEREND SIR, — Your memorial to the General Assembly of the State of Vermont appears to me Reasonable; Th^o for certain reasons which the Governor and Council Assign, I am Thoughtful that this Assembly will Not at this Setting Determine upon all the Matters in the memorial set fourth. Inasmuch as Mr. Smith has not brought the charter of Corporation with him, the Next General Assembly seems to be thought the most proper to Determine upon so copious a Matter, when a proper representation of the additional District on the East Side of the river will be had. In the Mean Time Shall use my Influence that this Assembly Take the College under their Patronage, and Invest yourself with Civil Authority in the manner you Desire; this you may stand in need of for the good regulating the College till next assembly may be convened.

Permit me, reverend sir, to assure you that in all things I will exert myself to strengthen your hands; and I pray that the Blessing of God may accompany your Labour, to the Great Happiness and building up of this State and the Eternal Well-being of many Souls in the world to come.

I am, Reverend Sir, with Due Deference,

Your most Obedient & Most Hum^l Servant,

ETHAN ALLEN.

Notwithstanding Allen's doubts, the Assembly voted, June 15, "to take the incorporated University of Dartmouth under the patronage of this State;" also that "the Rev. Doct. Wheelock be appointed and commissioned as a justice of the peace for said incorporated society." And "that the Trustees of Dartmouth College have power to choose or nominate an assistant justice to the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, D.D."¹

On the 8th of October the Vermont Assembly met again at Windsor. Eleven of the New Hampshire towns were represented, all in Grafton County.² Bezaleel Woodward took his seat as delegate from Dresden, and Jonathan Freeman and David Woodward from Hanover. Bezaleel Woodward was chosen clerk, and was a member of every important committee. The "election sermon" was preached next day by Rev. Eden

¹ Slade's Vt. State Papers, p. 273.

² Lebanon, Enfield, Dresden, Hanover, Canaan, Cardigan, Orford, Piermont, Haverhill, Gunthwaite, and Landaff (Slade Vt. State Papers, p. 275-6).

Burroughs, pastor of the Eastern Church in Hanover; and Alden Spooner, of Dresden, was chosen public printer, jointly with his brother, Judah Paddock Spooner, of Connecticut. The union seemed to be fairly launched in smooth water.

But the Bennington party, though defeated, were neither friendly nor idle. Ethan Allen had been sent to Philadelphia to make interest for them in Congress, and he took advantage of the opportunity to come to a secret understanding (if Allen's own statement is to be trusted¹) with Josiah Bartlett, the New Hampshire delegate, who promised, if the union should be dissolved, to aid Vermont in obtaining congressional recognition. Allen reported to the House, October 10th, that this union was now the only obstacle. A spirited remonstrance, addressed by President Weare to Governor Chittenden the preceding August, was presently brought forward, and nearly a week devoted to discussion of the subject in joint committee of the whole, and by a sub-committee consisting of the Governor and Jonas Fay, with Lieutenant-Governor Marsh and Mr. Woodward. The union was, after all, on October 20, sustained by a decided vote, and a special committee was chosen to prepare a vindication of it to be published.²

But the tactics of the Bennington party, though ineffectual in obtaining a direct vote of dissolution, succeeded so far as to infuse a spirit of timidity in respect to further steps that might be unpleasant to New Hampshire, so that the very next day, when it was proposed to set up the machinery of government east of the river, either by extending to that side the limits of the counties of Cumberland and Gloucester, or by erecting a new county there, they were able to carry the negative of both propositions, several towns in eastern Vermont, among them Hartland, Windsor, and Woodstock, giving their voice with the majority.³ The adverse majorities were small, on one vote nine (35 to 26), and on the other five (33 to 28). It is not possible at this date to unravel the matter fully. There may have been much to exasperate the minority that does not appear on the surface, or they would hardly have taken the radical course they did upon a

¹ N. H. State Papers, x. 287.

² This committee comprised Col. Ethan Allen, Col. Elisha Payne, Dr. Jonas Fay, Bezaleel Woodward, Esq., and Gen. Jacob Bayley (Vt. State Papers, p. 97).

³ Slade's Vt. State Papers, pp. 97-101, 276.

defeat, on such a point, by so narrow a majority.¹ But claiming that the effect of the vote was to violate the compact by denying to the people over the river the equal benefit of the laws, they not only filed two formal protests signed by twenty-four members (twelve from each side of the river), but on the next day, with the Lieutenant-Governor of the State, Joseph Marsh, and two members of the Council (Peter Olcott and Thomas Moredock, both of Norwich), making twenty-seven in all, they solemnly withdrew from the Legislature.² Mr. Woodward also resigned his clerkship.

The seceders, representing ten towns³ on the Vermont side of the river (all in Gloucester, save Hartford and Wilmington), and nine Grafton towns on the New Hampshire side, organized forthwith, with Governor Marsh as chairman, and Mr. Woodward as clerk. Their first step was to appoint a convention of the towns in the valley to assemble at the meeting house in Cornish on the second Wednesday of December, the ninth day of the month;⁴ and the next to despatch Col. John Wheelock to Philadelphia to forestall and prevent any recognition by Congress of the State of Vermont under existing conditions.⁵ They then adjourned, to meet at Lebanon early in November.⁶

The remaining members of the Vermont Assembly, thirty-seven in number, finding themselves too few for a quorum, were much embarrassed, and in doubt what to do. They sent Ira Allen to Exeter, and Ethan Allen again to Philadelphia; and calling upon their towns for instructions, adjourned, to meet at Bennington, Feb. 12, 1779, when, the Bennington party being in undisputed supremacy, the union was without opposition dissolved.

The Allens took great credit to themselves for the results of

¹ It is very probably true, as Ira Allen asserts, that their expectation was to break up the Assembly (as two thirds were necessary for a quorum), and to revive the State of "New Connecticut" in the river valley. See his *History of Vermont*, reprinted in the *Vt. Historical Society's Collections*, vol. i.

² *Vt. Gov. and Council*, i. 430; iii. 499.

³ Hartford, Sharon, Corinth, Moretown, Fairlee, Royalton, Norwich, Barnet, Wilmington, Strafford, Cardigan, Enfield, Canaan, Dresden, Hanover, Lebanon, Gunthwaite, Haverhill, Orford.

⁴ Hanover paid £4 10s. as its proportion of expense of sending out the circulars.

⁵ *N. H. State Papers*, x. 289.

⁶ According to Ira Allen; see *N. H. State Papers*, x. 294.

their intrigues. Ethan, in a letter to President Weare, October 23, alluding to the union as having been brought about "inadvertently, by the influence of designing men," and declaring his opinion that it was "now Entirely Desolved," boasted that he "engaged to Col. Bartlett to use his influence at this assembly for that purpose," and that he had "punctually discharged his obligation to Col. Bartlett for its dissolution."¹

At a meeting of the Town of Hanover, held Nov. 23, 1778, the question was put "whether this meeting do justify and approve of the conduct of those members of the General Assembly of the State of Vermont who entered their protest against the proceedings of and withdrew from said Assembly on the 22^d of Oct. last;" and it passed in the affirmative. The question "whether this meeting will proceed to chuse two persons to represent them in the Convention to be holden at Cornish the 2^d Wednesday of Dec^r next, for the purposes mentioned by the Committee of the protesting members above mentioned," also passed in the affirmative, and Jonathan Freeman and Capt. John House were chosen.

Before the time came for the convention to assemble, three of the seceders, Jacob Bayley, Elisha Payne, and Bezaleel Woodward, being a majority of the committee appointed by the Vermont Legislature for that purpose before the breach, issued from Spooner's press at Dresden a pamphlet, dated December 1, entitled "A Public Defence of the Right of the New Hampshire Grants (so called), on both sides of the Connecticut River, to associate together and form themselves into an Independent State."² It is an able document, well reasoned and hard to be answered, written probably by Mr. Woodward, and affords us an authoritative declaration of the position then occupied by the Dresden party.

At the appointed day, December 9, the convention met at Cornish. Twenty-two towns were represented, including eight west of the river. Lieutenant-Governor Marsh was made chairman, and Bezaleel Woodward (member for Dresden) clerk. Hanover was represented by Jonathan Freeman. It was voted unanimously to "unite together, for the purpose of pursuing such

¹ N. H. State Papers, x. 287.

² The document is in full in N. H. State Papers, x. 296; Vt. Gov. and Council, v. 525.

legal and regular measures as may have a tendency to secure to these Grants the benefits of good government, without any regard to the distinction made by the arbitrary line drawn on the western bank of Connecticut River by the King in Council in the year 1764.”¹ The pamphlet “Defence” was unanimously approved, and in view of the probable formal dissolution of the union by Vermont, proposals were again made to the State of New Hampshire for the restoration of ancient jurisdiction on both sides of the river. The adhesion of other towns was invited, and the convention adjourned, to meet at the call of the chairman. Before adjournment a standing committee was appointed, which established permanent headquarters at Dresden,² and from that point entered into an active campaign and correspondence. Besides other things, they urged upon General Gates, in February, 1779, a renewed attempt upon Canada. Ira Allen, who “*providentially happened* at said Convention,” assured President Weare that the purpose of the promoters was “solely to bring the seat of government on Connecticut River near the College.”³

In pursuance of these arrangements, a definite proposition was made to the New Hampshire Assembly, March 17, 1779, by Jacob Bayley, of Newbury, and Davenport Phelps, of Orford, in behalf of the grants, “that the whole of the said grants be connected and confederated with the State of New Hampshire.”⁴ The Bennington party was wide awake, and sent its shrewdest member, Ira Allen, to Exeter to counteract them. A committee headed by Allen’s friend, Col. Josiah Bartlett, recommended, April 2d, to *make the claim* west of the river, but not to enforce it until the dispute should be settled by Congress. The report amounted to nothing, as was probably intended. The further consideration of this matter was postponed (Allen says by his instigation) to June, ostensibly in order to ascertain more fully the sentiments of the people on the disputed ground.

¹ N. H. State Papers, x. 325, 328, 336; viii. 817-8; Slade Vt. State Papers, p. 102; Vt. Gov. and Council, iii. 499. Mr. Freeman was allowed for his expenses £35, —being at twenty for one, equivalent to £1 15s.

² Joseph Marsh, of Hartford, chairman, Bezaleel Woodward, of Dresden, clerk, Col. Israel Morey, of Orford, Major Jonathan Child, of Lyme, Elisha Payne, of Cardigan, Peter Olcott, of Norwich, and Jacob Bayley, of Newbury.

³ Vt. Gov. and Council, v. 540.

⁴ Vt. Gov. and Council, i. 400.

As a measure of conciliation, no doubt, several civil appointments were offered on April 3d to the Dresden party.¹ Elisha Payne was named Chief Justice of the Grafton County Court of Common Pleas, and Mr. Woodward senior associate and justice of the peace and quorum, and Capt. John House, of Hanover, was chosen coroner; but they did not accept, and the courts were not opened.

The town of Hanover at its annual March meeting chose David Woodward, Nathaniel Wright, and Lieut. John Wright Committee of Safety, and renewed the instructions of the previous year looking toward reconciliation.

On April 23d, the convention's committee sent out from Dresden circular letters to the towns west of the river, asking a vote and return some time in May upon the question "whether the towns are willing that the New Hampshire Assembly extend their claim and jurisdiction over the whole of the Grants, New Hampshire at the same time submitting to Congress whether a new State shall be established on the Grants;" and on the 3d of June the committee met at Dresden and appointed Colonel Olcott and Mr. Woodward, "in the name and behalf of the people in the northern parts of the New Hampshire Grants, to use their endeavors that the Assembly of New Hampshire at their next session assert and effectually enforce their claim to the Grants west of Connecticut River."²

These gentlemen, with Governor Marsh, repaired in due time to Exeter, and were heard in committee of the whole, June 24th. Ira Allen was on the ground in the interests of their adversaries. The returns to their April call were somewhat scanty,—which the committee ascribed to the diligence of their enemies in destroying the circulars sent out. But they confidently asserted that the sentiment west of the river and east of the mountains was nevertheless decidedly for joining New Hampshire. Allen made a lengthy defence; after which, on the same day, the Assembly accepted unchanged the report of their committee, made the preceding April.³ Mr. Whipple wrote from Congress to Mr. Bartlett, July 12, "I am happy to find the court have determined to lay in their claim to that ter-

¹ N. H. State Papers, viii. 326.

² N. H. State Papers, x. 338, 341; Vt. Gov. and Council, viii. 400-402.

³ Vt. Gov. and Council, i. 436.

ritory, but I would wish nothing had been said, in the vote, of Vermont being an independent State."¹

To add to the complications, the friends of New York (of which a considerable number yet remained in the towns of Cumberland County) gathered (very likely by instigation) in convention at Brattleboro, May 4, 1779, and petitioned the Governor of New York to take immediate and effectual measures (even with arms) to re-establish the authority of that State over this region.

On these facts being brought to the attention of the Continental Congress, all parties having at one time or another appealed to that body, a committee of five was appointed, June 1, 1779, to repair to the Grants and inquire into the reasons of the turmoil and try to bring about a settlement. This action, though precipitated by the proceedings at Brattleboro, had been some time in contemplation. It was promoted by Mr. Jay, the special delegate of New York, "knowing [as he wrote Clinton] that if Congress proceeded to inquire, it would be a ground for pressing them to go further and determine, *especially as I was apprised that the result of these enquiries would be in our favor.*"² The committee consisted of Messrs. Ellsworth and Root, of Connecticut, Edwards,³ Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, of New Jersey, and Samuel Atlee of Pennsylvania. The two last named arrived alone at Bennington about three weeks later. Mr. Whipple wrote that the two from Connecticut were intending to accompany them, but "the Rev. Doctor was in so great a hurry" that "he and Atlee set off the day before the others arrived at Philadelphia." Ebenezer Thompson, secretary of the New Hampshire Assembly, was appointed to meet them in behalf of the Exeter Government; and committees from the united towns were called together by their chairman, Governor Marsh, by circular letters dated July 1st, to meet in convention at Dresden, July 20th, "for the purpose of uniting on a method to lay the state of these Grants before the committee from Congress who are soon expected here."⁴

¹ Original preserved at Hanover.

² Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 187.

³ This name appears in the original record on file in the Department of State at Washington. No one by the name of Edwards, however, appears on the rolls of Congress prior to 1788. Perhaps this Mr. Edwards was not a member of Congress.

⁴ Orford Town Records.

But the committee, according to Jay's account, seem never to have been designed to afford to the people an honest hearing, nor to do aught but amuse and deceive them in the interest of New York. The two gentlemen waited neither to hear New Hampshire nor the people of the Grants. After a few days spent at Bennington, they returned to Philadelphia, doubtful about making any report, though they did make an informal report July 13th. Jay wrote: "The committee, you know, never had a formal meeting; it nevertheless had its use. The individual reports of the members who composed it advanced our cause, and even Mr. Witherspoon, who was & is suspected by New York, made representations in our favor." Mr. Whipple wrote, August 3: —

"I am sorry Mr. Sec^y Thompson did not see the committee of Congress at Vermont. However, I hope every measure will be taken to support New Hampshire claims to that territory. New York has been very quiet about that matter ever since the return of the committee; but this calm will not last long. You are too well acquainted with the acts and insidious designs of certain men to need their characters from me. If the claim of New Hampshire is not supported, that country will assuredly be annexed to New York, which I am sure must be attended with disagreeable consequences not only to New Hampshire, but to other Eastern States."¹

In preparation for the convention of the 20th the town of Hanover met July 19th and chose Jonathan Freeman and Captain House to attend it. It was also voted "that the committees be directed to urge that every lawful and prudent measure be used to prevent Connecticut River becoming a line between any two States on these Grants, and that they act discretionary with regard to the measures they pursue for that purpose."

Notwithstanding the failure of the Congressional committee, the convention gathered at Dresden according to summons. Their entire proceedings are not preserved. They appointed Colonel Olcott and Mr. Woodward agents to attend the Continental Congress and submit the following circular: —

In Convention of Committees at Dresden, July 21st, 1779:

This Convention finding it necessary that an agent be sent without delay to Congress to make known to them the political circumstances of the Inhabitants of these New Hampshire Grants, and as a sum of money is

¹ Bartlett MS.

immediately wanted to defray the expense of said business (the success of which so greatly concerns these Grants), It is hereby earnestly recommended to the inhabitants of the respective towns to advance immediately such sum or sums of money as their abilities admit and the importance of the cause demands, and that the money be transmitted to Col. Olcott or Mr. Woodward. The General Committee will take care that the money be faithfully appropriated to the above use.

JOSEPH MARSH, *Chairman*.

Those persons in the town of Hanover who are disposed to contribute for that purpose are desired to deposit their monies in the hands of Jon^a Freeman, Esq^r, or Capt. John House; without supplies the measures of the Convention cannot be pursued.¹

The convention adjourned for a week, and met again at Lebanon, July 27th,² with nineteen towns on both sides the river represented, and approved a memorial, prepared by its order in the interval, which, signed by Messrs. Marsh, Payne, Olcott, Jonathan Chase, and Woodward, was immediately transmitted by the hand of Colonel Olcott to the Congressional committee at Philadelphia. With it were filed copies of the College Hall Address, the "Public Defence," and the pamphlet signed "Republican." There was also a complaint, dated in March, from the towns of Hartford, Norwich, Sharon, Royalton, Fairlee, Newbury, and Barnet, complaining of the course of the Vermont Assembly in respect to land-grants and other things. These were all delivered to the committee in August, and presumably presented to Congress; but they were either purloined or received so little attention that when they were wanted six months later some of them could not be found, and Messrs. Olcott and Woodward were put to some trouble to suppld the loss.³

On Sept. 24, 1779, Congress took the matter up, discharged the committee which had failed to perform its functions; called upon the contending States for an express agreement of submission; promised to take the case up for determination, Feb. 1, 1780, and to enforce its decision; and required all the contending parties (New Hampshire and New York as well as Vermont) to refrain from harassing their opponents and from exercising jurisdiction over persons not submitting to their

¹ Original MS. in possession of the author.

² Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 170.

³ Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 170, 174, 244-5.

authority.¹ It was announced that "Congress will consider any violence committed against the tenor of this resolution as a breach of the peace of the Confederacy, which they are determined to keep and maintain." This resolution stood henceforth as a bill of rights for the afflicted people on the Grants, and was repeatedly made effectual for their protection.

The Dresden leaders, exasperated by the treachery of the Bennington party, were ready now to join hands with New York in a plan to fix the boundary at the Green Mountains, and if New Hampshire persisted in her course, to realize their hope of a separate State in the Valley.² New York was disposed to agree. Jay wrote to Clinton, October 7th, that he himself favored making the ridge of mountains the boundary instead of the Connecticut River, and that one of the New Hampshire delegates (Woodbury Langton) was inclined to it. General Hazen wrote Colonel Bedel, November 14th, from Peekskill, "It is generally thought the Grants will be divided." In February, 1780, the New York delegates again wrote home urging an accommodation with New Hampshire; but the New York Legislature, though favorable to the plan, was not ready to act. New Hampshire seemed now to come to reason, and November 4th appointed Samuel Livermore (known to be friendly to the Dresden people) an agent, in conjunction with the delegates, to support before Congress the claims of the State west of the river.³

Preparatory to the approaching hearing a convention appears to have been held at Dresden, on November 17th, and adjourned to December 7th.⁴ Hanover, at a meeting, November 29th, instructed her delegates to the convention, about to be held at Dresden, "that they use their influence that measures be taken to obtain an establishment of a distinct State on the N. H. Grants on both sides of the river; and, *secondly*, if that be [not] obtained, that the whole belong to N. H."

Of the proceedings of these conventions we have no account. We only know that Messrs. Olcott and Woodward were chosen to attend the Congressional hearing, as agents of the convention,

¹ Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 183.

² Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 223, note; Hall's Hist. Eastern Vt., 307, 415; N. H. State Papers, x. 355.

³ N. H. State Papers, vii. 830.

⁴ Vt. State Papers, p. 123.

and duly commissioned by Mr. Chairman Marsh at Dresden, Jan. 1, 1780¹ They reached Philadelphia before the close of the same month, and, February 7th, presented their credentials, with a "representation," dated February 1st, wherein they styled themselves "agents from the greater part of the towns in the northern district of the New Hampshire Grants on both sides of the Connecticut River, *and between the heights of land on the two sides.*"² They declared their object to be "to communicate the earnest desire of the inhabitants in the northern district, from Connecticut River to the highlands on each side, that they may not be subjected to a separate jurisdiction; and that in case Congress shall see fit to approve an establishment of a new State on the Grants, that the whole, so far back as the highlands east of the river, may be included in it, otherwise that the whole of the Grants be annexed to New Hampshire." They assured Congress that this was the wish of a large majority of the inhabitants on both sides of the river.

These documents were read in Congress, February 7th. The agents reported home, February 4th, in a letter to Col. Jonathan Chase, as follows: —

PHILADELPHIA, Feb 4, 1780.

SIR, — On our way we received no money from Plainfield, and but little from Cornish.³ We have been obliged to borrow already, and must borrow considerable more; hope therefore you will use your endeavors that the money be collected for Cornish and Plainfield proportions before our return, that we may then be able to discharge the pecuniary obligations we have laid ourselves under in the public cause.

The matter has been entered upon by Congress; but we do not expect a determination until after the agents for the States arrive, none of which have yet come to town. Our coming will be in vain unless we can tarry to make thorough work of the matter, in which case I doubt not it will be useful. As to an issue, we cannot yet guess.

We are, sir, your most obedient [etc.], humble servants,

PETER OLCOTT.

BEZA. WOODWARD.

Owing at first to the absence of parties, and afterward to the fact that less than nine disinterested States were represented,

¹ At the same meeting the town voted £200, at twenty for one (equal to £10 hard money), to be paid by December 15th, our proportion of Mr. Woodward's expenses to Congress.

² See their commission and other documents, Vt Gov. and Council, ii. 241-2.

³ The proportion of each was £180, — £9 hard money.

Congress postponed the matter from time to time till March and June, and finally till September, 1780, and our agents, cramped for money, returned home early in the spring.

The state of doubt worked great hardship in the river towns, especially where, as in some of them, there was a violent division of parties. Mr. Chairman Marsh, in behalf of the General Committees, addressed from Dresden an earnest remonstrance to the President of Congress, April 12, 1780, complaining of other things and of the continued "dangerous and alarming steps taken by the Assembly of that territory called Vermont" respecting land-grants; and that, besides the "difficulty of defending the frontiers, there being such variety of parties in the country in favor of the different claims of jurisdiction, renders it impracticable to conduct the concerns of civil society with any tolerable regularity."¹ This letter was read in Congress June 5th. Congress had already on the 2d reiterated its prohibitions of the preceding September, and declared the proceedings of the Bennington party "highly unwarrantable, and subversive of the peace and welfare of the United States." New Hampshire too, in various ways, continued to attempt enforcing jurisdiction over the disaffected towns in violation of the same authority. The following paper from the Codrigan files affords a glimpse of the situation on that side of the river.²

LEBANON, 27th of April, 1780.

My advice to the selectmen and other inhabitants of the town of Car-digan is that if any person or persons, with pretend[ed] authority from the State of New Hampshire, should come into the town in order to exercise any power or jurisdiction to enforce the laws of said State, to inform them that the town has heretofore been united with the new State on the New Hampshire Grants (called the State of Vermont), and that as such, Congress hath taken up the dispute between them and New Hampshire, which is to be determined as soon as may be, and in the mean time resolved and recommended to the State of New York & New Hampshire not to exercise jurisdiction over said towns until the dispute is settled; and also for the people on the Grants to govern themselves as orderly as they can under those circumstances. Which resolutions of Congress they mean to adhere to and punctually comply with, and although the town *hath never been incorporated* either by charter or otherwise, yet for the internal order and Government of themselves, they have mutually covenanted and agreed together to maintain and support Government among themselves as far as their circumstances

¹ N. H. State Papers, x. 361; Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 242-9.

² See also Mr. Ripley's account, *ante*, p. 415.

will admit of, and accordingly have elected proper officers in the town for that purpose, and therefore do not mean to submit to any order or authority from the State of New Hampshire, while matters remain as at present

Would further inform you that Congress have appointed a committee to repair to the Grants in order fully to inquire into the circumstances attending the dispute, that the same may be speedily accommodated. Therefore, as long as you conduct under the patronage and countenance of Congress, you need not in the least fear the consequences of not obeying the command of any other power. The above is agreeable to what all the towns in like circumstances have determined upon.

From your well wisher, &c.

ELISHA PAYNE.

To the SELECTMEN OF CARDIGAN.

On July 20, 1780, the committee, Messrs. Marsh, Olcott, and Woodward, in a still more urgent letter to the President of Congress, from Dresden (to which no attention appears to have been paid), reiterated their complaints of the Bennington party, "who have assumed an independent jurisdiction," particularly in making extensive grants of lands "to such persons as they apprehend will be most useful to assist in the establishment of a new State." The Committee avowed that "the people in these parts mean to abide the decision of Congress, and abhor the sentiments of those who deny the right. They will cheerfully acquiesce in anything Congress may judge proper, but ardently wish a union of the two sides of the river. New Hampshire will be their choice if a new State be not admitted, which they have generally done expecting." At the same time they complained also of New Hampshire's continued assertion of authority in spite of the order of Congress.¹

As the time fixed by Congress drew near, there was great anxiety lest the claim of New Hampshire should not be earnestly pushed by the Exeter party. It found expression in the following letter from Mr. Woodward to Mr. Livermore: ²—

DRESDEN, 25 July, 1780.

SIR,—By a letter from Doctor Page, of Charlestown, I am informed that Congress, by a resolve of the ninth of June, have appointed the first Tuesday of Sept. next to hear & determine the dispute respecting the N. H. Grants; that the people in Cheshire Co. are roused by an apprehension that the Assembly of N. H. have no Agent appointed to attend, nor Delegate instructed to support their claim. We have had accounts here that you are reappointed, but fear it is a mistake, as we are informed that Gen. Bellows sets off this

¹ Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 249.

² N. H. State Papers, x. 365.

day for Exeter, with a petition for the Court to convene and prepare to support their claim. I hope you will not fail to go, as I well know your ability and disposition to take every proper measure to have set aside the line fixed by arbitrary power at Ct. River, in 1764.

The Committee in this part wrote to Congress last week requesting in the most pressing manner a speedy determination. They are to meet again at this place next week, on Thursday, on account of the above mentioned Resolve, to determine what further may be expedient for us to do in the affair; at which time I would wish for your advice. The people in general in this part have done expecting a new State, and wish to have every proper measure taken to support the claim of New Hampshire to the whole of the Grants. They will peaceably and cheerfully acquiesce in any decision except a reannexation to New York & establishment of a line at this river. The settlement of the dispute is an object in which the people feel themselves deeply interested, and are anxious for a determination.

I have the honor to be [etc.],

BEZA. WOODWARD.

HON. SAM^l. LIVERMORE.

The Legislature had adjourned, June 28th, to October 11th, and did not at this time reassemble, so that these hopes were disappointed. But at a convention assembled once more at Dresden, Aug. 30, 1780, Colonel Olcott's agency was renewed, and a fresh petition was prepared at the order of the convention by Mr. Woodward. The object of this was to advocate the union of Canada with the United States, and to urge again an immediate expedition into that section, for which the people of the Grants promised all the assistance in their power. A letter was also addressed to General Washington.¹ Mr. Woodward, as clerk, wrote also to the President of Congress, entreating that the decision be no longer delayed. "There is no one point," says he, "in which the people can agree so well as in a union with New Hampshire, in case the whole on both sides of the river shall not be permitted to unite in a new State, which the body of the people have now done expecting."

Congress at length took the matter up, Sept. 19, 1780, and the New York case was first stated. Stephen R. Bradley and Ira Allen were present at first for Vermont, but took no part, and finding the tide setting somewhat against them, entered protest (September 22), and withdrew. They alleged that their authority had expired, and that they lacked important papers, and demanded an adjournment. One Luke Knowlton, sent by a convention of Cumberland County, held at Brattle-

¹ N. H. State Papers, x. 358, 371, 374; Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 251-3.

boro, August 30th, was present in support of the claims of New York, armed with credentials from Governor Clinton. Colonel Olcott, as before, represented the Dresden party, which now seemed in a fair way to come to an understanding with New Hampshire and New York for a division at the mountains, and the prospect was gloomy for the Bennington interest.

On September 27th the agent of New Hampshire, General Sullivan, under instructions wrung from Exeter by force of circumstances, "proceeded to state evidence tending to prove that the tract of country known as the 'New Hampshire Grants' was within the State of New Hampshire, and that therefore the people inhabiting the said tract have no right to a separate and independent jurisdiction."¹ The Dresden party had nothing to add, except to press for a decision. But Congress, to the confusion of the Dresden delegates, again postponed it. Though the absence of the Vermont agents furnished a pretext for this, the more or less active influence in it of the New Hampshire delegates was suspected. However that may have been, any favorable action was prevented by the fact becoming known that the New Hampshire delegates were not entirely loyal to their instructions. Mr. Woodbury Langdon, like Mr. Whipple, whom he succeeded in July, 1779, and Mr. Livermore, who served from January till March, 1780, had been earnest in support of a resumption of jurisdiction beyond the river, while General Peabody, as would be expected, was, with characteristic bitterness, against it, and Colonel Bartlett (if Allen is to be believed) entered into an active intrigue in the same direction. General Sullivan frankly told Colonel Olcott that "though he was instructed to lay claim to the whole of the Grants, he was so unhappy as to differ from his instructions in judgment," and further, "that he thought the Grants west of the river should be a State by themselves." But he wrote to Mr. Weare (Sept. 16, 1780) that "upon assurance by Colonel Olcott (and others) that the general sentiment of the Grants was in favor of a union with New Hampshire, he should be *less violent* in opposition to that question in future;"² but he did not abandon his sentiments, nor desire a decision that should extinguish Vermont.

¹ Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 258-264; Vt. State Papers, p. 123.

² N. H. State Papers, x. 375, 377; xiii. 765, 766.

The true interest of New Hampshire lay undoubtedly in extending her boundaries as much as possible. Mr. Langdon was right when he wrote from Congress to Mr. Weare (Oct. 12, 1779) urging the extension, "as New Hampshire without Vermont will be very small and weak compared with her neighbors, . . . and will be under great disadvantages."¹ It will be the perpetual misfortune of the State that she was at that critical period in the hands of a party ready to risk still further disruption, rather than endanger its own supremacy² by an extension of boundaries, which they saw plainly might eventually draw the capital of the State itself into the valley of the Connecticut. At the same time they were equally loth to see the aggrandizement of New York by an extension to the Connecticut, and preferred the independence of Vermont, blind to the fact that it could be established only upon principles that would give equal freedom of action to the river towns on their own side. If the New Hampshire Grants east of the river were legally and irrevocably a part of New Hampshire, it cannot be denied by the same reasoning that the New Hampshire Grants west of the river were as rightfully and as certainly a part of New York, or (if the King's order of 1764 was void) of New Hampshire itself. There could be no middle ground. Except upon the theory advanced by the Dresden party in their "Public Defence," separation meant revolution; and if New Hampshire accorded that right to the towns west of the river, by what logic could it be denied to the towns east of it? If of the four towns granted July 4, 1761, to Edmund Freeman's constituents, Norwich and Hartford might set up as independent, why not Hanover and Lebanon? But the Exeter party was ready in the same breath to deny it to one pair and to permit it to the other.

The inconsistency was well understood at Philadelphia. Mr. Langdon wrote: "If Vermont persists in endeavoring to be a separate State, and New Hampshire appears to acquiesce, they will very likely both be disappointed, and in all probability Vermont will be adjudged to New York." As this prospect was equally distasteful to Bennington and to Exeter, and as both nevertheless wished a boundary line at the river, it was no difficult matter at critical moments to establish a private

¹ N. H. State Papers, x. 355.

² *Ibid.*, 389.

understanding between them, which, if we may believe Ethan and Ira Allen, shaped the final results, as it did the fate of the first union.

When the attitude of the New Hampshire agent came to be known in the river towns, a storm arose of greater violence and extent than ever. Even the integrity of General Sullivan's motives was freely questioned. A slanderous report (of course unfounded) was prevalent on the Grants that he had received a large tract of land from the Vermont Assembly.¹ The people in the valley, indignant at the treatment accorded them, aroused themselves with double vigor to new combinations. Colonel Hazen wrote from West Point (Oct. 12, 1780) to Colonel Bedel, "If the people on the grants will join and hang together, they may carry almost any point." So ardent and general was the feeling that for a time the Dresden committee itself fell into the background, and the lower counties took the lead. The ball was opened by Knowlton and the people of Cumberland County, hitherto partisans of New York, in a gathering at Brattleboro, Oct. 31, 1780.² They there appointed delegates to meet "such persons as should be authorized for the purpose by a convention of committees of Gloucester County on the west and Grafton County on the east side of Connecticut River, to devise and carry into execution such measures as they shall deem best calculated to unite in one political body all the inhabitants from Mason's grant on the east to the height of land on the west of said river."³

The meeting was held November 8th. Delegates were present from Grafton, Gloucester, and Cumberland, and "measures were adopted to ascertain more fully the sentiment of the people preparatory to action."⁴ For some reason the towns in Cheshire County were not invited. They were fairly well represented in the Exeter assembly, and had little to complain of compared with Grafton. General Bellows himself had in January been appointed, with Messrs. Sullivan and Livermore, delegates to Congress. But the people had the same repugnance to a boundary at the river, and were equally exasperated

¹ N. H. State Papers, xiii. 766.

² Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 187.

³ Mason's curved line of sixty miles radius touched Cardigan, about twenty miles from the river at Dresden (N. H. State Papers, x. 273).

⁴ Hist. of Walpole, p. 58.

by the halting and devious course of New Hampshire. They now took the lead. They held a convention of their own at Walpole,¹ November 15, and under the lead of General Bellows, after conference with committees from the other counties, determined "that matters lately agitated with respect to the jurisdiction of the New Hampshire Grants render a union of the territory indispensably necessary." To bring this about they sent out a printed circular calling a general convention from all the towns within the Grants, to be held at Charlestown, on the third Tuesday of January, 1781. They declared that "from authentic information we cannot but apprehend that the State of New Hampshire is greatly remiss, if not grossly negligent (to call it by no harsher name), in trusting affairs of such great importance as the settlement of their western boundary to a committee, some of whom we conceive would risk the loss of half the State rather than New Hampshire should extend their claim west of Connecticut River."²

New Hampshire herself awoke at last to the gravity of the crisis. Preliminary to the expected gathering, Col. Jonathan Chase, of Cornish, and Capt. Abel Curtis, of Norwich, went to Exeter, and conferred with the New Hampshire leaders, January 12th.³ The General Assembly on the 13th appointed General Bellows to Congress, and instructed the delegates "to move for a speedy decision respecting the claim of the State west of the river, and to urge that the previous question shall be, 'Whether the Grants shall be allowed to be a separate State or not.'" And on the 16th Samuel Livermore was also chosen a delegate.⁴ Although the instructions were somewhat equivocal, the selection of delegates would indicate that the Assembly was now disposed to prosecute the claim heartily to a conclusion. It had already, January 10, assented to a plan for a new constitutional convention, to be held in Concord the ensuing June, on the basis of representation contended for by the Dresden party, allowing one member to every town, parish, and district having fifty families or under, and an additional member for every fifty families in excess of that number. Precepts, moreover, were to issue through General Bellows to the towns and

¹ Hist. of Walpole, p. 58; Hist. of Charlestown, p. 42.

² N. H. State Papers, x. 382; also original circular in possession of the writer.

³ N. H. State Papers, xiii. 765-66.

⁴ Ibid., viii. 884-5.

places in the New Hampshire Grants on the west side of Connecticut River, in the same manner as to those east of it.¹ Everything seemed favorable to a satisfactory adjustment. On the appointed day, Jan. 16, 1781, forty-three towns were present by their delegates at Charlestown. We have no complete list of their names. Twelve of the delegates were also members of the New Hampshire Legislature. Dresden was of course represented by Bezaleel Woodward. Colonel Olcott was present for Norwich, and Col. Elisha Payne for Lebanon. Hanover sent Jonathan Freeman and Col. John House, who were appointed at a special town meeting, held Dec. 25, 1780, and instructed "to use their influence and endeavor to effect a union of the whole of the Grants, and to prevent the line of jurisdiction from taking place at the river, either by a separate State on the Grants, or by a union of the whole with New Hampshire."

The Convention was the largest and most general that had ever been held in the valley. As in the Convention of March, 1778, Samuel Chase, of Cornish, was chairman, and Mr. Woodward, of Dresden, was clerk, and prominent on all committees. It was evident to all parties that the controversy was near a culmination, and each of the four great interests strained to the utmost its powers of influence and combination. The partisans of three (those of New York, Exeter, and Dresden) were apparently for the time practically united in the purpose to make the mountains the boundary of New York, and to join all east of them to New Hampshire. The Dresden party cherished, of course, a lingering hope of another boundary at Mason's line (twenty miles east of the river), which would give them a separate State in the valley; but the hope was now very faint, and they were ready on these terms to join New Hampshire. A committee headed by General Bellows prepared a report of considerable length, which concluded with that recommendation, and it was in a fair way to be adopted by a large majority. But Col. Ira Allen was present, ostensibly as a delegate from Sunderland, but in reality (as he tells us) in the capacity of a marplot in the interest of the Bennington party, and under secret instructions from Governor Chittenden to

¹ N. H. State Papers, viii. 885.

thwart the measure by all means. Through his influence the report was recommitted over night for the sake of some minor corrections; and in the morning it was found to speak, by the voice of a divided committee, quite another language, and to advise a union with Vermont instead of with New Hampshire. Strange to say, the convention, which was yesterday for New Hampshire, was now for Vermont, and the report was adopted by a large majority.¹

By what means Allen was able to persuade the former victims of the duplicity of his party to trust again to its promises, we shall probably never know. The only account we have of the matter is from his own pen, — not noted for accuracy or truthfulness. He promised, of course, that the eastern side of the valley should be cordially received by Vermont and admitted to full privileges. We shall see with what sort of faith these promises were kept. General Bellows, with ten others, from eight towns in Cheshire County,² protested in writing that they were ready to join New Hampshire, or set up a new State between the heights of land on both sides, but not to join Vermont, — which is not to be wondered at, in view of the treatment received from Vermont in the former union. The only wonder is that the Dresden party were ready to swallow their resentment and trust the Allens again. It is the only step during the whole controversy that seems to reflect seriously upon their political wisdom. It appears to have been their critical error. Allen himself was proud to avow, after all was over, that his sole object was but to deceive, with design all along to throw them overboard at the first opportunity.

It is, however, to be remembered that our present knowledge of the circumstances is very limited, and the information we have very fragmentary and not always trustworthy. The present movement, too, was different in many particulars from the union of 1778. It involved nearly three times as many of the New Hampshire towns, and of course many conflicting interests difficult to harmonize. The first began and centred at Dresden, drew its support almost wholly from Grafton County, and was to

¹ N. H. State Papers, x. 388, 394; Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 284; Saunderson's History of Charlestown, pp. 145-52.

² Winchester, Walpole, Charlestown, Richmond, Keene, Alstead, Claremont, Newport (Hist. of Charlestown, p. 150).

the last controlled by the College party. The second began in Brattleboro, under the ostensible lead of Knowlton, and on the eastern shore in Walpole, under the lead of General Bellows. Of the eastern towns involved in it, Cheshire County furnished more than twenty, Grafton but fifteen. Of the southern leaders, General Bellows was thoroughly honest of purpose and firm in adherence to a union with New Hampshire. He consistently refused to submit to the Vermont plan, though Walpole, his town, yielded. Knowlton was of different metal; his true objects and position are dubious. Ira Allen afterward boasted that the affair was set in motion by his (Allen's) instigation through arrangements made by him at Philadelphia with *one person*, whom he does not name, present at the Congressional hearing, — presumably Knowlton. Some of the circumstances seem hard to be reconciled with that theory; but it is more than likely that Knowlton in the event became the willing tool of the Bennington party in this matter, as he certainly was in their secret correspondence with the enemy, for which "treasonable practices" Congress in 1782 denounced him and ordered his arrest.¹

Dresden, though taking great prominence in the new movement, was no longer the centre of agitation and influence. The committee that had hitherto conducted affairs from that point was now of course disbanded. The printing-press and newspaper were no longer maintained, and another press, established about this time under the official wing of Vermont at Westminster, sent out the first number of the "Vermont Gazette and Green Mountain Postboy," Feb. 12, 1781.

The Charlestown Convention adjourned to meet at Cornish, Feb. 8, 1781. The Vermont Legislature convened the same day at Windsor, three miles distant across the river, and on February 10th received the committee of the convention, headed by Elisha Payne, of Lebanon, Mr. Woodward, of Dresden, being also a member. After consideration by a joint

¹ Secret Journals of Congress, i. 244, 245; Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 259, 260. This correspondence with the British General Haldimand at Quebec, begun in September, 1780, was carried on in secret by the Bennington leaders, without the knowledge of the other members of the Vermont Government, and concealed even from the council itself by all the arts of conspirators, even to the extent of forgery of despatches. See Ira Allen's account, Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 130, 396-485.

committee of the council and assembly, and an elaborate report, articles of union were agreed to, and mutually confirmed by the convention and Legislature on February 22d, to take effect when ratified by two thirds of the interested towns. Both bodies adjourned to April 5th, at the same places respectively, when, the returns being favorable, the arrangement was consummated, and members from *thirty-four* towns east of the river (and within twenty miles of it) took seats in the Vermont Assembly.¹

No adverse report came from any of the eastern towns. Among the thirty-five assenting towns were all those that joined in the protest of January, excepting Keene and Winchester. Of forty-three returns from Vermont towns, thirty-six favored the plan. The seven dissentients included, of course, Bennington, with four other towns west of the mountains, and Woodstock and Hertford (Hartland) near the river. Hartford, through the influence it is said of Col. Joseph Marsh (with five other Vermont towns), made no return.

Dresden was represented in the Assembly by Mr. Woodward, and Hanover by Messrs. Freeman and House. "At a legal meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Hanover, March 19, 1781, warned for the purpose of taking into consideration and acting upon the articles of union proposed between the Legislature of the State of Vermont and the convention at Cornish, after having read and duly considered the aforesaid articles, Voted, *n. c. d.*, that this meeting do accede to and adopt the aforesaid articles in every part and clause of the same."

The Bennington party, apparently in a hopeless minority,

¹ Gunthwaite (Lisbon), Lyman, Morristown (Franconia), Bath, Landaff, Haverhill, Piermont, Orford, Lyme, Hanover, Dresden, Lebanon, Enfield, Cardigan (Orange), Grafton (15 in Grafton County), Plainfield, New [North] Grantham, Cornish, Croydon, Claremont, Newport, Saville (Sunapee), Charlestown, Acworth, Lempster, Walpole, Alstead, Marlow, Westmoreland, Surry, Gilsum, Chesterfield, Hinsdale, Richmond (19 in Cheshire County), Slade's Vt. State Papers, pp. 132, 137; N. H. State Papers, x. 398-400; History of Charlestown, p. 154; Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 289-295. All these authorities except Slade speak of *New Stamford* as one of the towns east of the Connecticut. This was a Vermont town, and the error probably arose from the fact that it was one of the towns chartered by Benning Wentworth (March 6, 1753), and was thus among the New Hampshire Grants, and also from the fact that its representative did not enter the convention till the second day, when he took his seat in company with the representatives of four towns east of the river.

yielded for the moment, but let slip no opportunity to prepare the way for a future triumph. This they were able to do even in the original framework of the union itself. To begin with, the eastern towns were not admitted upon equal terms with the rest. While the independence of Vermont was to be maintained at all hazards, her jurisdiction east of the river was merely set up as a *claim*, not to be exercised if disapproved by Congress. And as if to render such disapproval certain, it was made a feature of the plan to extend the new State westward the same distance (twenty miles) to the Hudson River, into territory which indisputably belonged to New York; the idea being, of course, to balance the increase of territory on the two sides in such manner as in any event to retain the preponderance of influence west of the mountains. Eleven New York towns near the Hudson were accordingly admitted under similar articles at the June session, 1781, at Bennington, notwithstanding great opposition from the river towns.¹

For the time, however, the towns east of the Connecticut came into their full responsibilities as constituent members of the State of Vermont. At the February session the old New York counties of Cumberland and Gloucester were divided (beginning at the south) into Windham, Windsor, and Orange. In April the lines of Windsor and Orange were extended across the river to take in the towns opposite, and Cheshire was erected into a new county named Washington. Hanover and Dresden fell into Windsor County. The towns east of the river were divided into four probate districts, designated as the districts of Haverhill, Dresden, Claremont and Keene.²

The continued prominence of the Dresden party is attested by the appointments. Of the five judges of the Windsor County Court, organized April 16, Colonel Payne was made the chief, Messrs. Woodward and Marsh assistants, and James Wheelock clerk. Mr. Woodward was also named Judge of Probate for the Dresden district, and, with Jonathan Freeman, of Hanover, Justice of the Peace. On the 17th Mr. Woodward

¹ The vote in April was forty-eight ayes to thirty-nine noes: in June, fifty-three to twenty-four. The towns so admitted were Black Creek, Cambridge, Hoosick, Greenfield, Granville, Little Hoosick, North Granville, South Granville, Skeensboro, Scaaghticoke, and Saratoga (*Hist. Charlestown*, p. 158).

² *Hist. Charlestown*, pp. 156, 157; *Vt. Gov. and Council*, ii. 96, 97, 110; *Vt. State Papers*, p. 427.

was appointed secretary *pro tem.* of the Council. On the 18th, Capt. Ebenezer Brewster, of Dresden, was made sheriff of the county. He had been on the 17th, with Colonel Bedel, sworn a member of the Board of War. Colonel Olcott was made General of the Second Brigade. A brigade was also tendered to General Bellows, but declined.¹

At the June session, in Bennington, Hanover was represented by John Wright and Jonathan Freeman, and Dresden by Mr. Woodward. Jonas Fay, Ira Allen, and Bezaleel Woodward were chosen, June 22, 1781, to attend upon Congress and apply for admission, with authority to take seats as delegates if admitted. They were received, August 18th, by a committee of five, who reported August 20th, and Congress resolved that it would be an indispensable preliminary to recognition that Vermont relinquish all territory east of the Connecticut and west of the line of Massachusetts, in New York. Fay and Allen announced a willingness to submit to that condition, if required, as soon as Vermont should have been actually admitted.²

On the 11th of October the Vermont Legislature met, for the first and only time east of the river, at Charlestown. Members were present from 102 towns, — 36 east of the river, and 66 west of it.³ On the 16th, the House refused to comply with the terms imposed by Congress, but offered to submit to the decision of Congress, or of five referees, upon the matter of boundaries, *after being admitted*. Mr. Woodward, having been elected from the eastern side of the river to the Council, Ebenezer Brewster sat in the Assembly for Dresden. Messrs. Wright and Freeman, as before, represented Hanover. There being no choice by the people of Deputy Governor, Colonel Payne, of Lebanon, was elected by the Legislature, October 12. By virtue of this office he became Major-General of the State militia. The next day he was chosen Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court. Mr. Woodward was chosen one of the four side judges of the Superior Court, but declined October 26. On that date he still appears as clerk of the joint Assembly.⁴

¹ Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 88, 97, 98, 101, 110. See also some court documents in Dana's Hist. of Woodstock, pp. 454-7.

² N. H. State Papers, x. 407.

³ List of members, Hist. of Charlestown, p. 159.

⁴ Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 98, 115.

New Hampshire was far from acquiescing in the new arrangements. Too late aroused to her true interests, the Assembly instructed the delegates, March 31, 1781, to urge Congress to a speedy decision and "*diligently and attentively* to support the claim of this State to said tract in every stage of the business, and exert their utmost power to procure the same to be confirmed to this State."¹ This was at last unequivocal, and General Sullivan's letters show that he now entered into the spirit of his instructions, and was ready heartily to oppose the independence of Vermont.

Although all the protesting towns in Cheshire County, except Winchester, had in the end joined themselves to Vermont, the new union was still strenuously opposed in that section by a strong minority in many of the towns, held in check, as General Bellows asserted, by violence. General Bellows not only refused to take office under the new State, but used every means in his power to re-establish the control of New Hampshire. The conflict of jurisdictions gave rise in that section to serious disturbances, which it is not in our province to detail. A meeting at Keene, September 21, entered into organized correspondence with the Exeter Government; and on the part of New Hampshire there were threats, and preparation for armed intervention.² Vermont, on the other hand, prepared to meet it also in arms. As the time approached for the meeting of the Vermont Legislature at Charlestown, reports gained currency that New Hampshire troops would attempt to prevent it. General orders were sent from Colonel Chase at Cornish, September 20, to all his captains, as follows:³—

"By certain information received from General Olcott of the enemies' hostile intentions and the great preparations they are making, and the positive orders to me to muster my regiment, it is therefore my duty to call on you to muster your company without loss of time and transmit to me a return agreeable to the enclosure. You will see that every man is complete and fit for action, their fire-locks cleaned and fixt in the best manner, with powder and ball. You will cause all the lead to be moulded into bullets; likewise the militia hold themselves ready to march at the shortest notice, and cause all the horses shod and ready in case of an alarm, and recommend that they furnish themselves with hard bread for five or six days at least."

¹ See documents in State files.

² Hist. Charlestown, pp. 159, 165; Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 88, 115.

³ Jona. Chase Papers, N. H. Hist. Soc., p. 49.

In the following December armed collision, growing out of fresh occurrences in Cheshire County, was still more imminent, and on the 19th orders for marching the militia actually issued from Major-General Payne, but on the 21st they were countermanded and peaceable negotiations substituted. The next month, nevertheless, New Hampshire ordered for this service a draft of one thousand men from the eastern and southern regiments, and spread through Cheshire and Grafton a proclamation requiring all persons to subscribe a declaration of allegiance within forty days or quit the country.¹ Similar disturbances, as were no doubt expected, occurred in the eleven towns taken from New York.

All this was but a fair wind to the sails of the Bennington party. They unblushingly avow that they fomented the conflict to serve their private ends. Ira Allen distinctly informs us that in the height of the troubles he visited Exeter, and came to a secret understanding with some of the persons in power; and on the 14th of November, the time being ripe to gather the fruit of their intrigues, Governor Chittenden, finding it necessary to explain, by a letter to General Washington, his secret correspondence with the British enemy, then recently discovered, took the opportunity to allude also to this subject. He freely declared that the unions were entered upon with no love for them on the part of the governing party in Vermont, but simply as a "political manœuvre" (to use General Washington's phrase), "projected by the cabinet of Vermont, to quiet some of her own internal divisions, occasioned by the machinations of New Hampshire and New York, and *to make them experience the evils of intestine broils* and strengthen this State against insult." By express, he received, as was of course expected, an earnest appeal from Washington for an immediate submission to the will of Congress, wherein he seemed also to imply an assurance that nothing else was needed to insure the immediate admission of Vermont into the Federal Union.²

The Vermont Legislature was under adjournment to meet at Bennington on the last Thursday of January, 1782. On the 11th of February, Washington's letter (till then kept secret) was, with numerous other documents, laid before the Assembly, and

¹ Hist. of Charlestown, pp. 168-181, 193; N. H. State Papers, viii. 925.

² Vt. Gov. and Council, ii. 350, 352-53.

on the 18th the Governor's letter, in response to a demand from the House. On the 20th a dissolution of the unions was resolved without a division. It was done in midwinter, at the worst possible season to travel, and at the extreme southwestern corner of the State. Few, if any, of the members east of the mountains were as yet in attendance,¹ the secrecy which had been preserved till the mine was sprung having doubtless accomplished its purpose in that respect. Four agents—all, of course, of the Bennington party—were hurried off to Philadelphia, under secret instructions, in the assured expectation of promptly receiving the stipulated price,—admission; but found themselves subjected to the mortification of a refusal by Congress at the moment even to consider the matter. Nine years passed before the State obtained recognition.

The Dresden party came now once more to the front. On February 22d, two days after the final vote of dissolution had been taken, the excluded members from Windsor County east of the Connecticut, having arrived at Bennington, met and sent out a call for a convention to be held once more in Dresden, at the inn of Colonel Brewster. It is to be inferred that the members from the other counties east of the river were either still absent or acquiesced in the result. Following is the call, preserved in the files of Plainfield:—

To the Selectmen of [Cornish].

Whereas the Assembly of the State of Vermont, att Their sessions held att Bennington on the Last Thursday of Janu^{ry} last have by their Resolves (as far as they had power) Dissolved the Eastern and Western Union with s^d State, whereby it Becomes Necessary for the people inhabitants the Grants Included in the Eastern Union (so called) to take some Proper Measures for their future conduct under their Present Circumstances,—

These are therefore to Desire you to warn a meeting of the inhabitants of your town to chuse one or more Members to meet in Convention att the Dwelling House of Colo^e Ebenezer Brewster, in Dresden, on the 3^d Tuesday of March next, with the Delegates chosen by other Towns within the County of Windsor East of Connecticut River, in order to Devise proper ways and measures to Bee taken under their present situation Relative to Settling the Animosities Subsisting in s^d District, in order for an Honourable union with New Hampshire.

Signed by order of the Representatives State Belonging to s^d Assembly from the District afforesaid att Convention at Bennington, the 22^d Day Feb^{ry}, 1782.

ELISHA PAINE, *Chairman.*

¹ Belknap's Hist. of N. H., ii. 350.

The action of Hanover and Dresden upon this call is not preserved, nor any record of the convention. We know by subsequent allusions that it was held pursuant to the call at Dresden, in March, 1782, and agents were appointed to apply to the New Hampshire Assembly for a union with that State upon certain terms, covered by fifteen articles,¹ drafted with great care and ability, one of which (the fourteenth) was framed

¹ Sundry articles to be complied with by the Legislature of New Hampshire :

1. That the Legislature of New Hampshire spiritedly support their claim to the Grants west of the river Connecticut, and exercise jurisdiction over them when they shall apply therefor.

2. That the Inhabitants of the territory east of Connecticut River who have heretofore been in union with Vermont have secured to them the privileges that the rest of the subjects of New Hampshire enjoy.

3d. That the Legislature pass an Act indemnifying all persons in the union aforesaid who have acted under the authority of Vermont, so far as they have conducted consistent with the common law or the statute laws of said Vermont.

4. That the Legislature of New Hampshire ratify and confirm all proceedings of any courts which have been constituted under the authority of Vermont that shall be found not repugnant to common law or the statute laws under which they acted.

5. That all actions or processes commenced in the territory aforesaid, under the authority of Vermont aforesaid, be transferred to courts under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire, without cost to the parties, in the same situation they were in before the dissolution of the union aforesaid.

6. That equitable allowances be made by New Hampshire for the expenditures of men and money raised on said Grants east of the river for the defence of the northern frontiers, as well as the general cause of the United States.

7. That the towns on said Grants east of the river, referred to in a resolution of Congress of the 20th of September, 1779, be excluded from governmental taxes heretofore assessed.

8. [Omitted, either in copying or through error in numbering.]

9. That the Act of the Legislature of New Hampshire for transporting persons from one county to another be repealed.

10. That all towns on the Grants east of said river be called upon to elect and send representatives to the General Court of New Hampshire, and also members to attend the convention to form a plan of government; and that the appointment of all officers in the counties of Cheshire and Grafton be suspended until said towns are represented in the Assembly.

11. That all deeds and conveyances of land authenticated according to the laws of Vermont be held valid until reasonable opportunity be had for their being recorded in the county registers, agreeable to the laws of New Hampshire.

12. That the procedures of the several towns in said district in their town meetings during the time while they held themselves not subject to the jurisdiction of New Hampshire, be held valid so far as they have proceeded agreeably to the laws of Vermont or the usages of New Hampshire, or as the exigencies of that frontier have rendered necessary for the security of the people against the invasions of the common enemy; and that all the collectors of taxes in the several towns be empowered to complete the collection of moneys due on bills now in their hands, unless

to secure the confirmation of the self-incorporation of the town of Dresden. The agents waited upon the Assembly at Concord, but circumstances were now changed, and the disaffected towns were at its mercy. The Assembly refused to listen to anything but an unconditional submission, and proceeded to an immediate exercise of its power. On the 19th of March it re-established the courts in Grafton County, and on the 20th appointed justices of the Court of Common Pleas, and coroner, ordered the enlistment of seventy men to defend the frontiers till November, and directed precepts to sundry towns in Grafton and Cheshire for the election of representatives to the General Court. The Court of Common Pleas resumed its session in April for the first time since April, 1775. There was now no attempt to conciliate the Dresden party by appointments, and Mr. Woodward was left out of the new court. The probate court had been taken in the preceding November from Israel Morey, of Orford, who chose to administer it under Vermont authority, and given to Charles Johnson, of Haverhill, who, for the same reason, also received in January the command of Colonel Morey's regiment.¹

Upon application in June by Abel Curtis of Norwich, agent of a convention of five towns west of the river, — viz., Newbury, Norwich, Hartford, Moretown (Bradford), and Thetford, — held at Thetford, the Legislature avowed its willingness to "accommodate the inhabitants" by extending its authority to the height of land beyond the river, "provided the generality of the inhabitants desire it and the State of New York agree to that boundary." Correspondence followed with New York, but no definite result was brought about, except the protection incidentally afforded the frontiers, for which Newbury rendered

where a land tax shall have been assessed for defraying other charges than those of the war.

13. That any towns that have ever been overrated in assessments for taxes by the Assembly shall be equitably relieved.

14. That those districts which by the laws or usages of Vermont have been entitled to town privileges shall be continued in the enjoyment of them.

15. That a military force be stationed on the northern frontiers sufficient to secure the inhabitants against the invasions of the enemy. [From a copy filed in the State archives. See N. H. State Papers, x. 358, where, however, the occasion and date of the document are strangely incorrect.]

¹ N. H. State Papers, viii. 916, 928, 937, 939, 943, 944; *Ibid.*, x. 486, 494; Vt. Gov. and Council, iii. 280; Vt. State Papers, p. 177.

thanks, November 7th, at the same time renewing, by a majority of thirty-one to two, the solicitations of the June convention. The Bennington party, having now the upper hand on that side, had in the mean time begun again to exercise its power over the river towns in a way that provoked appeal to Congress, under its resolution of rights of September, 1779, and drew out a resolution of December 5, 1782, ordering restitution, and declaring "that the United States will take effectual means to enforce a compliance with the aforesaid resolutions, in case the same shall be disobeyed by the people of said District; that no person holding a commission under the State of New York, or under the people of said District claiming to be independent, exercise any other authority over the persons or property of any inhabitant in said District, contrary to the afore-mentioned resolutions of September 24, 1779, and June 2, 1780; that a copy of the foregoing Resolves be transmitted to Thomas Chittenden, Esq^r, of Bennington, in said District, to be communicated to the people thereof."

East of the river confusion reigned. Even Cheshire County, the stronghold of the New Hampshire party, was sadly divided. General Bellows, now a member of the New Hampshire Council, reported, July 30, that two thirds of the people in Westmoreland were against paying taxes; that Richmond, Claremont, Cornish, Plainfield, and Croydon paid none; and that in almost every town were some who openly declared for the British.¹ But they surrendered with little delay, and in September ten representatives from Cornish, Plainfield, Charlestown, Unity, and Acworth took seats in the General Assembly, most of the other towns being previously represented.²

Portions of Grafton County exhibited greater persistence, though they showed no liking for the British. Haverhill with its class was the first to submit, and sent a representative to the Assembly in March, 1782.³ But Hanover, which, though foremost in high demands for political rights, had been very slow to declare for separation from New Hampshire, was now more than ever determined to hold out for suitable concessions.

¹ N. H. State Papers, x. 491.

² The Haverhill and Lancaster classes were the only Grafton towns then represented, as they had likewise been in 1781.

³ N. H. State Papers, viii. 935.

At a meeting held June 10, 1782, it was voted "to indemnify the selectmen in neglecting to make a tax bill agreeably to the requisitions of the State of New Hampshire for £1,143 7s. 11d. toward public expenses." But the Dresden party was in truth reduced to the last extremities. The United Committees continued nevertheless their meetings, but with diminished numbers. Mr. Woodward, finally discouraged, gave up the clerkship and returned in September, 1782, to the full duties of his professorship in the College. About January, 1783, he was restored to his former authority as justice of the peace in New Hampshire.

Repeated application brought no encouragement for a compromise with the Assembly, which at length definitely refused to receive petitions from any towns unless by persons prepared to take seats in the Assembly. Notwithstanding the general desertion, Hanover and Dresden,¹ with the partial support of two or three neighboring towns, still upheld the hopeless cause, as shown by the following papers:—

Att a meeting of Com^{tees} from Hanover & Dresden, legally appointed, & from Lebanon & Plainfield by appointment of a number of the freemen of said Towns met in Lebanon according to adjournment, Dec: 16th, 1782, to take into Consideration our Political affares, & after calm Deliberation Came into the following Resolves unanimously (viz.) :

1. That we recommend it the Several Towns to cultivate union, harmony, & agreement in our political matters, also that proposals be made by the Several Towns Jointly that we may Confederate with N. Hampshire in matters of Government on Just Terms, & thereby avoid an unconditional submission, which we reprobate.

2. That we continue firm in the oppinion that N. Hampshire has not a right to Exercise Jurisdiction over the Grants, or to put their laws in force among them until Such Time as they confederate & unite with N. Hampshire, notwithstanding any Resolve of the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress which has been published.

3. We recommend it to the Several Towns to appoint a Com^{tee} to attend a meeting to be held at the House of Mr. Aza^h Bliss, in Lebanon, on Wednesday, the 15th of Jan^y. Next, at 12 oth Clock ; also, to instruct & empower Their Com^{tees} to chuse Some proper person as agent To go to N. Hampshire Assembly with written Proposals for agreement & confederation with N. Hampshire, Subject to the concurrence and ratification of the Towns.

¹ In this Haverhill led. A strong party there had never turned from New Hampshire, and even in 1780-81 kept the town represented in the General Assembly. The Lancaster class returned to allegiance in November, 1782, with Orford, Lime, Canaan, Cardigan, Plainfield, and Cornish.

The above resolves were passed in the affirmative unanimously. By order of the meeting.

Attest: JED^H HEBBARD, *Ck.*¹

Att a Legal Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Hanover, Jany. 13th, 1783 (Russell Freeman, moderator), Voted that this meeting approve of the resolves of the Committee of sundry Towns at Lebanon, Dec^r. 16, 1782: Chose Mess^{rs} Russell Freeman, Joseph Curtiss, and Samuel Slade a Committee to meet with the Committees of sundry Towns at Lebanon, on the 15 day of Jan^y instant, and that said Committee be instructed to pursue such measures as may correspond with the instructions² which we gave the Committee from this who met at Lebanon in Dec^r last, and likewise with the resolves of said Committee at Lebanon. Adjourned to February 5th, at one o'clock.

Test: JON^A FREEMAN, *T. Clerk.*³

At a meeting of Committees from Hanover, Dresden, Lebanon, & Grafton, legally appointed, met at Lebanon, January 15, 1783, chose Capt. Edmund Freeman, Chairman; chose Jedediah Hebbard, Clerk; then proceeded to take into further consideration our Political affairs, and on candid deliberation came into the following resolutions unanimously, viz.:

1. That Whereas the United Towns on these Grants East of Connecticut River, at a meeting at Dresden, in March last, did appoint agents with written instructions for a union with New Hampshire, who attended the assembly at Concord on March last, at which time the Assembly of said State did utterly refuse to receive those Towns on any other terms than an unconditional submission to the jurisdiction of New Hampshire, and as we have sufficient Evidence by recent accounts from members of their late assembly that said assembly did in their last Session pass an act to debar any town or number of towns having an hearing in said assembly by petition, unless the person by whom said petition is sent be qualified to take a seat in said assembly; therefore, we think it not Expedient at this time to appoint an agent to wait on N. Hampshire assembly.

2. That the resolutions of Congress of Decemb. 5th, 1782, make it obvious that those towns on the Grants East of Connecticut River that deny the jurisdiction of N. Hampshire are view'd in the same light by that Hon^{ble} Body as ever they were since the resolves passed in Sept^r 24, 1779, and June 2^d, 1780, and in our opinion none of the confederated States have any right of jurisdiction over us until a decision of Congress be had.

3. That the importance of our cause calls aloud for some exertions in our political matters, and having a deep sense of the value of our rights and liberties, and that the same may be handed down to posterity, we Earnestly recommend it to the people in these towns to prefer a petition to the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress setting forth our grievances, and that we deprecate so great a judgment as being consigned over to an unconditional submission to any State; also remonstrate to said Congress, informing that N.

¹ From original MS. in possession of the author.

² These instructions are not preserved.

³ From original MS. not recorded.

Hampshire are enforcing their laws on those towns that have heretofore and do now deny the same, which conduct is obviously contrary to the resolves above mentioned, and desire that a speedy decision by trial be had.

4. That the clerk be desired to write to Col^o Charles Johnston, at Haverhill, and others, of that [MS. mutilated] [to avoid] exercising law over any persons in those towns that still deny the jurisdiction of N. Hampshire, and that it be recommended to the people that deny their jurisdiction not to make use of N. Hampshire laws nor suffer them to be put in execution on any person that still denys said jurisdiction, and each one exert himself with honesty & fidelity in the payment of their debts without the exercise of law.

5th, that the late resolutions of Congress be sent to Col^o Johnson, in addition to the letter of request, and the doings of this meeting, to all the towns in the upper county that have heretofore denied the jurisdiction of New Hampshire, and as many towns in the lower county as shall be thought proper, desiring concurrence, counsel & assistance.

Voted to adjourn this meeting to Wednesday the 19th of February next at twelve o'clock, to the house of Mr. Azariah Bliss in Lebanon. By order of the meeting,

JEDth HEBBARD, *Clerk.*

"At the adjourned meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Hanover, Feb^y 5th, 1783, the members appointed to attend the Committee from sundry Towns on the Grants at Lebanon the 15th of January last, made their report in writing as on file appears [report not found], which was unanimously accepted . . .

"Voted to adjourn this meeting to Tuesday the 11th day of Feb^y instant at 11 o'clock in the forenoon."

At the meeting Feb. 11 (Russell Freeman, Moderator), "It was put to vote to see if the Town would submit to the jurisdiction of New Hampshire. It passed unanimously in the negative.

"Voted that the Committee be directed to use their influence that some meet person be appointed to go as an agent to Congress unless some person in whom they can put confidence can be engaged to lay in our papers to Congress, and use his influence to bring forward a decision.

"Voted that this meeting do agree and determine not to suffer the execution of the Laws of New Hampshire to [take] place in this Town or any to act under their authority here until the decision of Congress on the premises be had, or the Town in their publick capacity do own or subject themselves to their jurisdiction. Voted without a person in the negative. Voted that the above vote be laid before the Committee at Lebanon."

No records remain of proceedings at the adjourned meeting of the convention at Lebanon on the 19th of February, nor yet of a subsequent meeting at Lyme or Orford in the last of April or in May, called, as the records of Piermont show, by the selectmen of Orford. The termination of the contest is marked by the appearance of Mr. Bezaleel Woodward as

member for Hanover in the session (seventeen days) of the Assembly at Exeter, March 30, 1784, though not until the following year do the town records mention an election of representative. He probably acted under the authority given him, with others, by the town "to attend the General Assembly to endeavor a settlement of public accounts."

In October, 1783, the constitution of New Hampshire, framed by the convention put in motion in 1781, was, after having been twice rejected by the people and twice amended, finally adopted, and was put into operation in June, 1784.¹ Hanover had taken no part in the matter, and the new constitution carried in every draft a memorial of this struggle (and of the popular belief as to the position of the College in respect to it) in a provision that "no president, professor, or instructor in any college should have a seat in either House of the Legislature or in the Council."² In the apportionment of representatives under the constitution, Hanover and Lebanon were each allowed a representative. Haverhill, notwithstanding her loyalty, was still reduced to be classed with three other towns. Professor Woodward, being excluded from his seat by the new constitution, was succeeded by his co-agent, Russell Freeman, who sat for Hanover at the June session (twelve days) in Concord, and at the October session (twenty days) in Portsmouth; and in March, 1785, was regularly elected representative by the town, and took his seat at Portsmouth in June. The return of good feeling was signalized by the restoration of Professor Woodward to his old position as a justice of the Grafton County Court of Common Pleas, Aug. 10, 1785. The same day James Gould, of Hanover, was appointed coroner. In 1786 Mr. Woodward was chosen also county treasurer and register of deeds.

In 1786-87, Col. Elisha Payne (then of Lebanon) filled the chair of a senator, and Jonathan Freeman, of Hanover, occupied the same position in 1789, 1790, and 1793. These gentlemen,

¹ N. H. State Papers, ix. 917. The first meeting ever held in town for State officers was in March, 1785. It was held on the same day with the annual meeting, but under a separate warning, pursuant to which votes were also received for President of the State and for Senator for Grafton County, at an adjourned meeting the ensuing Monday, at Colonel Brewster's tavern on the College plain. The habit of recording warnings began at that time.

² This clause stood until the constitution was revised in 1792; and even then the first attempt to strike it out was voted down by 56 noes against 45 ayes.

with some others prominent in the Dresden party, when the contest was over strove for harmony, and gave loyal adherence to the State of New Hampshire. Still others preferred to emigrate. Colonel Morey moved across the river from Orford to Fairlee in 1782. From Hanover there was a very considerable movement to some of the newer Vermont towns, where Hanover people held proprietary interests. Randolph in particular received a considerable number; among them, Captain Hendee, Capt. Aaron Storrs, Col. David Woodward, and Capt. Samuel Paine, of Dresden (Lebanon district).¹

There seems to have been at one time (starting especially from Cheshire County) a somewhat extensive scheme of colonization, under the patronage of Governor Wentworth, to his new province of Nova Scotia. The following letter from Colonel Chase's son-in-law is the only local memorial of it that we have been able to find:—

ISLAND OF CAPE BRETON, SIDNEY, July 23, 1787.

SIR,—I arrived at this Island on the 24th May, in company with Mr. White, since which we have employed our time in exploring the lands. We find the soil very good, and some of the land equal to any on Ct. River, and the advantage of water carriage is equal to any perhaps in the known world. We have obtained a grant of 100,000 acres, situated on the River Miré, the navigation of which is sufficient for a vessel of 30 or 40 tons burthen for thirty miles up, and there may be hay enough cut to keep 100 head of cattle. The principal Gentlemen seem to be very desirous to have the Island settled with people from New England, and promise every assistance in their power. Governor Des Brosses is called to England, & Gov. McCormick is app^d to the Govt., who is expected every day, for whose arrival I tarry. I had the pleasure of seeing Gov. Wentworth, who sends his compliments to you. . . .

I expect to be at home in Sept. at furthest, when I hope to be able to give you more particulars of the Island.

I am, Sir, etc.,

EBENEZER BREWER.

COL. JONATHAN CHASE.²

¹ The town of Randolph, then called "Middlesex," under a grant by Governor Wentworth of 1763, was purchased in 1778 by a company of twenty men in and near "Dresden." Of twenty-nine meetings recorded, twenty-two were held in Dresden. It was re-chartered as "Randolph" by the State of Vermont to Capt. Aaron Storrs and seventy others in 1781. The Hanover names recognized among these are: Aaron Storrs, David, Asahel, and Jehiel Woodward, Stephen Burroughs, Joshua Hendee, John Payne, Joseph Green, Col. John House, Experience Davis, Bezaleel Woodward, Esq., and Dan Parker (*Vt. Hist. Gaz.*, ii. 976, 1027-29).

² Jonathan Chase Papers, N. H. Hist. Soc., p. 32. Mr. Brewer himself settled at Sidney; his son Ebenezer was born there in 1789.

We hear of no enthusiasm for this scheme in Hanover, though some of the people doubtless fell into it. In 1792 we find Col. John House described as "of Nova Scotia," but he afterward returned. The following letter may perhaps refer to this subject, though more likely to State politics. General Sullivan was re-elected president this year, and Eleazar Wheelock was appointed lieutenant-colonel (aide-de-camp) on his staff: —

HANOVER, March 29, 1789.

GENERAL SULLIVAN:

SIR, — May it please your Excellency, your condescending letter of the 30th of January a few days since came to hand. Pursuant to commands, I have made diligent enquiry for lurking emissaries, but have hitherto made no discovery. Hand bills from the *Eastward* have lately been circulated in this quarter, which had a tendency to create divisions among the people. However, it is thought generally here the consequences will not be agreeable to the undue wishes of their *author*. The contiguous towns, I am informed, were unanimous in their votes. They are praying that innovations and changes may not take place, and no one more fervently than him (may it please your Excellency) who has the honor to be your Excellency's most grateful and most obedient Servant,

ELEAZAR WHELOCK.

(By hand of HON. B. WOODWARD.)

Pacification all through this section was retarded by unwise and persistent exaction of delinquent taxes by the State in oppressive methods. Taxes, in one form or another, had plagued the people of Hanover from a very early period. The expenses of opening the town to settlement were, as we have seen, considerable, and in December, 1772, the first quit-rents fell due under the charter. These amounted to ten pounds, and were demanded by the receiver-general in January, 1773, with a threat of legal process. They were paid in the following December. From 1775 onward demand was made from time to time by the Exeter Government upon the town for its proportion of the general taxes, which were for the first year or two paid, though after long delay.¹ In 1777 and 1778 the

¹ The following receipt is preserved: —

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

EXETER, July 1st, 1778.

Received of the Selectmen of Hanover, *Pr* the hand of Ebenezer Greene, Esq., Twelve pounds, nineteen shillings, and also a certificate from said Selectmen of twenty-two soldiers in the Continental Army, whose poll tax to the State amounted to thirty-three shillings, which sums are in full for the State tax of said town for the year 1775.

¶ NICH^s GILMAN, *Treas^r*.

taxes were assessed and collected as far as possible, and suffered to remain in the treasury of the town, agreeably to the recommendation of the convention at Orford in January, 1778, pending the settlement of the dispute with the Exeter Government. On March 22, 1779, a further sum of £1,519 15s. 10d. was called for by a precept from the receiver-general, and Hanover voted not to comply with the demand in terms, but yet to raise the sum “(after deducting the proportion of the town of Dresden, according to their list and ours), to be collected and paid into the treasury of the town by the time that the New Hampshire Assembly have voted to pay in the Continental and State taxes, to be made out on the common lists and assessments.” It was at the same time voted “that some person be appointed to draw the money of April, 1777, and May, 1778, out of the town treasury, giving his receipt for the same, and deposit the same in some public loan office, taking a certificate therefor for the payment of the same in two months from the first day of June next, and that we then replace it in the said treasury.” The money was accordingly drawn by Captain House for this purpose. It is probable that later pressing demands in other directions absorbed it, if indeed it was ever reclaimed.

In 1782, as already stated, the town voted to indemnify the selectmen in neglecting to make a tax bill for the State requisition for £1,143 7s. 11d., upon a precept from the county treasurer, Nov. 14, 1782, directing the selectmen to “assess the polls and estates of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town, and the non-residents’ unimproved lands,” in the sum of £54 11s. 6d., the proportion of £500 voted in August by the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for the county. “At a legal meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Hanover, Jan. 13, 1783, the selectmen of said town laid before the meeting the within requisition, on which voted, that the selectmen be directed to omit making up a tax bill on the same, and that the town hold themselves bound for all damages the selectmen may sustain by such neglect.”

In consequence of these various delinquencies and others, there was accumulated against the town, at the close of the war, a large claim in behalf of the treasury of the State, which the Government, under the circumstances, was not slow to enforce. It was swelled to still greater proportions by claims on account

of deficiencies in filling the quota of the town under the numerous calls for soldiers, and for 8,832 pounds of beef required by the Act of June 27, 1780.

But Hanover was not alone in this condition. All the neighboring towns rested under similar demands; and they soon combined anew for a common defence, having not only strong equitable excuses for non-payment in the past, but counter-claims of considerable amounts which the State was indisposed to reimburse.¹

The town of Hanover, at a special meeting, Oct. 14, 1783, chose Lieut. Russell Freeman, "as an agent in behalf of this town, to repair to the General Assembly of the State of New Hampshire for the purpose of obtaining an equitable settlement of the accounts of our expenditures in the late war, etc."

The following is the petition presented under these instructions to the House by Hanover and Lebanon jointly: —

To the Honorable General Court of the State of New Hampshire:

The subscribers, for and in behalf of the towns in the County of Grafton annexed to their respective names, beg leave to represent —

That the said towns, not having for most part during the late war been represented in Assembly, nor made return of their polls and rateable estate, have from time to time been iniquitably assessed by doomsage for men, money, provision, &c., that the situation of those towns on the western frontier has exposed them to many and great exertions and expense in various ways, which ought to be considered in estimating the proportion of public expenses;

That those towns have from time to time furnished men for the Continental service for which they have had no allowance; that the s^d towns are desirous [that] all grounds of uneasiness between them and the State may be removed, and that a happy union of affection and exertion for the welfare of the State, and justice to every part, may be extended through the Govm^t; therefore the subscribers, for and in behalf of the respective towns annexed to their names, request that the Honorable Court will be pleased to direct to proper measures to have our equitable proportion ascertained, and what allowance ought to be made us on the forementioned and other accounts, and the extent issued against said towns be suspended till such measures can be carried into execution.

EDMUND FREEMAN, for Lebanon.

RUSSELL FREEMAN, for Hanover.

CONCORD, October 31, 1783.

¹ Some of the Grafton towns had indeed been favored with a partial abatement in June, 1779 (N. H. State Papers, viii. 830).

A joint committee¹ was raised by the Legislature, November 1, for the consideration of this and all similar cases, but it seems to have made no report at that session. Some encouragement must, however, have been given, for on Mr. Freeman's report to the town at a meeting held Nov. 27, 1783, his authority was renewed, and John House, Jonathan Freeman, Nathaniel Babbitt, Joel Brown, and Joseph Curtis were chosen a committee to receive and make out the accounts. With them appear to have acted Bezaleel Woodward and Ebenezer Brewster, selectmen of Dresden. The distinct identity of Dresden having been abandoned by force of circumstances at the very last of the year 1783, at a meeting of Hanover, held Feb. 17, 1784, the two Freemans and Mr. Woodward were designated jointly and severally as agents to prosecute the claims, and a tax of one penny in the pound was laid to meet the expenses of the agency.²

Though other records are lacking, it is evident from what followed that the interested towns at this point and for this purpose resumed naturally in a measure their former methods of association. On the 5th of June, 1784, at Concord, there came into the House a joint petition of the towns of Piermont, Orford, Lyme, Hanover, Lebanon, Cornish, Canaan, Cardigan, Grafton, Enfield, Dorchester, and Claremont,³ and on the 8th a similar paper, signed by J. Young, for Bath, Lyman, Landaff, Concord (Gunthwaite), Apthorp, Lancaster, Northumberland, Stratford, Dartmouth, Cockburn, and Colburn. The former set forth "that during the time of the late war with Great Britain they were (being the northern frontier of this and other States) under obligation, for the defence of themselves and the country, frequently to turn out on alarms, raise men, provide

¹ General Folsom and Messrs. Green, Dow, Wiggin, and Blood, of the House, with Messrs. Langdon, McClary, and Farrar, of the Senate.

² An itemized account of these claims in the Hanover files, of the date of June 7, 1784, amounts, for the district of Dresden, to £524 3s. 6d., and for the rest of the town, to £615 10s.; in all to £1,139 13s. 6d. The items are for the pay of men serving on scouts, or hired for the regular service, and for provisions and equipments furnished.

³ The petition was signed by Thomas Russell for Piermont, William Simpson for Orford, Jonathan Child for Lyme, Russell Freeman for Hanover, Elisha Payne for Lebanon, Moses Chase for Cornish, B. Sumner for Claremont, and William Ayer for Canaan, Cardigan, etc.

provisions, and advance money for the aforesaid purpose, whereby not only this and other of the United States were secured from the ravages of the enemy, but essential services were rendered to the common cause. Notwithstanding which they were called upon and taxed in full proportion with the other towns in the State for men, money, and provisions, whereby an unequal and insupportable burden is laid upon them, unless relief be granted."

They prayed an abatement and allowance, and directions as to the mode of presenting their accounts. It would seem that Mr. Freeman also had renewed his separate petition for Hanover. A joint committee¹ was named, June 5th, to "consider the petition of Russel Freeman in behalf of Hanover, and all similar matters," which reported on the 12th, to the acceptance of the House, an abatement of one third upon all taxes and assessments prior to the then current year.²

But this not being carried into effect, the difficulties were not relieved. At a town meeting, Sept. 6, 1784, Hanover "voted and chose Russell Freeman as an agent to attend the General Assembly at their next sitting, to transact matters for and in behalf of the town respecting our expenditures in the late war," and "appointed James Wheelock to assist him in said business as he shall need."

At the next two sessions of the Legislature, held at Portsmouth October 20, and at Concord February 9, 1785, no action was taken. At the June session, at Portsmouth, Mr. Freeman took his seat for Hanover, and presented the following petition, which was referred to a committee that had been raised upon a similar appeal from Cornish and other towns; but nothing was accomplished:—

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

To the Hon^{ble} the Senate and House of Representatives of the State afores^d in General Court to be convened on the first Wednesday of June next, at Portsmouth:

Humbly sheweth the petition of the Subscribers, Selectmen of the Town of Hanover, that the said Town of Hanover was assessed, agreeable to

¹ Colonel Peabody, Major Whitcomb, Major Gains, Mr. Smith, Mr. Adams, of the House, with Messrs. Dow and Smith, of the Senate.

² The excise on liquors in Grafton County for the year beginning October, 1784, was sold at auction, at the inn of Capt. Amos Fisk, in Haverhill, to Ebenezer Green, of Lyme, for £80 L. M. He had the tax also for the same price the ensuing year.

doomage of the General Court from the year 1776 to 1784, which doomage exceeded their proper proportion or average of the public taxes, which your petitioners are ready to make appear; wherefore your petitioners pray that the said doomage may be taken off, and that they may be assessed agreeable to the inventories which are ready to be produced; and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

NATH^L BABBIT.

SAM^L SLADE.

JOHN WRIGHT.

HANOVER, May 25, 1785.

The necessity of renewed combination was now again apparent, and the selectmen of Hanover joined with those of Lebanon in calling the towns together for that object. On Aug. 22d, 1785, at a special meeting of the town, Capt. Aaron Storrs, Col. Ebenezer Brewster, Jonathan Freeman, and Russell Freeman were appointed to represent Hanover in the convention to be held at Colonel Brewster's tavern on the College plain. The Hanover files give the following record of the proceedings:—

Agreeable to circular letters to sundry towns in the County of Grafton and Cheshire, from the Selectmen of Lebanon and Hanover, for the purpose of Assembling in Convention at the house of Col. Eben^r Brewster in Hanover, the 30th day of August, 1785:

Chose Mr. Dudley Chase Chairman. Chose, Capt. Aaron Storrs, Clerk.

The following towns represented as follows: County of Cheshire,—Claremont, Elihu Stevens, Esq.; Cornish, Mr. Dudley Chase, Chairman; Plainfield, Daniel Kimball, Esq.; Grantham, Mr. Eben Stebbins. County of Grafton,—Lebanon, Elihu Hyde, Esq.; Enfield, Jesse Johnson, Esq.; Canaan, George Harris, Esq.; Hanover, Col. Eben^r Brewster, Capt. Aaron Storrs, Clerk; Piermont, Thomas Russell, Esq., Abner Chandler, Esq.

1. Voted and resolved, this State calling on those and other towns for taxes, when they continue to refuse to allow them for their expenditures in defence of this frontier in the late war, and issuing their extents against them, when some of them are lying under heavy doomages, appear to this Convention to be real public grievances.

2. Voted and resolved, the imprisoning of persons on execution for debt (in the present scarcity of money), when estate is offered, is an insupportable grievance.

3. Voted and resolved, that the fines laid on towns for deficiencies of soldiers, when they had their proportion or just quota of men in actual service in the late war, and issuing their extents accordingly, is unreasonable and oppressive.

4. Voted and resolved, that it be recommended to the several towns that they empower their respective delegates, in their behalf, to sign and prefer a

petition to the General Assembly at their next session for an allowance of their accounts and the redress of the foregoing grievances.¹

5. Voted, that Col^o Brewster, Capt. A. Storrs, and Elihu Hyde, Esq., be a Comm^{ee} to form a mode of statement for the account of Expenditures; also to draft a petition to prefer the General Assembly, and to notify the several Towns of the Adjournment of this Convention, and request their Attendance.

6. Voted, that it will be agreeable to this Convention that the Legislature divide the Counties of Cheshire and Grafton in three Counties.

7. Voted, to adjourn this Convention to the 22^d day of Sept. next, at ten o'clock in the morning, to be holden at Col^o Brewster's in Hanover.

DUDLEY CHASE, *Chairman*.

AARON STORRS, *Clerk*.

¹ The following is from a copy in the writing of Capt. Aaron Storrs preserved in the State archives:—

At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Hanover, warned Sept. 5, and held Sept. 19, 1785:

Voted and Chose Mr. Nath^l Babbit Moderator.

Voted that this meeting do approve of and adopt the within resolves, and that the representatives of the Town in General Court be accordingly desired and directed to prepare s^d petition.

Sept. 22, 1785.—Convention met according to adjournment. Present from Wendell, Mr. Moses True; Clarimont, Elihu Stevens, Esq.; Cornish, Mr. Dudley Chase, Chairman; Grantham, Mr. Eben^r Stebbins; Lebanon, Elihu Hyde, Esq.; Enfield, Jesse Johnson, Esq.; Protectorworth, Mr. David Bean; Canaan, Maj^r Saml. Jones; Hanover, Col. Eben^r Brewster and Aaron Storrs, Clerk; Lyme, Col. Eben^r Green; Orford, Capt. John Mann; Piermont, Tho^s Russell, Esq.; Plainfield, David Kimball, Esq.; Grafton, Lt. Jonth Nichols.

Firstly, Voted to accept the draft of a petition presented by the Committee.

Secondly, Voted to sign the petition by each delegate particularly.

Thirdly, Voted to request Col^o Elisha Payne, Col. William Simpson, and Russell Freeman, Esq^r, or either of them, to present the petition at the General Assembly at their next session.

Fourthly, Chose Elihu Hyde, Esq., and Capt. Aaron Storrs a com^{ee} to fill the blanks in the petition.

Fifthly, Voted to petition the General Assembly for the relief of debtors.

Sixthly, Voted to petition the General Assembly for a new County by the name of Washington.

Seventhly, Voted that the aforesaid Committee—viz., Col. Elisha Payne, Col. Wm. Simpson, and Russell Freeman, Esq^r—be directed to prefer the two last-mentioned petitions to the General Assembly.

Eighthly, Voted to appoint a committee to call a new convention if we require hereafter, and that Elihu Hyde, Esq., and Capt. Aaron Storrs be the Com^{ee} for that purpose.

Ninth, Voted to dissolve the Convention.

Attest: DUDLEY CHASE, *Chairman*.

Esq^r Freeman will carry the petition to Court.

The petition referred to in the first clauses of the foregoing record was as follows:¹—

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court to be convened at Concord on the third Wednesday of October next:

The petition of the inhabitants of the Towns of —— Humbly shew that upon the commencement of the late war with Britain they, in conjunction with this State, in their then disordered and unsettled condition, cheerfully exerted themselves in the defence of their Country; and in that way they continued to do beyond their ability, until an unhappy dispute subsisting between said State and the New Hampshire Grants (so called), in which those Towns were a part, arose so high that an actual separation took place in consequence thereof, and a union formed between those Towns and the Grants on the west side of Connecticut River; upon which events taking place, and the same being represented to Congress, they, for the preventing of intestine disorders arising in our then critical situation, interposed in the dispute, and thereupon passed sundry Resolves, in which the State of New Hampshire were not to exercise jurisdiction over those Towns, etc., as by said Resolves of 24 Sept., 1779. Nevertheless, your petitioners being zealous to do their part in the defence of their injured country, and being so placed by the providence of God that they became a large and important Frontier to this and other of the United States, did, in the best manner they were able, contribute toward the common cause by raising, paying, and victualling of men in Service, who operated with the Federal Army of the United States, and were under the direction and control of its Comander-in-Chief, and others in whose district they occasionally were; and also by providing of men and provision for keeping of Garrisons and scouting, also turning out on frequent alarms, — all which were not only most necessary, but rendered essential services in the general cause.

Your petitioners would farther observe that Congress, being desirous of doing what in their power they could to settle the controversy, which still continued, resumed the consideration thereof, and on the 20th Aug., 1781, by their Resolves guaranteed all the Towns on said Grants lying on the east side of Connecticut River to belong to the State of New Hampshire; upon which the inhabitants of those Towns, willing to lay aside and bury all former contention in oblivion, and join in promoting the general good of the whole, united in forming and establishing a permanent plan of government for the State: at the same time, relying on the justice and equity of their demand for the service aforesaid, and the candour and rectitude of the representative body of the State that they would undoubtedly make such allowances for their services as to put them upon an equal standing with the rest of their fellow-citizens, have cheerfully exerted themselves in promoting the best interest of the State; but we are sorry to say that hitherto they have been disappointed, as we beg leave to observe that notwithstanding the

¹ From a copy preserved in the Hanover files.

Resolves of Congress to the contrary, and other circumstances attending, the Legislature of the State have through the course of the War proceeded to levy all taxes and demands for men, money, and provisions on those towns in proportion as the other towns in the State, with the additional burden of heavy doomages, many of which are still lying on them, and for the sums so laid extents have been levied on some, and the others exposed to the same fatal consequences.

For a redress of these grievances they have repeatedly, in the most humble manner, petitioned the Legislature of the State, but have hitherto been denied; which demands so lying on them, if collected without an allowance for their expenditures as aforesaid, in many instances will lay them under double the contributions that others in the State have suffered; besides, what adds to their distresses is that at the commencement of the war, your petitioners were just beginning to encounter the rugged and uncultivated wilderness, under the disadvantages of poverty, and but very few able to raise the necessary provisions for their families' support.

We are therefore, under these considerations, constrained to say that if the demands of the State now lying upon us are exacted [they] will unavoidably reduce us to a state of desperation, which seldom fails of producing the worst of evils. We could offer many other reasons why relief should be granted, such as the great plenty of depreciated money with which those paid their taxes in the time of it, and the appreciated value as well as scarcity of it at this time; but we apprehend what has been mentioned sufficient, as they are facts which we are able to verify beyond dispute.

Your petitioners, therefore, earnestly pray that in consideration of the peace and tranquillity of the State, for the encouragement of the oppressed to exert themselves to extricate this State, in conjunction with the United Confederacy, from the calamity into which the war has reduced them, especially from the principle of doing to others as we would in the like case have them do to us, that your Honors would take this their unhappy case into your wise consideration, and grant them such relief as the equity of their case requires; and your petitioners in duty bound will ever pray.

[Signed by all the members of the Convention above named.]

At the session of the General Court at Concord, October, 1785, the matter was again laid over without action, and during the recess process was issued against the towns. A special town meeting of Hanover was called, December 16th—

“To see what they will do with respect to an Extent which is said to be in the sheriff's hands against this town for deficiency of Continental men, in case the sheriff should come to levy the same on the selectmen or inhabitants; to see what further measures the town will take to obtain an allowance of their accounts at the General Court; and to choose delegates to attend the convention if called by the late Convention's committee.”

At the meeting, December 21st, —

"Chose Col. House, Doct. Tiffany, Sol^o Jacobs, Lieut. Kendrick, and Capt. Cook a committee to treat with the Sheriff and endeavor to prevent the extent being levied until after the sitting of the General Court."

At an adjourned meeting, December 26th, —

"Resolved, that the selectmen be requested to procure what money or certificates they can towards a settlement of the same; and that it be recommended to the several inhabitants to afford the said Selectmen all the assistance in their power; and this town do agree that where individuals shall advance money for this purpose, such persons shall be entitled to receive the same again, with interest, or that it shall in like manner be allowed to them towards the first public tax raised for arrears."

They succeeded in raising the money in this way, and the extent was not levied.

At an adjourned meeting, held Jan. 6, 1786, Hanover —

"Voted and chose Jonathan Freeman, Esq., as an agent in behalf of this town to make application to the General Court for a redress of those grievances under which this town have long labored respecting their demands against us for arrears of taxes, and to act and transact all matters relative to a settlement with the State that may be necessary to be done."

It is supposed that there was also a further meeting of the united towns; but no record of it has been discovered.

The Legislature met February 1st, and the case was presented upon the following statement, which comes down to us in the handwriting of Professor Woodward: —

"That Congress, taking into consideration the situation of the towns which we represent, did by their resolutions of Sept. [24th] and Oct. 2nd, 1779, pass sundry resolutions wherein, among other things, they did recommend to the State of New Hampshire not to exercise jurisdiction over the towns which we represent, and sundry other towns on the New Hampshire Grants east of Connecticut River, and did take the said towns under their special protection until such time as they should determine certain disputes relative to the jurisdiction of N. H. over said towns, as by said resolutions more fully may appear.

"That as Congress have never terminated these disputes, those towns held themselves unconnected with any one of the Confederate States more than another, but under the particular protection of Congress, and subject to their particular direction until they associated with N. H. in establishing the present constitution of said State, and in joining in General Assembly agreeably thereto in 1785.

"That said towns, being zealously affected in the American cause, did, notwithstanding, exert the utmost that their infant situation would admit in furnishing Men and other aids for the Continental Army from time to time,

and far beyond their abilities in defence of the northern frontier of the United States on which they lay, and where they were frequently interrupted by incursions of the enemy.

“That in consideration that Congress had taken those towns under their immediate protection, Congress in their requisitions for men and money for the years 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783 did diminish the proportion of New Hampshire on representation that no levy could be made by New Hampshire on those towns, as they were taken under the immediate protection of Congress.

“That Congress did further abate to New Hampshire three hundred men of their proportion in the Continental Army, that they might employ the same number of men for defence of the northern frontier on which we were.

“That New Hampshire did not raise those men, but in lieu thereof employed companies, of about¹ men in the whole, for six months only; And that therefore for defence of said frontier the said towns, with others contiguous to them, were under necessity to quit said frontier with their families and effects, or continue constantly under arms for their defence, and raise and support men at outposts to reconnoitre and espy approaches of the enemy. They chose the latter as being most agreeable to the desires of Congress and beneficial to the States, and were at very great expense therein.

“That Congress and General Washington did consider the exertions of the people on this frontier as being of great importance in the general cause of America, and did therefore recommend our vigorous endeavors, and approved the measures taken by us for our defence, and considered the same as beneficial exertions in the General Cause, and held us subject to the direction of General Orders.

“That from the time of the aforesaid resolutions of Congress till the present constitution was established in this State, those towns were not represented in the General Assembly of this State in any way or manner, notwithstanding all which the said Assembly did from year to year during said term levy contributions on said towns, and in many cases far beyond their equitable proportion, had they been then liable to bear their proportion of the assessments settled by Congress as the quota of said State.

“That said towns have individually in various ways applied to the Assembly of the State for redress of their grievances in respect to the aforesaid matters, which applications have been repeatedly laid over from one session to another. That in particular a petition to this Assembly at their last session for that purpose was laid over to the present. That in the mean time extents have been issued against us during the last recess for collecting those very monies, a demand for which we have complained of as an insupportable grievance, and the reasonableness of which complaint now lies under consideration of this Assembly. With those extents Sheriffs have come amongst us, levied on our estates, and reduced us to distresses such as we cannot endure.

“Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that the case of those towns may

¹ Numbers omitted in the original.

be taken into your serious and wise consideration, and that justice may be done them by passing an Act to cancel those contributions, demands, and levies made upon them by this State during the war; or that we may be allowed what is reasonable and just for the Men we have raised for the Continental army from the year 1779 to the expiration of the war, and for the heavy expenses we have been at during said term in men, money, provisions, and other exertions in defence of this frontier, which have far exceeded their equitable proportion of what was on an average paid by the United States during the term of the war, and far beyond the ability of these infant towns on an unprotected frontier; or that you will otherwise grant relief in the premises.

“For although we are willing to bear an equitable proportion according to our infant abilities, we cannot endure levies according to the demands made upon us, as the whole of the goods and chattels in those towns are by no means sufficient (in the present extreme scarcity of money) to discharge the demands made on us and the interest charged thereon; and especially considering that we have already once paid expenses on account of the war more than sufficient to discharge our proportion of what on an equitable assessment ought to be in any way required of us.”

On this petition General Sullivan, Capt. John Calfe, and Moses Dow were made a committee, and by their advice the General Court, on the 2d of March, 1786, ordered abatements of two fifths upon the Hanover taxes prior to the last apportionment, from 1776 to 1783, amounting to £1,144 1s. 1d., and enough more on account of Continental soldiers to cancel the outstanding extent against the town. After all deductions there remained a debt of £1,700 for the war taxes, and £200 subsequently accrued, £1,900 in all, upon which the town was respited until Jan. 1, 1787. The town, on March 28th, instructed Mr. Freeman (replaced by Captain Storrs, April 24th) again to attend the General Court at their next session, “in order to the obtaining of a further allowance of our accounts against the State, and redress of other grievances.”

On the 23d of June, 1786, the Legislature ordered the treasurer, after four months, to issue extents for outstanding taxes prior to 1784; but the next day a committee was raised to sit during the next recess and to take under consideration the petition of Cornish, Plainfield, Lebanon, and other towns.¹ In September a partial adjustment with the State treasurer was reached

¹ Josiah Gilman, of Exeter, Thomas Bartlett, of Nottingham, Robert Wallace, of Hillsborough (substituted by Lemuel Holmes, Esq., June 27th), Capt. Abraham Burnham, of Rumney, and Ephraim Robinson, of Exeter. September 7th, Col. John Waldron, of Dover, and Major Samuel Hale, of Barrington, were added.

by Hanover, and the old account for deficiency of soldiers (near £800) was finally balanced. On November 14th the town reappointed Jonathan Freeman agent to settle accounts with the committee of the Legislature. That committee reported, Jan. 16, 1787,¹ that they had compared the accounts of Hanover with those of other towns, and had found that it had expended £363 6s. 11d. more than its proportion. The account was approved and ordered to be discounted, excepting £111 paid to nine six-months men for wages and travel when serving in Vermont, which was laid over for the consideration of a future Legislature.

In September, 1787, James Wheelock appeared as Hanover's agent, and a new committee was appointed. The subject was before the Legislature still for several years, but so far as appears, with no result.

In the mean time tax-bills were made by the town to cover its entire indebtedness, and the greater part was collected and paid over to the sheriff in whose hands the process lay. Certain expressions in the records authorize the inference that the delinquency as to the remainder was due to a misapplication of funds by collectors. At all events, in November, 1789, a balance still remaining unpaid on the war taxes, the extent was at last *levied upon the persons* of Russell Freeman and James Wheelock, selectmen. They were imprisoned in the county jail in November and detained twenty-five days, until, by various means, money was raised and payment made to the jailer. At a meeting, Dec. 19, 1789, Mr. Freeman made report to the town, and he and Mr. Wheelock were each allowed £7 10s. for their time while imprisoned (at the rate of 6s. per day), and £8 for their expenses. The total amount of back taxes paid the State up to this time was £1,555 15s. 1d., of which a little over £188 was with great difficulty levied for the final adjustment.

To make the case still harder, the burden of these old debts fell only upon the ancient families of the town, since recent immigrants, as well as soldiers, were excused from contribution. Long lists of abatements for these causes cumber the records.² Even this was not all. At a meeting, Dec. 21, 1787, held for the

¹ The report was made by Ephraim Robinson, Lemuel Holmes, Samuel Hale, and John Waldron.

² Town Records, Jan. 9, 1787; June 27, 1791.

settlement of divers accounts, it was, together with other things, voted "that those persons that paid Mr. Joseph Curtiss on a town bill made Nov. 29, 1779, for the sum of £1,245 7s. 8d., shall draw the money they have paid out of the town treasury." Several other outstanding tax-bills made for Continental money were at the same time consolidated and reduced according to the legal scale of depreciation.¹

It was not, of course, to be expected that the State of New Hampshire on resuming full authority over the river towns would recognize as valid the arrangements by which *Dresden* had assumed autonomy as a town. The matter was accordingly brought to the attention of the General Assembly Oct. 24, 1783, by a petition signed by twenty-six² persons, comprising most of the residents of the College plain and its immediate neighborhood in Hanover, including, of course, the officers of the College, and praying an incorporation within the limits heretofore described.³ The ratable polls at this time numbered 154 in all the town. The petition set forth, —

"That at the settlement of the College in the southwest part of Hanover in 1770 it was proposed that a distinct town or parish should be formed con-

¹ The following scale of depreciation was established by law in 1780 :

	Year 1777.	Year 1778.	Year 1779.
January	£100 is £100	£31 0 0	£9 13 0
February	91	28 0 0	8 15 0
March	82 10 0	25 10 0	8 0 0
April	74 15 0	23 5 0	7 5 0
May	68 0 0	21 0 0	6 11 0
June	61 10 0	19 0 0	5 19 0
July	55 15 0	17 5 0	5 8 0
August	50 10 0	15 15 0	4 19 0
September	45 15 0	14 5 0	4 10 0
October	41 15 0	13 0 0	4 1 0
November	38 0 0	11 15 0	3 13 0
December	34 10 0	10 15 0	3 6 0

N. H. State Papers, viii. 858.

² Ebenezer Brewster, Jabez Bingham, John Crane, Daniel Clapp, Benjamin Colt, Simeon Dewey, Benoni Dewey, George Eager, Ebenezer Fitch, Joseph Green, Samuel Green, Daniel Gould, James Gould, Laban Gates, Luther Ingalls, Joseph Lee, Samuel Maccluer, Daniel Porter, Sylvanus Ripley, John Smith, Parker Smith, Aaron Storrs, Asahel Warren, Eleazar Wheelock, Beza. Woodward, John Young. President Wheelock was then in Europe.

The names are here arranged alphabetically for convenience. The petition was headed by John Young.

³ Town Papers, xii. 171.

tigious to it out of the towns of Hanover and Lebanon, in compliance with which the said towns have passed votes expressing their consent that it may be effected; that the inhabitants within said territory have formed settlements there in expectation that such town would soon be formed, and great inconveniences must arise on account of their situation from a connection with Hanover and Lebanon in town matters; that in consideration of such inconvenience and by consent of said towns the said inhabitants have transacted matters separate from the said towns for near six years last past, which necessity has at many times in the course of the war compelled them to in cases of alarms, etc., as a separate military company was established there before the commencement of the war."

The petition was presented by Bezaleel Woodward, and on November 1st continued to the second Thursday of the next session, which fell on Dec. 25, 1783, public notice being in the mean time ordered in the "*New Hampshire Gazette*," as usual in such cases. On its coming up again, several remonstrances were filed. Gideon Tiffany addressed to the Speaker a long letter (remarkable chiefly for its extravagancies in spelling), in which he desires him to —

"Informe the Honorobel house that thare is a potishon or prair to Sd house not to Enorperate in to a Destinct town the lands potishond for last seting of a Sembly; those that signed a Ganst incorporation owne more than one half the ratobol land Contand in the potishon for incorporation. You, Sir, and the house in General are Sensobol the Coledg Lands and Ofosors of Coledge are not taxt, Sir; thare is not much if any more one hundred and seventy acors under Emprovement taxabol lands in Sd tract potishond for in Corperation."¹

Joseph Tilden also appeared in behalf of himself and seven others,² comprising all the freeholders of Lebanon dwelling within the limits proposed for the new town, and filed a written protest stating that of the 1,440 acres (exclusive of College land) proposed to be taken from Lebanon, 1,300 acres are owned by these eight persons, who are unanimously opposed to the measure; that they had already done their share for Dartmouth College by giving 150 acres of land and £15 in money and labor, and that they were unwilling to be subjected to the dictation of the College authorities, as the latter would be able by the votes of their dependants to carry every point as they pleased. They

¹ N. H. State Papers, xii. 381. This I take to be Dr. Tiffany, living on the College plain.

² Joseph Tilden, Jr., Charles Tilden, Stephen Tilden, Joel Tilden, Rufus Baldwin, Rufus Baldwin, Jr., and Samuel Baldwin (N. H. State Papers, xii. 384).

were unwilling also to give up their ministerial and school privileges in Lebanon, the public rights there being so far improved as to produce a considerable income, a minister having been settled, and a meeting-house and school-houses built. They apprehended also large taxes for new roads and for the poor dependants of the College, and for the maintenance of order in the town. The chief objection evidently lay in the fact that the College lands and other property were not taxed; so that the freeholders were "apprehensive that they shall be obliged to do a great, if not the greatest part, towards supporting the poor and discharging other town expenses." Lebanon as a town appears to have made no objection.

The matter was postponed again to the next session, and on April 12, 1784, was referred to a committee of five from the House, with three from the Senate.¹

In the mean time, in despair of present success, the Dresden incorporation was practically given up early in 1784. At the annual March meeting of Hanover the number of selectmen was increased to five by the addition of two from the College district, and the town thenceforward resumed its original dimensions. In 1786 the board of selectmen was reduced again to three, of whom one was taken from the College district, agreeably to an unwritten understanding which has ever since prevailed.

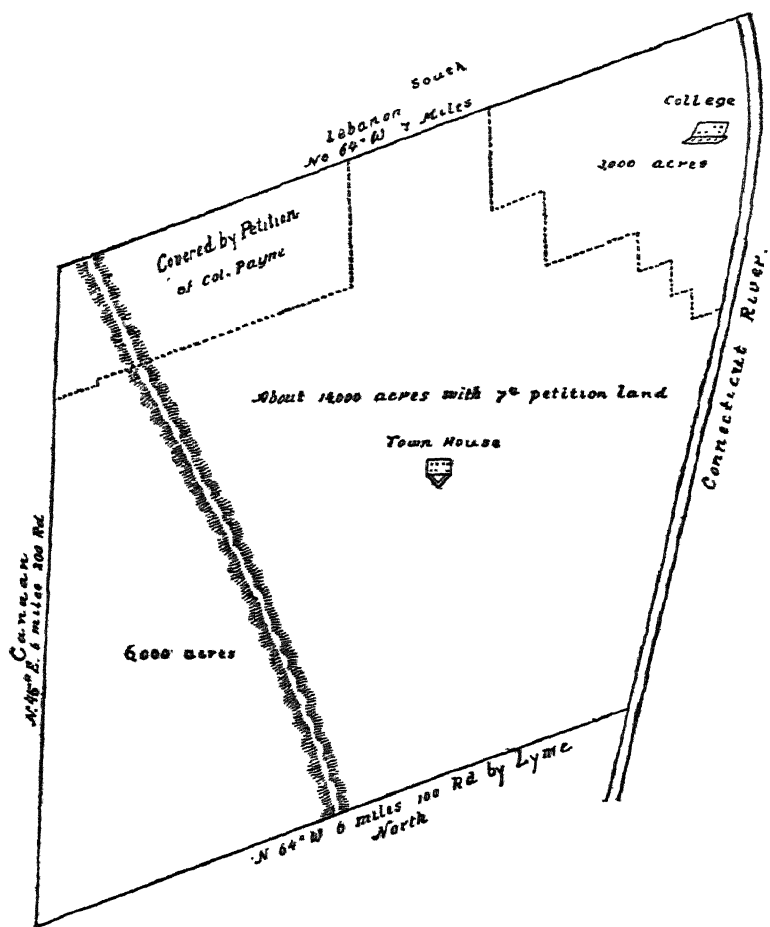
The purpose to separate was not, however, abandoned. The town of Hanover, at a meeting held Sept. 6, 1784, on request made that the town renew their consent, etc.,—

"Voted that this town are willing and hereby give their consent that that part of this town bounded easterly by the two-mile line and second 100 acre lots of the first minister and of Russell Freeman and other boundaries, as in the vote heretofore passed, be erected into a distinct town with the northwest part of Lebanon. Passed N. C. D."

Again, Nov. 12, 1792, the town recorded its consent "that the College district have liberty of incorporating themselves into a distinct town, agreeable to former vote of this town." No progress being made, the matter was again taken up in 1795 by the proprietors of the new meeting-house near the College, who took measures, Nov. 18th and 26th, "that the inhabitants in

¹ Messrs. Gibson, Gilman, Livermore, Captain Green, and Mr. Hall, of the House, and Messrs. Bartlett, Langdon, and Folsom, of the Senate.

the vicinity of Dartmouth College petition the General Court for an incorporation of this vicinity, comprehending the limits of *Dresden*, as a town, with town privileges; and if that be not practicable, that they petition for the privileges of a parish or society." Jeduthun Wilcox was appointed to notify the selectmen of Lebanon, Bezaleel Woodward, James Wheelock, and



Aaron Hutchinson, Esquires, were chosen to prepare a petition, and Messrs. Woodward and Russell Freeman to transact the business at the General Court. The vote was substantially renewed May 2, 1796; but the opposing interests were increasingly strong, and the desired incorporation was never obtained. The

nearest approach to it that was ever reached was in 1855, when the village of Hanover became an incorporated precinct for the purposes of protection from fires, the care of its streets, and the maintenance of schools.

While these matters were pending, an attempt was made by Elisha Payne, then dwelling at East Lebanon, and Senator for Grafton County, with twenty-seven others, among whom was Edmund Freeman, to carve a new town, about four miles square, out of the contiguous corners of Lebanon, Enfield, Canaan, and Hanover.¹ The petition was dated Oct. 12, 1785, and alleged as the reason that the territory described was so remote from the centre of the respective towns as to make it very inconvenient, and almost impossible, for the inhabitants to attend the public meetings, especially on Sabbath-days, and that it would add greatly to their convenience, without injuring the other towns. The portion designed to be taken from Hanover covered all the lands in the southeasterly part of the town, as shown by the accompanying plan.

Upon receiving notice of this application the town of Hanover voted, Jan. 16, 1786, to oppose, and appointed a committee to draft a statement of objections, which they did. The draft was approved by the town on January 27th, and the conduct of the matter was intrusted to Jonathan Freeman. On renewed application. April 26th, the town again recorded its refusal to acquiesce in the scheme.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire, on the first Tuesday after their convening at Portsmouth, on the first Wednesday in February next, in said State :

The subscribers, a committee in behalf of the town of Hanover, chosen in consequence of an order on the petition of Col. Elisha Payne and others, beg leave to reply thereto, by way of objection, from the following considerations :

That the town, in addition to what is asked in their said petition, have for a considerable time past indulged one parishional division of about 3,000 acres, round and near the College, the better to accommodate the inhabitants of that territory, and for their own convenience in supporting the Gospel.

The direction of Moose Mountain, from the north line of this town to the South East corner, cuts off one fourth part of the lands in the town, and which remain yet unsettled ; but when they become peopled must from their situation be incorporated with some other town or Parish. This tract, so

¹ N. H. State Papers, xii. 385.

separated, contains about 6,000 acres. The remaining part of the town, commonly called the Hanover parish, contains about 14,000 acres, including the lands asked in the petition, and after deducting the said lands, and allowing the other divisions, leaves the parish in the irregular form, as by the plain chart of the town annexed will appear, and not more than three and a half miles from the centre to either extreme part. To which chart we would refer your Honors for illustration.

The first-mentioned district is so encircled by mountains, and a great part thereof College lands, seems to entitle them to the indulgence. Moose Mountain is passable in a few places only. We would further beg leave to mention the impropriety of any such new dividing line, when two such entire losses will increase our inability of supporting representation and defraying other public charges: all which are reasons sufficient why the prayer of said Col. Elisha Payne and others should not be granted.

Signed by order,

NATH^L BABBIT.

SILVESTER TIFFANY.

OTIS FREEMAN.

HANOVER, Jan. 27, 1786.

Lebanon also was averse to the partition of its territory. A committee, which was appointed at a town meeting held Nov. 26, 1782, "in the matter Represented to the Town by Co^b Payne & others, Respecting their being set off in a Distinct District from the Town," reported adversely. The date of the meeting seems to indicate that the project was mooted some time before the presentation of the petition, and that from the outset it met with no favor in the towns interested.

In a little more than ten years the contingency arose, as anticipated, regarding the territory beyond Moose Mountain. At a town meeting the first Monday of December, 1796, Jonathan Freeman was appointed "an agent to take care of the business respecting preferring a petition to the General Court to annex the land east of Moose Mountain to Canaan." During the preceding summer the selectmen of Canaan had petitioned the proper authorities to have a road laid out around the north end of the mountain. The proposition seems not to have been acceptable to Hanover. Doubtless then, as now, there was not very much travel between the districts on the west and the east sides of the mountain, and Hanover wished to avoid the expense of the road. In accordance with the above vote, Jonathan Freeman was directed to oppose the construction of the road at the next session of the Court of Common Pleas. The road was subsequently built, but nothing came of the petition for the division of the town.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COLLEGE AND MOOR'S CHARITY SCHOOL TO 1815.

THROUGH all the confusions of war and of politics, Dartmouth alone among the American colleges went steadily on without suspension, though several times painfully near it. But it had its domestic troubles, and some of them were serious enough. The year 1777 marks an epoch in its history, distinguished on the one hand by the defection of the Canadian Indians, and on the other by the estrangement of its best remaining friends in the eastern part of the State.

It will be remembered how, in 1769, by the withdrawal of the boys of the Six Nations, the School in Connecticut had been for the time shorn of its special character as an Indian school and turned into new channels of usefulness, and how the founder, after becoming settled at Hanover, had returned in a degree to his original plan, and, though shaken in his confidence, had with infinite pains and expense gathered about him nearly as many Indians as before, but from a different quarter. By their withdrawal in November, 1777, when their places could not be filled, his discouragement was complete. The Indian School was thrown a second time into the shadow, and never recovered itself. The five who were left kept along, most of them, till 1782, after which but a single representative of the race remained, and for fifteen years, from 1785, there were none. This marked the definite transformation of the institution, by force of circumstances, into the English college, divested of its peculiar devotion to Indians, except as incidental to the expenditure in after years of the moderate avails of the Scotch Fund. There were no more missions, and no more systematic endeavors to bring Indians here. As regards the original idea of its founder, the School, and to that extent

the College itself, was practically an admitted failure. The missionary spirit, indeed, had been quenched by the war. Between 1771 and 1774 fifteen English youths were ready to go out, and six Indians were qualified for schoolmasters; but the tumults which preceded the war, as well as the war itself, prevented any successful enterprise. Those who went among the Indians found them unusually opposed to missionary work, so that for more than ten years there was practically no access to the Indian country, except to a certain extent in Oneida. "As the chief object of their pursuit seemed thus interdicted by Providence, they generally became settled in the ministry in various parts of the country, and considered themselves exonerated from their bonds."

But the real causes of discouragement lay deeper. "Of a hundred and fifty Indians who were members of the School under the elder Wheelock, several became reputable and useful preachers of the Gospel among their countrymen, but all except Occom died in early life. By far the most of the number never rose above the capacity of a schoolmaster or interpreter. Many relapsed into the life and the vices of their race, and several 'ranged themselves under the banner of desolation and murder.' Dr. Wheelock saw his kindest purposes toward them frustrated, and the benevolent projects he had formed, with fairest hopes of success, at once completely blasted."¹

But a far more serious misfortune was the loss of friends at the eastward. This was chargeable in part, no doubt, to border politics, but in great part also to the course pursued by Dr. Wheelock in a controversy with the town of Hanover over the civil rights of the College. The quarrel with the town gave great concern to all the friends of the College. It was at one time very hot, and threatened to lead to radical changes and destruction. The immediate occasion of it was a difference in

¹ Memoirs of Wheelock, pp. 62-4. Of the whole number of Indians who attended the School, about twenty-five were at Hanover, several of them in College, and three were graduated, namely, Daniel Simons, a Narragansett, in 1777; Peter Pohquonnopeet, a Stockbridge, in 1780; and Lewis Vincent, a Lorette, in 1781. It is but fair to remember, as a partial offset to this gloomy picture, that the friendly attitude of the Oneidas during the Revolutionary War was due in very large degree to what Wheelock had previously done for the improvement of the Six Nations, and to the influence of Mr. Kirkland and others, who went out from the Lebanon School.

January, 1777, about an affair of the small-pox, in the suppression of which the preceding autumn all had harmoniously joined. There had been at times friction and heart-burning on account of the roving cattle and the gates; but in general, relations with the town had been pleasant, and in the point of freedom from taxation the claims of the College had been fully allowed, even to the extent of exempting person and property of the executive officers.

The precise origin of the quarrel is rather obscure; but it would appear that, the small-pox having broken out again in this region, inoculation was privately resorted to, in violation of law, by some of the students on their own account, but with the consent of the President, and by some also of the citizens under the hand of Dr. Eager, one of the resident physicians and surgeon to Bedel's regiment. Application to the authorities for permission to continue it met a determined refusal; and the houses at the College mills on Mink Brook being already infected by the students, and well retired, all the patients were ordered there, in spite of President Wheelock's angry protest. He became so deeply exasperated by what was done, and the manner of it, that he forthwith set on foot, on his own responsibility, and so far as appears, without the knowledge of the trustees, a plan for the removal of the College into the State of New York. Finding no encouragement there, he carried the grievance to the trustees and to the ecclesiastical authorities; but was everywhere disappointed of the support that he demanded. The trustees from the eastward, by no means able to countenance the high claims of college prerogative, and yet unwilling to exasperate him by flat opposition, avoided the subject by keeping away, under various excuses, from the meetings which he called, in hope that the quarrel would after a little subside; but they drew thereby upon themselves a fire of complaints that cooled the friendship of some whose support could ill be spared in so critical a period, and chief among them that of John and Samuel Phillips.¹

¹ Mr. Phillips had been, on the whole, the most constant and generous private benefactor of the College and School in America. In 1774-76 he answered calls to the amount of about £600, and at that period we find Dr. Wheelock turning to him in every emergency, as he formerly did to Thornton. In 1774 Mr. Phillips purposed "spending some time [at Hanover], the better to satisfy myself what service to our

The cause of the matter will best appear by presenting the principal documents. The first that we have is —

The Memorial of the Students of Dartmouth College to the inhabitants of this vicinity:

DARTMOUTH HALL, Jany. 8, 1777.

Whereas the small-pox has providentially broke out in this vicinity, whereby many persons have been greatly exposed to that epidemical and painful distemper, and whereas self-preservation is the first and great law of nature, we think it our indispensable duty to take every possible means to alleviate the distemper which may be effected by inoculation; We the subscribers, having been more or less immediately exposed, do petition the inhabitants of this vicinity to take our uncommon case into consideration and give your consent (as neighbors) that we, and such others belonging to the vicinity as desire it, take house or houses at the mills, if they can be obtained, to be inoculated in, under such regulations as the inhabitants shall esteem most requisite at this emergency.

EBENEZER HASELTINE.	NATHANIEL MANN.
LABAN AINSWORTH.	EDWARD LONGFELLOW.
JOHN GOODRICH.	NOAH MILES.
ASHUR HATCH.	DANIEL POTTER.

This petition received the indorsement of the citizens, —

We the subscribers, taking the above petition into our serious consideration, and being fully convinced that sundry of the students have been eminently exposed to the small-pox, do esteem it our duty to give our consent that one class, or such as apply for it within 8 days, be permitted to have it by inoculation at the mills as requested, under the following restrictions, viz :—

1. That a committee be appointed to inspect and regulate that matter so that no person in this neighborhood or elsewhere be exposed.
2. That Mr. Sever, Capt. Hendee, and Mr. Maccluer be a committee for that purpose.
3. That no person be permitted to visit the houses there without the consent of s^d committee, nor return from thence without being cleansed to their satisfaction.
4. That the road leading to the mills be fenced across at the top of the hill, and notification of that disorder be there posted in writing.
5. That the authority of College will consent to enact a law which shall be effectual to bind the students to the foregoing and such other regu-

Master can be most advantageously rendered." His aspiration was, "Oh that I might now at this eleventh hour be faithful in his work!" (N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., ix. 84.) There was earnest hope that some distinguished benefits might be derived from his generosity. But about this time his ardor cooled, and his attention was turned, with the concurrence of Mr. Samuel Phillips (his nephew and prospective heir) to the endowment of the academies at Exeter and Andover in 1778. At a later period his interest in the College revived to some extent.

lations as shall be prescribed by said committee to be observed by people in general.

Also agreed that the Selectmen of Hanover be immediately informed of these proceedings, which originate solely from the exigence of the case.

WILLIAM WINTON.	JOSEPH LOVELAND.
DAVID CLAP.	GEORGE EAGER, Surg ^t
JOHN RUSSELL.	ICH ^d ORMSBEE.
JOHN CRANE.	SILV ^s RIPLEY.
JOHN PAYNE.	MICHEL DUGUET.
SAM ^l MACCLUER.	JN ^o PAYNE, Jun ^r
JOHN WHEELOCK.	BEZA. WOODWARD.
COMFORT SEVER.	

Of the ensuing proceedings a part of the official record is lost, and the fragmentary account we have is somewhat confused. We learn from Wheelock's correspondence that he concurred in the foregoing arrangement so far as concerned the students. The place agreed on he describes as "the seven warm, dry, and convenient studies at the mills which were owned and occupied by students who proposed to be inoculated, as a place most safe for the public, and every way accommodated for preparation, for sickness, for cleansing after recovery; with meal, milk, good water, and all necessary furniture for housekeeping, and where indigent boys might have it with but little expense to the College." He tells us that the physicians proceeded to inoculate some of the students and neighbors who had been exposed to the infection, and gathered them there so as to fill all the rooms excepting one, "which the President reserved for himself and wife to be sick and likely die in within a few days." But there seems to have been a disagreement in carrying out the arrangement. The town authorities seem not to have approved of the inoculation, and the President was unwilling to admit Dr. Eager and his patients to the mills. The officers of the town insisted that all who had the infection should be brought into one place, and that voluntary inoculation should cease. There was a pest-house already established in "Lebanon Woods," some eight miles from the College, which the President condemned as cold and wet; and the selectmen and Committee of Safety ordered that either all should go there, or all to the mills.

From this point we have a fragment of the record.

" . . . On which Mr. Freeman was desired to inform Dr. Wheelock, who replied that it was nearly right, it wanted but a finger breadth of it; that if they had ordered Eager with his patients to Lyme, it would do; that he would consent that if any of the scholars chose to go with him, they might, but would not consent that Eager should go to the mills, — of which Mr. Freeman made reply, whereupon the Selectmen & committee, resuming the consideration of the matter, and apprehending it to conduce most to the Safety of the publick, concluded that all those who had the infection must go to the Mills; and ordered D^r Eager forthwith to convey his patients there, that the whole might be accommodated together, and that Capt. Woodward, Esq. Woodward, & Capt. Storrs should be a committee to inspect and regulate all affairs relative to the same, only directing them to preserve such a room for D^r Wheelock as he should use in case he should have that Disorder.

ICHABOD FOWLER,
DAVID WOODWARD,

Selectmen.

AARON STORRS,
JON^A FREEMAN,
BEZA WOODWARD,
Committee of Safety.

The committee thus appointed made report as follows: —

The Committee appointed by the Selectmen with advice of the Committee of Safety to inspect & regulate the affairs relative to the small-pox in said Hanover, report —

That on Sunday last, about at Seven o'clock A. M., Dr. [John] Williams informed them that Benj. Burt, a Student in Dartmouth College, and Benj. Towsey, an Indian boy who is under D^r Wheelock's direction, had gone to the Mills the evening before, and that he understood they were inoculated with the small-pox, but knew [not] by whom. In consequence of [which] said Committee repaired to the mills, and on examination said Burt gives them the following account, viz.: that a day or two before he had obtained liberty of the President to be inoculated; that he heard on Saturday that the Selectmen had forbid further inoculation, but concluded with himself that he would go notwithstanding; that he communicated his design to no person but Mrs. Ripley, who advised him, if he went, to take Ben. Towsey with him; that he accordingly took said Ben, and they two ran away together on Saturday night; and that he inoculated himself with matter which he found there. It also appeared by the account of sundry persons that said Towsey was inoculated by Laban Ainsworth, who is there under inoculation. Thereupon said Committee, apprehending that their suffering said Burt to continue there unmolested would be made use of to induce others to take inoculation counter to the injunction of the Selectmen the day before, directed him forthwith to repair to the house of Esqr Woodward, and there to remain under the direction of said Woodward till it should appear whether his inoculation had taken, or till farther orders, which he readily consented to do; notwithstanding which said Burt went off to said mills on the Evening next succeeding without the knowledge of s^d Woodward; and this committee have omitted doing anything further with him, on expectation of speedy

opportunity to lay his case before the inhabitants of this Town legally assembled, and that they will give directions with respect to future proceedings with him.

DAVID WOODWARD,
BEZA WOODWARD,
AARON STORRS,

Committee.

HANOVER, Jan^y 15, 1777.

The action taken upon this report is not known, but that Dr. Wheelock was greatly incensed at what was done is shown by the following remarkable letter: —

DARTM^o COLLEGE, Feb. 18, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR, — Upon the Information given me of the Forfeiture made by the Successor and heirs of Sir William Johnson (as it will doubtless be esteemed by the American States if the public controversy should terminate in their favor) by their joining an unnatural Enemy and drawing their own and inciting the Indians to draw their swords against their Country, I thought whether it would not look like very Christian Revenge upon the Grand Adversary and his instruments and an acceptable offering in return to our great benefactor, for your State to make an offering of part at least of that large estate to the great Redeemer to be applyed for civilizing and Christianizing the Savages, and bringing them to a cordial Subjection to the Banner of Christ. And when I came to fix my mind upon the subject, my thoughts soon suggested so many and such weighty Reasons as have made me quite willing to remove thither myself with my College and School, provided it should be so agreeable to the people of your City & State as that they should see fit to make such proposals as should compensate the expense, be hon^{ble} for me & ye College to accept, and exhibit a reasonable prospect that so great an end might be well served by it. And for this purpose I have sent Mr. Sever & my son [John] to wait upon Gentlemen of Character, penetration and Influence, and advise of the Design and make such Return as they shall be enabled to make in the affair. They have dependance, as well as I, upon your wisdom, Fidelity, and Friendship, but a word to the wise. I have neither time nor strength to add more than that

I am, &c.,

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

TO MR. JOHN TAYLOR.

To this he received reply, as follows: —

KINGSTON, 27 Feb^y, 1777.

SIR, — Mr. Taylor having favored us with the perusal of your letter, we had the pleasure of some conversation with your son in consequence thereof.

While you remain undetermined, we cannot, without injuring you with the people among whom you live, make your proposal publick, nor of course take the sentiments of our Legislature thereon.

We have, however, reason to believe that some institution similar to yours

will be established in this State, & properly Endowed & Supported, nor can we doubt that they would wish to avail themselves of your abilities & experience. We fear that no measures can be taken to preserve to your College in event of your removal the estate which it possesses in New Hampshire, since we cannot conceive that such a step will meet with the approbation of that State. As to the idea of a joint corporation, composed of members from different States, it is too repugnant to the independence of each to be reduced to practice, and were it otherwise, it must terminate in the ruin of the College by the continued difference among the Trustees. As we have conversed fully on this subject with your Son, we think it unnecessary to enlarge here, but refer you to him for a further Explanation of our Sentiments, assuring you at the same time that you may command any service which we can render to your College, since we with pleasure acknowledge the utility of the institution.

We are, Sir, with Esteem, your most obed^t & humble Serv^{ts},

ROB^t. R. LIVINGSTON.

GOUV. MORRIS.

TO THE REV^d. DOC. WHEELOCK.

Wheelock replied to their objections by the hand of his son Eleazar, who was passing back and forth in military negotiations, in a letter enclosed to General Schuyler, whose advice he also solicited upon the subject. The rest of the correspondence has disappeared, but it is plain that Wheelock got no encouragement in this direction, and was forced to fall back upon the board of trust

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, April 14, 1777.

To the Hon^{ble} THEOD^{rs} ATKINSON, GEORGE JAFFRY, JOHN PHILLIPS, ELISHA PAYNE, JOHN SHERBURN, & SAM^l. PHILLIPS, Esq^r., Trustees of Dartmouth College, in Hanover, in the State of New Hampshire:

MUCH RESPECTED GENTLEMEN,—The present distressing state of this College seems evidently to require a more speedy meeting of the corporation than the time fixed upon for their annual meeting, in order to save it from impending and total ruin; as you may see in part by the memorial of the Senior class, which I enclose for that purpose.¹

¹ To the Reverend ELEAZAR WHEELOCK, D.D., President of Dartmouth College, the Memorial of the Senior Class humbly sheweth:

That whereas the Inhabitants of this Town of late in their Votes and proceedings relative to the affairs of the smallpox, have most injuriously incroached upon the privileges and immunities of this College, insulted the Jurisdiction of the Trustees, and reproached your character as President; which conduct, if passed over in silence, will invalidate the whole authority of this Institution, diminish its honours, and finally destroy all its immunities, We, therefore, your humble memorialists, request some better satisfaction than we can obtain by the present prospect of Affairs, with respect to the maintaining the rights of this College; or else we pray, grant us the favour of Dismissions and Recommendations, that we may apply to

The arbitrary power and controul usurped & exercised by the Town of Hanover, and their Selectmen and Committee of Safety in their name, over this College and the authority, Students, and Buildings belonging to the same, and in direct opposition to good and wholesome laws and orders made and enjoined by the Corporation for the regulation, good order, edification, & well-being thereof, & against the most solemn remonstrances, utmost endeavors, & earnest intreaties of the President, and in such a series and so many instances of their conduct as would be tedious to relate here. And this without the least ground of any pretence of any want of sufficient Laws or authority, care or Prudence on the part of the College to perform the whole much more understandingly, & with much greater Safety both to the public & to individuals than they did or could be supposed capable to do it, and these proceedings of theirs with no other or better plea for their justification therein than that the Charter of incorporation given to the Town of Hanover was prior to the Charter of the College, and that the Province has provided by law that the Selectmen of Towns shall take care of the Small-pox; and the votes which the Town have passed ratifying & establishing what their Committee & Selectmen did in their name, with the addition of sundry other votes directing & encouraging such arbitrary proceedings against the President & all the authority & Students of the College, being now on public record, and as such to be transmitted to succeeding generations, and by them if they please to be improved as a precedent & warrant for the greatest abuses.

“ It is therefore apprehended that all the chartered rights & honors which youth have in view when they come to College are so trodden under foot as that they will be rather a reproach than an honor to receive them, and the more so as the gentlemen who have had the principal lead & conduct of these proceedings against the College are men of chief civil & military characters in the Town, from whence it appears that this College is probably finally & totally undone unless there be an immediate redress of these grievances, &

some other College, in order to receive the honours and soforth which we expected here. For if the rights and privileges of this College cannot be asserted and maintained in a manner superior to what they have been this winter past, we think a Diploma granted here not worth a reception. Our circumstances have always been favourable, and we have esteemed it a great honor to be related to a Seminary conducted by your singular prudence, and unwearied efforts for the temporal and eternal good of your Pupils. 'T is out of necessity, Rev. Sir, that we address you in this manner. We wish still to remain under your parental inspection and care, but view it as our duty to seek redress in a lawful way; and if no other will answer, we beg a separation from this Institution. Thus we have alleged our grievances, we hope in a way of modesty and duty, and humbly wait your return. And we your memorialists, for your health and happiness, the prosperity and advancement of your Institution, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

At a meeting of the Senior Class of Dartmouth College, 25th March, 1777 :
 1. Voted, unanimously, that this memorial be transmitted to the Reverend Doctor Wheelock. 2. Voted that Zaccheus Colby, Solomon Howe, and Daniel Foster be a committee for that purpose.

Attest: DANIEL FOSTER, *Clerk.*

that unless this be effected there *never will likely be another degree given here*; & especially as I understand all of the junior classes who understand the affair are agreed unanimously, with submission to their parents & guardians, in the same opinion & purpose as the seniors have manifested in their memorial. Yet I must, in justice to the Students, say they have appeared to be of a becoming temper, & have been sufficiently disposed to hearken to & follow proper counsel & advice under all the provocations & abuses they have suffered. These things being so, I am persuaded you will think with me that it is of the last importance, even to the very existence of this College in this day of distraction, that the evil be searched into & redressed as soon as possible. I have, therefore, appointed the 20th day of May next for said meeting of our board, to be at Dartmouth College, at 9 o'clock A. M., and earnestly pray you, my dear sir, that [you] would not fail of giving your attendance thereon. Perhaps we shall think proper that it should be all the Commencement we shall have this year, if not all we shall ever have here. I understand Dr. Pomeroy is appointed chaplain of a regiment, & it is not likely he will attend.

The College, in other respects, has been under most desirable circumstances all this year, & the classes in general are quite forward in their studies. I have not wrote you this separately, because I apprehended it to be expedient for the most certain & effectual securing the end proposed to send the bearer, one of the Senior Class, to wait on you all, & I hope your hearts will be as united in your purpose to comply with what is proposed as your names are in this letter missive. Please, Gent^a, severally to accept most sincere respects from, very dear sirs, your most cordial, though oppressed & distressed, brother & humb^{le} serv^t,

ELEAZAR WHELOCK, *President, &c.*

Matters were aggravated by further difficulty about the gates. The trustees had voted in August, 1776, —

"That by reason of the extreme scarcity of Labor & other difficulties of a public nature, it is impracticable that the cattle & improvements belonging to this College can be secured from injury & loss at present, unless gates be erected across the highways near it. We earnestly recommend to the public & all persons concerned that they suffer gates to be erected & stand unmolested at or near the places [where] they formerly stood till such time as proper fences can be made for the security of them."

Wheelock records in his Diary, —

"May 12, 1777. Mr. Stephen Chase, by order of the Trustees, with consent of the Town and by my direction, set up a light and convenient gate across the road at the south end of the lane that crosses Mink brook from the College. May 13th. The militia of this town passed said lane on their way to Ticonderoga. May 14. I was informed the gate was broke to pieces, and appeared to be by the hand of violence. May 21. Mr. Daniel Porter hung my gate between here and Esq. Woodward's."

This last gate would be near the northeast corner of the College Green, and in the immediate neighborhood of Wheelock's old enemy, John Payne, the innholder, who as highway surveyor abated this gate as well as others. Application was then made to the General Assembly.

To the Honorable General Assembly of the State of New Hampshire :

The Memorial of Eleazar Wheelock, D. D., President of Dartmth College, in Hanover, humbly sheweth, —

That since the first blockading of Boston all resources for his assistance in supporting the expense of a number of Indian boys and others on charity in this School, and also for the further clearing, fencing, and cultivating lands piously given for the support of this School, have been wholly suspended, and he left to scrabble along as he could with a great weight of charge upon him ; that he has several hundred acres of said lands, seeded with grass and brought under such improvement as would be profitable if they could be secured against spoil of creatures from neighboring places, and those belonging to and for the use of the College be confined to their proper limits ; that the present distresses of these States have so called off to the public service and drained the country of laborers that they are not to be had, if he had money to hire them, to make lanes and proper inclosures for the security of the fruits and products of the farm ; that several years ago he did inclose a large body of said lands, including all said improvements, and for the better security of the whole ; but that it is yet necessary, in order to reap the benefit of said outside fence, that he should have liberty to erect several gates, such as shall be light and but little inconvenience for travellers, across the roads leading to and from said College, to stand till he may be able to fence the several lanes which are proposed to be made through said farm.

These are, therefore, to desire the Hon^{ble} Assembly to take this matter into your consideration and grant to your humble memorialist, and to the College aforesaid, liberty to erect such gates as the Hon^{ble} Corporation have or may direct, to stand so long as said corporation shall judge them to be necessary ; and your mem^{ts}, as in duty bound, &c.

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

We are not surprised that nothing was gained by this move, the less so as during the preceding fall and winter ill rumors had been rife in Portsmouth and Exeter about the President. Much was said of a letter (not now extant) which he had written to some officers holding appointments from the Crown, advising them as to their acting under their commissions. The letter and copies of it were industriously circulated by Colonel Peabody, greatly to the disadvantage of the College. To meet this and other injurious reports Wheelock, at the same time with the petition about the gates, sent in to the Assembly the exculpatory letter mentioned in the previous chapter.¹

¹ See p. 450.

At the meeting of the College board, May 20th, but six of the trustees were present, and none from abroad, except Dr. Pomeroy. Continuing four days, still with no quorum, they were obliged to adjourn without dealing with the matters nearest the President's heart. Some things of minor importance were attended to. It was "agreed that the library be removed to such part of the College as the President shall judge proper, and that he, with advice of the tutors, appoint a librarian." It was also declared that, —

"Considering the extraordinary situation of public affairs, and that the senior class in this College have compleated the usual course of academical studies, we apprehend it would have been expedient that they should have been admitted to the Degree of Batchellor of Arts at this time, could it have been done consistently; and as the present state of affairs renders it improbable that it can be soon so done, it is therefore unanimously agreed that the President and Tutors be desired to give them certificates of qualification for such degree, and that they may expect said degree and Diplomas in usual form as soon as the situation of our affairs will admit."

If the trustees counted upon the soothing effect of time to allay the President's irritation, they were not gratified. A new call was issued for the 29th of July, which, coming so soon after the late panic on the frontier, the trustees could hardly be blamed for neglecting.

Disappointed of the instant support which he had expected from the board of trust, Wheelock, in June, invoked ecclesiastical authority.

To the Rev^d Grafton Presbytery, appointed to meet at Dartmouth College, the 2^d Tuesday in June, 1777:

Eleazar Wheelock, D.D., President of Dartmouth College, complains of Capt. David Woodward, Capt. Aaron Storrs, Lieut. Jonathan Freeman, Deacon John Fowler, Beza. Woodward, Esq^r, all of the town of Hannover, and all bearing the public character and name of Christians, and men professing to be subject to the laws of Christ's visible kingdom, for being scandalously guilty of breaches of the 5th, 6th, and 8th commandments of the moral law, on or about the 10th, 11th, and 12th days of January, 1777; that is to say, —

1. Of the 6th commandment, viz., of the peace, by coming professedly vested with authority in a sovereign and arbitrary manner to intermeddle with, direct, and controul the authority, students, and buildings of the College, relating to the smallpox, and proceeding therein against the strongest remonstrances and most earnest entreaties of the President, who they had reason to believe looked upon his own life as most nearly concerned therein; and also against the intreaties of others, and in open violation and contempt

of the authority, rights, immunities, powers, and privileges granted by royal charter to this College and the corporation thereof; and this to the great disturbance of the peace of the President and his family, the tutors and students of the College and School, and of the neighborhood.

2. And also of the 5th commandment, by their disrespect and contempt shown to the President's rightful authority, and to the laws and orders of the Hon. Corporation for the edification and well being of this institution, and in such matters and things as were fully and solely under their jurisdiction and controul; and

3. Of the 8th commandment, by forcibly taking possession of a house and the several rooms of it which was for the time being the property of and designed for the sole use of students belonging to this College and School, and which was now reserved the most and only convenient place for the President and his wife under their many infirmities to be sick and likely to die with the small-pox in, and which they were now expecting occasion for, for that purpose, every hour, and rashly placing in them and crowding the several rooms full of town inhabitants, who had received the small-pox by inoculation by the rash and presumptuous conduct of Dr Eager, and against the utmost remonstrances of the President, and introducing and placing said Eager over them as their physician, where they continued with that disease eight weeks, to the great interruption of the studies of the students, as well as the great prejudice of their and the College's secular interest.

And the said Town of Hanover have involved themselves in and made themselves partakers of the aforesaid guilt by their public vote in January last, approving and establishing all their said committee had thus illegally and injuriously done in the aforesaid matters; and whereas as much has been said and done to bring them to a conviction, repentance, and Christian confession of their errors as the gospel requires, but apparently to no good purpose, I do, therefore, tell it to you, that further steps may be taken and endeavour used, as the rules of the gospel direct, for their good and the glory of God.

And in bringing this complaint, I do solemnly declare before the omniscient searcher of hearts that so far as I know myself, I am not [at] all influenced by disaffection or personal prejudice against them or any man whatsoever. These persons complained of I have ever before looked upon and esteemed (the most of them, at least) to be of the first rank of kind, benevolent, and faithful friends to me, my family, and this institution, but do it with a single regard to their good and the securing and furthering the cause and interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, which to me appears to require that something be speedily and effectually done to retrieve the honor of this seminary, and prevent that lasting reproach and contempt which they have by their aforesaid doings exposed it to, and prevent the mischiefs which may follow through such a precedent to the latest times, as these doings are all become matter of public record.

And the whole is submitted to your strict examination, faithful inquiry, and impartial determination by

Your Brother and Humble Servant,

ELEAZAR WHEELLOCK.

How this was received we do not know. It is probable that the Presbytery was no more eager than the board to espouse the quarrel.

At the annual meeting, August 27th, continued by adjournment to the 29th, the board of trust, contrary to expectation, was able to meet with a quorum, by the presence of John and Samuel Phillips, and the degrees were regularly conferred. Among the "particulars to be considered by the trustees" at this meeting, as scheduled by the President, appear, —

"1st. The abuse of the College by arbitrary power exercised by the Town of Hanover.

"2^d. Whether the Corporation is not authorized by the Charter, equal to other civil incorporations, to make and execute laws for the safety and well-being of the same against such as desire or perpetrate mischief against it, and whether a code of some necessary laws is not now expedient. . . .

"8th. Whether they will see fit to confer the degree . . . of LL.D. upon the Honorable John Phillips, of Exeter."

Several matters of ordinary routine were disposed of; but as Professor Woodward, against whom the President's attack was in part directed, was a member of the board, and without him there was no quorum present, the great controversy had still to be deferred. The meeting was adjourned till October, when it again failed, as before.

The President's displeasure at the repeated neglect of members to respond to his calls found expression in a vote (to which we cannot believe the Messrs. Phillips acceded) "that Hon. John Sherburne, Esq., of Portsmouth, be *excused* from future service as a trustee of this College," followed by the election in his place of Wheelock's devoted friend, Rev. David McClure, then of Northampton.

Wheelock wrote thus to Mr. Sherburne: —

DARTM^o COLLEGE, September 22, 1777.

MY DEAR & HON^d SIR, — I have neither leisure nor strength but for a line necessary to inform you that we were again at the last meeting of our board disappointed of such a number as is necessary in the affair which was the main design of our meeting; for though we made a Quorum for other affairs, we had no number to spare and have a sufficient number to hear and determine in that. If there had been a vacancy in our board we might have supplied that in this vicinity, and so the trouble of another meeting might have been prevented; but for want of that we have adjourned to the third Wednesday, the 15th day of October next, to meet here. And we are all of

opinion that it would be best that such members of our board as through age, infirmity, distance, or otherwise are and likely will be prevented attendance according to appointment, should send their resignation, that it may be considered if necessity should require. Though there is no desire to shift either of the present members for any others, but earnestly desired that all should attend if it could be, but such a [word illegible] or on account of so many disappointments is very painful and trying, and a quorum we must have.

I am yet in a very infirm state of body, and not able to write the other gentlemen of the trust in your vicinity. Pray be so kind as to present this, with my best respects to them,

And believe me to be, with much esteem and respect,

Your very cordial friend, &c., &c.,

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

JOHN SHERBURNE, ESQ.

The following letter of Mr. Phillips sufficiently discloses the attitude of the members from that quarter: —

EXETER, Oct 8, 1777.

REV^d & HON^d SIR, — Upon receiving a copy of the Charter, Sept. 29th, I set out next day to give Mr. [Samuel] Phillips time to satisfy his mind respecting College rights before the day of adjournment, and to know when he thought of going, &c., but unhappily missed seeing him. He since writes me it would be impossible to express his mortification when, on his return from Boston, he heard that I was set out for Exeter; that he pursued me to Haverhill, but in vain. He sent man & horse yesterday on purpose to forward a letter to yourself, &c., and to acquaint me with reasons of a conduct which otherwise might have "some appearance of unfaithfulness." "Any concerns of my own," he writes, — "almost any that I can imagine, — should give way to an attendance upon a duty which I am persuaded hereafter may admit of extensive & very important usefulness."

Next morning, after my return from Andover, I waited on the Trustees at Portsmouth. They presently convened, and your letter to Mr. Sherburne, happening then to come to hand, was read. I urged the necessity of faithful attendance to the present only very considerable public duty of our department. Col^o A.'s journeying could not indeed be expected. Mr. Jaffrey said he was then, and at last meeting, unable to ride. Mr. Sherburne expressed a desire of going if I went. He said some difficulties might prove insuperable, but I should know seasonably. I told him I would wait on him up.

Mr. Maccluer was at my house same day desiring to see me. Had opportunity for it in the evening; showed me your letter. Mr. Sherburne's designing to go induced an explanation. He was very pleasant upon the passiveness his very good friends had passed to his credit. Intended going. Desirous of my company. Had thoughts of making a visit to the Northern Army, and call round upon you on the way. However, disliked the difference of sentiments, & thought best the dispute should die away. The time is now past Mr. Sherburne set. Have myself been making ready for the journey. The weather is most fine & tempting, but journeying under

these circumstances would be as unprofitable as it is, Dear Sir, to you, unexpected.

I hope, Sir, that Mr. Woodward will be no longer worried upon a question that you may remember I observed to you before, Providence, ever wise & good, then appeared, and to me, Sir, now appears, to prevent a public & formal decision of our best and most judicious friends. This way all clearly against it. However an indecent manner in some respects might be disapproved, yet this, Sir, as a Christian, you are ready to forgive. Doctor Stiles, whom I consulted, was very greatly surprised at hearing of such an expression as "we will make your Mansion House an hospital if we think fit," or words of the like import, but advised by all means to most pacific measures. He spent about two hours at my house. Heard the clauses of charter respecting officers, their power, the rights, &c. Said there were none of them would justify the supposed claim. Talked very learnedly on the subject; but on my saying that Col^o A. was tho^t to justify the claim, he appeared not a little astonished. Said, very modestly, "That Gentleman must know;" and at my desire intended seeing him upon it, hoping likewise to have a thorough examination of the charter, supposed to be in his office. But when I was at Portsmouth the proposed interview had not taken place. I wished, if possible, he might have an interview with yourself; but as there was no prospect of that, and perceiving my anxiety, he was pleased repeatedly and most earnestly to urge that a publick dispute should be suppressed, pursuing his advice with cogent arguments, fine reasonings, expressed in the most free, easy, & friendly manner, which might have instructed and really charmed to such a degree that I could not help at parting expressing my wishes to wait on him where his advices might be more effectual. He is since invited to the presidency of Yale College, but don't hear, & I much doubt of his acceptance.

Though the Doctor's counsel served to confirm me in sentiments I entertained at the first hearing of this dispute, yet, Dear & Honored Sir, I shall not presume to advise those whose advice I ought rather to hear with the humility & patience of a Mr. Woodward, if possible, — which were as much noticed as the great abilities of his venerable monitor. Allow me to add, Worthy Sir, my humble opinion of tempting offers elsewhere. Will they not serve to cast a shade upon an institution dear unto us, and to which my more distant relation may apologize for such fears? Must not even distant thoughts thereof have a plain natural tendency to throw a darker coloring upon circumstances here, not so agreeable as we wish? But a word suffices.

I had almost forgot to express my desire that Treasury accounts, or such proper College Incomes as a faithful board will take the trouble of examining, may be exhibited.

I am Rev^d & Dear Sir, with best respects to yourself & Lady, & most cordial compliments to Mr. & Mrs. Ripley,

Your very obliged & obed^t Hb^{le} Serv^t,

JOHN PHILLIPS.

Wheelock acknowledged this diplomatic, but unpalatable, communication by a very long letter of indignant declamation

against the town authorities, and not without some sarcastic flings at Mr. Phillips himself and his fellow-councillors: —

“I am happy to find [says he] that the affair which had labored here, and appeared to us to require a long and deliberate hearing, and a resolution of many questions very difficult for us to decide in favor of the Town, met with little difficulty when it came to be proposed to judicious and unbiassed gentlemen. . . . I still think it was impossible for one to be a competent judge, or qualified for a decisive judgment in the case, who had not heard it through, — which I supposed you had never an opportunity for, and which I knew could not be done so as sufficiently to avail so slow a brain as mine of all things necessary to a safe decision therein with less expense than of many hours’ close attention.”

He wrote still again, Oct. 24, 1777, —

“If any of those good gentlemen who were so full & clear in their opinion opposite to mine would be so good as to point out to me my mistake in any or all the reasons I have offered to justify my opinion, I shall be greatly obliged to them, though I have not represented facts in that strong light in which they appeared upon the spot, nor do I think in so strong a light as they would appear to you if you should deliberately hear the case from step to step thro’ the whole progress of the affair. Some things in this affair are to me mysterious beyond anything of such a nature I ever met with in my life, and can think of nothing but judicial infatuation that can account for them. But whatever it may be, I am persuaded God designs hereby to make the Riches of his Goodness towards this Seminary the more conspicuous to the end. I think I generally feel disposed to commit the matter to him, & wait upon him for the issue & event in his way & time.”

Mr. Sherburne found it due to his self-respect to tender his resignation, and Rev. David McClure took the vacant place. Mr. Samuel Phillips also resigned, but was persuaded to remain. Though the controversy with the town survived till Wheelock passed away, he could find no one to join him in pushing it forward. In the following spring the old troubles about the maintenance of gates broke out afresh. Wheelock records in his Diary, —

“April 15, [1778]. Old Mr. Tilden came in early in the morning and said he had attended a Dresden town meeting the evening before at Mr. Paine’s; that the town had there discoursed of suffering my gates to stand, and were all against it. They finally concluded it was best to discourse with me about them before they came to a vote, and he was come for one.”

Four weeks later the north gate was broken down in the

night, and a few nights after was taken and put before Wheelock's door.¹

According to Wheelock's views, "by the doings of proprietors and town, and by the Act of incorporation, jurisdiction is as fully conveyed to this corporation as the jurisdiction is by charter to any corporation whatever. . . . We are subject to no visitation but within ourselves; that is, from the corporation itself. . . . For the town to claim jurisdiction over a corporate body which has no representation in their legislative Assembly, nor any right of choosing of town officers, is a claim as pregnant with usurpation, power, and tyranny as any principle complained of at the present day. This College knows no such officers as selectmen or Committee of Safety, nor any right to join with any town or government in choosing such. . . . If the town has right in this case, it has, for the same reason, in a thousand others, and may treat all the students as their law treats vagrants and strollers, and thus lay the College waste. . . . I confess with shame [he adds] that the claim made, . . . when I have considered certain relations, connections, and obligations, together with the shocking consequences at the very door, has sometimes filled me with such indignation as that all show of patience, meekness, and unfeeling carelessness, nor the addition of the common plea of conscience, has [not] been able to curb and assuage."²

But while Wheelock was engaged in this quarrel, he was also pressed with the burden of poverty, and was earnestly seeking for means of assistance. His previous success with the Continental Congress led him again to apply for public aid, as shown in the following letter:—

MUCH-RESPECTED GENTLEMEN,—The ruffled & unsettled state of our Public affairs, which seems so much to engross the attention of all, together with my want of a convenient opportunity, has made me thus long neglect to represent to you the needy circumstances of the Indian boys under my care, agreeable to the incouragement so to do given me by Mr. Silas

¹ In addition, the *tu quoque* argument was thus applied:—

DOCT^r WHEELOCK: SIR,—I should take it as a grait Favour if you would put up your small pigs, for they Daly Do me Damage; and as you are knowing to it, I shall take it unkind if you don't take care of them.

From your humble Servt.,

GEORGE EAGER.

² N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., ix. 106.

Dean, then a member of y^e Continental Congress, when I received the generous Grant of \$500, which they granted, as I understood, with a special view to clothe the boys; but my expenses antecedent to my receiving that had been such for their clothing and other necessaries for their support that I was obliged to expend the most of that liberality to pay the same, and still scabble along with them as I could. I have, with the assistance of a number of those who have contributed their old putt off clothing, supported them along hitherto; but I now find that this resource fails, as others have done, till I am brought to extremity, & see nothing but that they must greatly suffer, if not perish, for want the ensuing winter, unless God shall open some way for their relief which at present is quite out of my sight.

I thought proper to imbrace this opportunity by Mr. James Deane, your agent, who is well acquainted with the affair, and in whose ability & integrity I presume you repose utmost confidence, to lay this case before you and solicit your help & assistance, if it be in your power. The number of my Indian boys from Canada is seven, which I suppose they had special reference to in their past donations. From other tribes I have five. And Mr. Deane is able to save me the trouble of writing particularly of the affair, as he has seen the needy state of these boys, & knows how resources for their support are cut off, the importance of their making a reputable appearance when their parents & friends visit them, or receive a visit from them; and I have confidence in your wisdom & friendship, & need only add that I am, with great esteem & respect, &c.,

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

DART. COLLEGE, 13 Oct., 1777.

The Hon^{ble} Commissioners for Indⁿ Affairs in the Northern Department, — the Hon^{ble} Gen^l Scuyler, C. P. Downs, Timothy Edwards, & Oliver Wolcott, Esq^{rs}.

In a letter written on a small rough sheet of home-made paper, and sent by the hand of his son, the 25th of April, 1778, Wheelock lays open the condition of affairs to John Phillips. After reciting that, when the English supplies ceased, in 1775, he was left with nearly thirty students upon charity, whom he could not put aside, and that he had nothing with which to support them but the rents and profits of his own small estate; that he was at that time in debt £1,200; and that though there was more than that due to him, there was no disposition to pay, and no way to collect it, he adds that in consequence of all this he had sold his Connecticut property, and now had nearly expended the whole of the proceeds.

"I have thought it duty [says he] for me and my family to live in as cheap and low a manner as would consist with bodily health; but the iniquitous sinking of our medium outbid all my hopes of surviving the evil and keeping my school together without some friendly assistance. I have been for some time receiving old silver debts paid numerically in paper dollars, which for

some time have been but a quarter and now not over one fifth of the value, so that my bread for some time has not cost me less than sixteen dollars per bushel in general, and henceforward must be much more, except when I buy with hard money. My family and school are in want of clothing. Your generous nephew [Samuel Phillips, of Andover] sent seasonable relief to some of the charity scholars as to Woollens, but the necessity remaining not less as to linens, to supply which we have cut up all the sheets, table-cloths, underbeds, towels, &c., which could be spared in the house to cover their nakedness, and have now scarce a whole linen garment in the house, and most of them such as you would not think worth taking from the floor unless for a paper-mill. My laborers were so called away last spring that I could not cultivate these lands to good purpose. I have bought my provisions for some time, and have not now more grain than to supply my family three or four weeks; and if I should buy or contract for the independent scholars, their board must be so much dearer than in Connecticut that they will likely rather leave college than to be at such expense."¹

So far as we know, this appeal brought no assistance. One of the students tells us how in the spring of 1778, not finding provision made sufficient to board all the students in the commons, "a number of us of different classes agreed to purchase our own provisions, and to hire our board dressed at a private house not far from the College, and continued thus until Commencement." He says he was himself at this time "much embarrassed, having no bed and no money to buy provision, but through a kind Providence was soon supplied from an unexpected quarter." At another time he was in great straits for proper clothing, so much so that he was at the point of being obliged to absent himself from Sabbath services on that account, had not his father arrived unexpectedly from Connecticut, bringing the articles he needed.²

In November, 1778, Wheelock renewed his appeals to the Continental Congress in a letter sent by the hand of his son, Col. John Wheelock (in attendance in behalf of Colonel Bedel's regiment and on other matters), to Henry Laurens, the President, and to the Continental delegates:—

To the Honble Delegates of the United States of America in General Congress convened in Philadelphia:

The memorial of Eleazar Wheelock, D.D., President of Dartmouth College — Humbly Sheweth

That ever since the Commencement of the present War with Great Britain all Resources from beyond y^e seas for the support of himself and family and

¹ Phillips Papers, N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., ix. 108.

² Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Vaile, p. 35.

about thirty English and Indian youth on charity belonging to the School under his care have been totally cut off, and he left with no other assistance for the support of the whole than the repeated munificence of your Hon^{ble} Board (which he very thankfully acknowledges) and a donation of £50, L. my. by a pious Lady in Connecticut, by which your memorialist has been reduced to the necessity of expending his small private Fortune to the amount of about £1,700 L. money, which he has done rather than suffer this Institution, which has been so long his object, to cease while he had under his care such a number of youth, English & Indian, in the College & School who bid fair for usefulness, — some of whom were sons to chief men of several Tribes in Canada whose continuance seemed to be of special importance, and (as he apprehends) has proved of happy influence to preserve the friendship of the several Tribes to which they belong, towards the American cause.

Under these circumstances he has got along without dismissing any but such as had either got through their course of learning or were otherwise in Providence called to leave the School; in which way his number has been much diminished, and particularly those from Canada, now reduced to four, two of which are members of this College; viz., Lewis Vincent, a Huron by nation, and belongs to the Tribe at Lorette. He can speak the Huron, Mohock, French, and English Languages well. He was formerly employed by Governor Carlton as Interpreter to that Tribe, and since he has been in this School, by Gen^l Woster as Interpreter to the Caghnawaga & other tribes in Canada, and has been sent on a treaty to the Indians at Penobscott. The other, viz., Francis, is of the tribe at St. Francis. The other two [Phillips and Stacy] are of Caghnawaga, and now in this School fitting for College.

The acco^t of whose expenses, with that of others from Canada, who have been with him since the afores^d date, he herewith lays before you as the same has been audited & adjusted by gentlemen of known ability & Integrity appointed for this purpose by the Hon^{ble} Corporation of Dart. College, and he humbly prays your Hon^{ble} Board to take into consideration his oppressed circumstances and the present necessities of this School; and if in your wisdom you shall think he has merited your compassion, or that their continuance is of such importance to preserve the friendship of those northern tribes towards these United States as to render it consistent for you to minister to the relief of his burthen in supporting the same, it will be very thankfully accepted by your Humble Memorialist, who is, &c.,

DART. COLLEGE, NOV. 1, 1778.

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

This time the application was not unrewarded. Congress on Friday, Dec. 18, 1778, upon a report from the Board of Treasury, "Ordered, whereas Dr. Wheelock has incurred expense in supporting a number of Indian youth of the Caghnawaga tribe at his School which in times past has been the means of conciliating the friendship of that tribe, that a warrant issue

on the Treasurer in favor of Lieut.-Col. Wheelock for \$925, for the use of the said Doctor Eleazar Wheelock." General Gates wrote by the hand of John Wheelock, Jan. 17, 1779, "I will in the most pressing manner recommend it to Congress to take the Tutelage of the Indians under your care into their particular attention. A road which leads so directly into Canada as that from Co'os should at this critical juncture be well repaired and guarded, having every attention & patronage those connected with the Government can give it." In April Wheelock's necessities drove him to further importunity. He made renewed application to the Continental Congress for help, basing his request, as before, on the service of the College in retaining the friendship of the Canadian Indians, and endeavoring to support his application by a letter soliciting the support of General Gates. But the application was unsuccessful.

Wheelock was now approaching the end of his labors. His health had seriously declined. The extensive correspondence which he had carried on with unremitting labor during ten or fifteen years had dwindled to the scantiest limits, and he was driven at last, however reluctantly, to unburden himself of many other details of administration. The concerns of the kitchen and husbandry were among the most annoying of his cares, and he had been repeatedly urged to surrender them; but it was difficult to engage a competent and trustworthy steward, so that he was reluctant to make the attempt. At length it could be delayed no longer, and Capt. Ebenezer Brewster was brought from Preston, Conn., accepted by the board August 26, and duly installed September 1, 1778, under a contract for six years, "to take the whole care of providing for all the independent scholars, to have the use of the hall and cooking utensils, and to keep the same in repair; the scholars to provide money for procuring their provisions and to pay the first cost that shall arise for purchasing and cooking them."

The husbandry affairs were likewise passed over to Captain Brewster, who took a lease of the College lands that still remained fit for cultivation, lying in small scattered parcels about the village and to the eastward on Mink Brook. The bulk of the acreage upon which Wheelock had set such hopes a few years before was by this time, through remoteness, the scarcity of laborers, and the untoward nature of the soil, grown over with

bushes and in a state far worse than its original wildness. The agricultural and blacksmith's tools belonging to the College were ordered to immediate sale.

Besides a half acre for a garden (on which the Episcopal Church now stands), a choice parcel of land (where the Wheelock Hotel now stands) was given to Captain Brewster for a house-lot, south of the Green, and opposite Captain Storr's, where in two or three years he erected a wooden house of two stories,¹ which he improved as a tavern, — not altogether, it would seem, to the gratification of the College authorities. It had been voted in August, 1777, —

“That the price of board in this College be regulated according to the price of Beef, Pork, Wheat, & Indian Corn, & that board be charged at 6s. L. M. per week, when beef passes current here at 20s. per cwt., Pork at 4d. per lb., Wheat at 5s. per Bbl., & Indian Corn at 2s. 6d. per bbl. in the fall of the year & beginning of winter; and that the price of board be varied as the prices of these articles rise and fall; and any student who chuses may pay for his board in those articles delivered here at the above-mentioned rates, giving the President seasonable notice of his intention so to do. And we apprehend that as the prices of those articles now are it cannot be expected at a lower rate than 10s. per week.

“[Also] that each student pay 6s. per quarter for study room, excepting those who occupy the lower rooms and interior garrets, who shall pay 4s. each, and that they pay 25s. per quarter each for tuition; that those students who occupy rooms out of the College pay study rent to the College so long as rooms remain in it unoccupied, [and] that students who neglect a punctual payment of their quarter bills to the satisfaction of the President & Tutors shall be liable to a dismissal for such neglect.”

By the new arrangement in September, 1778, the steward was to purchase, at the students' expense, at wholesale prices as far as possible, all the provisions necessary for the support of the students in College, and as many of those in the School as should be put into commons, and turn them into a common stock or store for their use; to provide cooks and servitors for the kitchen and dining-room, to be paid by the students, to keep the hall and dining-room and tablecloths clean and wholesome; to provide candles, and also beer for the students at their expense, to the materials for the making of which the bran of the grain purchased for them should be added. He was to be under oath and give bonds, and collect and pay over to the treasurer the students' tuition, study rent, and other charges.

¹ Afterward moved, and now occupied by Miss Demman.

He was to have the assistance of a butler, who was to be chosen annually from among the students in commons, and who was to keep the accounts and attend the store in time of recreation, and to deliver and charge to the students such articles as they might require; for which he was to receive out of the common stock his board and reasonable allowance of candles.

Each student was required on entering commons to give bonds for payment of his quarter-bills and provide himself with a plate, basin, knife, fork, tea-cup and saucer, and tea and table spoons, to be deposited in common stock and returned to him on leaving College. Each student was at the beginning of each quarter to deposit a sum sufficient to pay his proportion of the cost of the provisions, and 8s. per quarter to the steward when the number exceeded fifty, or 10s. when it was less; and the students had the privilege of appointing one of their number as often as convenient to inspect the disposal of the provisions.

The popularity of commons board, never great, was by no means improved by the change. Within two months Wheelock was again harassed with complaints, and involved in a dispute with Captain Brewster in consequence of the fewness of those that consented to board with him. Captain Brewster became somewhat bitter and free in his comments, but Wheelock did not long survive to endure it. He was stricken with mortal illness early in January, and died in April. The differences were accommodated after a fashion, and Captain Brewster appears to have carried on the farms for the stipulated period. It was voted by the trustees, Sept. 22, 1780, "That no student be obliged to board in commons unless he choose, and that those who do not board in commons shall not be obliged to pay anything to the steward;" and the President and tutors were desired "to take care that provision be made for the board of the students in case the measures entered into in that respect shall prove ineffectual." In September, 1782, the earlier prohibition against boarding at a tavern was renewed, and boarding at any other house whatever was forbidden, unless approved by the executive authority of the College.

Captain Brewster's stewardship expired in 1784, and it is not known what arrangements were made for the next few years. In August, 1790, the trustees resolved once more to employ a

steward, though on a different plan, and in October, through a committee, entered into a contract with Col. Aaron Kinsman¹ and the President's brother, James Wheelock (who was son-in-law to Kinsman), to undertake that office jointly, and within a year to erect at their own expense a suitable building, which the trustees promised at the termination of the arrangement to buy and pay for in wild land, or to procure the succeeding steward to purchase at a valuation. The price of board (in the absence of any scarcity of provisions) was fixed at six shillings (one dollar) a week, payable quarterly in cash, or in beef, pork, grain, butter, and cheese, or in neat cattle and West India goods, according to certain regulations; and all the students were to be required to board in the commons unless excused by the President or Faculty. Upon these terms Colonel Kinsman bought the parcel of land north of the then College yard, and erected on it in 1791 a large, uncouth building, designed for a commons hall, near where Rollins Chapel now is.

A year had not expired before the students began, as usual, to testify dissatisfaction. The trustees on investigation declared that the stewards "made good and ample provision, notwithstanding which there appeared a general reluctance to board in commons," and the President exercised his power of dispensation to such a degree as to draw from the stewards in October, 1792, a formal claim for damages. They said that while they had made provision for a hundred, their numbers had hardly averaged twenty-five. This was met with a claim of damages on the other hand for "bringing the stewardship into disrepute." In June, 1793, the quarrel was left to arbitration; the stewards recovered £350, and the contract was cancelled. As part of the settlement, they were accorded special privileges for renting the numerous rooms in their buildings to students; but for twelve years there were no official commons. The quarrel, being practically between the President and his brother, involved some unpleasant features in ugly charges back and forth, that bore

¹ Col. Aaron Kinsman came here from Concord about 1789. He commanded a company of volunteers from that quarter in the battle of Bunker Hill, and was afterward until June 10, 1789, colonel of the Concord regiment in the militia. He married at Hanover, as a second wife, Hannah, widow of Dr. John Crane, and died here in September, 1810, *æt.* 67. His son and namesake was instrumental in founding the New Hampshire Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa in 1787, — the year of his graduation at Dartmouth.

fruit in later troubles. Other suits at law were prosecuted between them, and charges were made to the board by the President's brothers, attacking his integrity in respect to the apparatus procured in England, and the affairs of the new building. The trustees after an examination of documents and witnesses declared themselves "satisfied of his honesty, justice, and fidelity," and thanked him for his "disinterested services."

After the unfortunate attempt to board students in commons in 1791-93, there was for a time no inclination to repeat the experiment. But in 1805, on account of the enhanced price of private board, the students made a general movement for the re-establishment of commons. Their petition bears many eminent names.¹ A committee of the trustees reported that of the one hundred and forty students then in attendance, no more than half could obtain suitable board at private houses, and the rest, some seventy or eighty in number, had been the past year obliged to board themselves; and most of them would be compelled to leave College unless a remedy could be devised. It was in consequence determined to employ, under direction of a committee of the Faculty, a steward at a salary of \$300, which, with the cost of rent, provisions, utensils, and servants, was to be raised by assessment upon the students, not to exceed in the whole \$1.25 a week for each. The steward was "to purchase all necessary provisions for the use of commons, and to afford them to the students at the market price, without making any advance on them for his own emolument, and to oversee, inspect, and prudently manage every particular respecting commons to the best advantage for the students." A committee of the trustees was "authorized to agree with said steward concerning the quality of provisions to be used, the modes of cooking and every particular necessary for regulating the fare of commons," and also "to furnish cooks and all necessary utensils for cooking, dining, etc."

The steward selected was Ebenezer Woodward, who lived in the large, rambling, one-story house (formerly the homestead of Eleazar Wheelock the younger) on the crest of the hill just east of the spot where Rollins Chapel now stands. It would

¹ It is headed by Richard Fletcher, and displays, with others, the signatures of Mathew Harvey, Samuel Fessenden, Ichabod Bartlett, Sylvanus Thayer, Albion K. Parris, and Timothy Farrar.

appear that he kept the commons there. Before two years expired, Woodward's management became very odious to the students, and they petitioned in 1807 for his removal. Woodward in turn lodged complaints of their behavior, and protested against the graduation of some of them. One at least was forced to make amends to him before taking his degree. Woodward also made charges and insinuations against the President which the board declared upon enquiry to be unsupported by evidence and deserving of reprobation.

The old controversy with Kinsman and Wheelock respecting the former commons was still unadjusted in part, and matters were now worse than ever. The result was that in the summer of 1807 Colonel Kinsman's land and building were purchased by the College,¹ and a large dining-room was fitted up in the eastern portion of it, capable of seating one hundred and fifty persons. It was opened in January, 1808, under the stewardship of Isaac Partridge, who was to furnish board at a cost of \$1.34 a week. Woodward undertook to conduct a rival establishment at his house, announcing in the village paper to "the gentlemen students" that he would board "as usual" for \$1.17 a week. But they got even with him in the next issue as follows:—

Advertisement Extra.

The Students of Dartmouth College respectfully return their compliments to Ebenezer Woodward, Esq., and would inform him that they are very well accommodated with good boarding. That they are not disposed to accept his generous offer, though it had been free of all expense. Under these circumstances he will please to give himself no further trouble on their account.

GEORGE NEWTON, DAVID CHASELL,
LEVI HEYWOOD, JAMES BRADFORD,
LEVI WOODBURY,

Committee in behalf of the Students.

Mr. Partridge continued as steward till August, 1810, and was succeeded for two years by Bezaleel Woodward, Jr. He in

¹ The vote of the trustees shows the financial straits in which they were: "Voted that the financier purchase Col. Aaron Kinsman's house, barn, and garden, and the land adjoining the same belonging to said Kinsman, at a sum not exceeding thirty-eight hundred dollars, upon condition that the said Kinsman discharge the trustees from all the demands and claims now existing, provided the financier can obtain a loan of that sum upon the following terms,—that no part of the principal shall be paid under six years unless the trustees are disposed to pay it sooner; that

turn was succeeded, after a year's suspension of commons, by the last of the line of stewards, Roger Sargent, who kept the commons from October, 1813, to the end of the fall term, 1815. He was not exempt from the lot of his predecessors, being the occasion of numerous complaints,¹ which resulted in the final discontinuance of the whole system. The trustees have never since thought it wise to resume it.

Wheelock's health had begun to fail as early as 1775, his constitution, never robust, having been impaired by his severe and constant labors. For several years he was afflicted with asthma and an obstinate disease of the skin. On Jan. 6th, 1779, he was seized with violent fits of epilepsy and brought very low. He recovered so far as to ride several times on horseback, but early in April began rapidly to decline. On the 29th of March he wrote to Dr. Whitaker,—

"I have been a long time in a very low state, and my case of late has been esteemed desperate by my physicians; but by the pure mercy of God I am so far revived as to be able unassisted, more than by my Staff, to walk from my bed to the fire and back again, and to sit in my chair near half my time. My outward circumstances are not favorable to such a state of weakness, in that they can't nor don't afford me such a diet as experience teaches and my physicians assure me to be quite necessary for me. I have near or quite run through the little estate I left in Connecticut in supporting this School in its deserted state, and have yet but small means of subsistence more than the little remains of my principal, and now feel more than ever the want of a pension, which I think the world owes me, with which I might buy a cask of wine and other suitable spirits which my physicians all advise to be necessary for me, also coffee, chocolate, tea, etc., which I am obliged to live wholly without, for want of money to purchase the same."

His ministerial duties he continued nevertheless to discharge as far as possible to the very last. Often when unable to walk he was carried to the chapel in his chair; and when no longer strong enough for that, sometimes assembled his flock at his house, where, seated, he would lead the exercises of public

the interest be paid annually; and that the principal be paid by instalments not less than five hundred dollars each, and at such times as the board please, and provided the said financier applies said sum so loaned to said purchase, and negotiates the purchase and loan without charging the trustees for his trouble more than ten dollars."

¹ At one time, the butter being persistently strong, one of the students (afterward a distinguished lawyer of this State) was deputed, while all the others stood at their places, to apostrophize the offensive stuff and bid it "down" from their sight. It is said that the rebuke was effectual.

worship. On the last day of his life, in the morning, he walked the room without assistance, and talked with composure. "I have a desire," said he, "to depart and be with Christ." His last words were, "O my family, be faithful unto death!" He died on Saturday, April 24th, and was buried by Maltby's side in the village graveyard on Monday following. A sermon was preached on that occasion by Rev. Mr. Burroughs, and Dr. Pomeroy, though infirm and nearly blind, hastening hither from Connecticut (too late, of course, for the funeral), delivered soon after in the chapel a second eulogy.

Dr. Wheelock's age at death was sixty-eight. Mr. Atkinson died soon after in the same year. Of the twelve charter members who qualified in July, 1770, there were left but two; namely, Mr. Jaffrey, of New Hampshire, and Dr. Pomeroy, of Connecticut. The places of the other Connecticut members had been early filled by persons living nearer to the College, and it was made the subject of remark by some that (with the exception of John and Samuel Phillips, elected respectively in 1773 and 1776) all the new members held close personal and dependent relation to Wheelock himself. They included his *protégé*, Rev. Eden Burroughs, chosen in 1773; Messrs. Woodward and Ripley, his sons-in-law, chosen in 1773 and 1775; Col. Elisha Payne, of Lebanon, N. H.; and Rev. David McClure, Wheelock's confidential friend, and husband of his niece. The seat of the Governor, vacant by Wentworth's exile, remained unclaimed.

Wheelock left numerous manuscript sermons and a large mass of correspondence, official and private, rich in materials. Several attempts were early made toward the preparation of an adequate memorial of him. At the first meeting of the board after his death, Rev. Dr. Pomeroy and Rev. Joseph Huntington, of Coventry, Conn., were designated to prepare a history of the College, with a life of Dr. Wheelock, for official publication. In September, 1782, the manuscript of the completed work was laid before the board by Dr. Huntington and accepted, and six hundred copies were ordered to be printed, with sundry letters and sermons of Wheelock and the funeral sermons by Messrs. Pomeroy and Huntington. There is no evidence that the vote was executed, or that any copy of the work exists.

A volume of memoirs, with a selection of letters, was at last published in 1811 by Rev. David McClure, with additions by

Rev. Elijah Parish. It had been a long time in preparation. In 1802 the board of trust requested Mr. McClure to submit the manuscript to inspection, and in 1808 gave it official sanction by an appropriation of \$100 and the appointment of a committee to obtain subscriptions.

Rev. William Allen, son-in-law and executor of the second Wheelock, came into possession of the bulk of Dr. Wheelock's manuscripts, and designed to prepare a complete biography. This he never accomplished beyond the publication in 1837 of a magazine article of some length.¹ By the courtesy of his children the greater part of the manuscripts have recently come into the possession of the College.

There have been besides in various forms numerous partial accounts of Wheelock's life and character, exhibiting him in various lights, colored often by the personal views and prejudices of the writers. All, even his enemies, have recognized the wonderful versatility of his talents and his pre-eminent ability, his invincible courage and persistence under difficulties and discouragements, his self-reliance and force of will, and his genuine piety and unfaltering trust in the overruling hand of God in the affairs of his School, which he verily "knew" to be owned and accepted by Him. As in the course of years the School grew and developed into the College, it came to be more and more a part of himself, until all his thoughts seemed to centre in its advancement. At times, indeed, he gave opportunity for criticism by acquiring an ownership and control which seemed adverse to the true interests of the institution, but which may fairly be ascribed to a characteristic jealousy of the interference of others in the control of a seminary that he regarded by right of paternity as peculiarly his own, and to a purpose (equally natural) to transmit his work and his prerogatives unimpaired to his children. He had never desired the creation of a board of trust, nor the erection of a corporation for the *management of the School*, but as the only expedients whereby it might be perpetuated,—as aids to *his* enterprise, as his servants, not his masters.

He possessed shrewd business capacity, and executive talent of the highest order, which he employed in the practical direc-

¹ Am. Quarterly Register, Boston, x. 9.

tion of all his multifarious affairs down to the minutest detail. Agents he of course employed, but none, if he could help it, whose every motion was not subject to his specific direction. He wished to hold all the reins himself, and never voluntarily surrendered one of them for an instant.

In the pulpit he commanded, to the last, universal attention, and in private life he secured to an extraordinary degree the ardent attachment of his friends. McClure, who knew him only in his maturity, informs us that "his preaching was in a style easy and familiar, . . . and without factitious ornament; his language was perspicuous and forcible. . . . Usually he wrote only short notes, and sometimes his preaching was extemporaneous. . . . When he proclaimed the curses of the law, . . . the pulpit was clothed in thunder, the coruscations of truth were as forked lightning. . . . When he addressed the humble saint, his voice was that of angels who welcome the spirits of the just to mansions not made with hands. He was sometimes personal in his appeals, and occasionally would come down from the pulpit in the course of his sermon and give his attention to particular individuals."¹

The following, from the pen of President Stiles, though cynical in tone and false in some of its material statements, may serve as a fair estimate of Wheelock from an unfriendly point of view:²—

"Dr. Wheelock, educated under Rector Williams, had a tolerable acquaintance with the classics, Watt's Logic, and Robault's Philosophy. . . . It was a singular event Dr. Wheelock's rising to the figure he did with such a small literary furniture. He had much of the religious politician in his make. It is said that amidst a great zeal and show of piety he was very ambitious and haughty. And yet there was something piously sweet, amiable, and engaging in his manner. He by a persevering importunity and address caught the attention of the public to his favorite plan of an Indian School and an English College, and by Dr. Whitaker and Mr. Occom solicited benefactions in Britain, to be deposited with a board. From this board he has had the address to draw ten or twelve thousand pounds sterling (all in their hands,

¹ *Memoirs of Wheelock*, p. 119. The following reminiscence is preserved: Wheelock on one occasion addressed himself in his sermon at considerable length to his hearers by classes, according to certain distinguishing traits. A gentleman of the village says he was listening with delight to the apt characterizations, till he got a home-thrust at the close, when the speaker announced, after a pause, that he would finally pay attention to those who heard for their neighbors, and not for themselves.

² From Stiles' MS. Diary, *Dexter's Yale Biographies*, i. 496-97.

to be got) into America. It is all expended; and excepting in new lands Dartmouth College is without funds. It was intended that only the interest should be annually spent, but the fund itself is consumed. Though this was primarily designed for Indians, yet the only Indian that has graduated there was obliged to beg elsewhere towards supporting him the last year of his college residence. . . . He left the College in the hands of three of his sons, tutors, constituting one of them President. Of the twelve trustees, two were his sons-in-law; viz, Mr. Woodward and Mr. Ripley, who were both Trustees and Tutors. . . . Such a mixture of apparent piety and eminent holiness, together with the love of riches, dominion, and family aggrandizement, is seldom seen. He was certainly as singular a character as that of Ignatius Loyola. I was personally acquainted with him, *and thought him a sincere friend of the divine Emmanuel.*"

If family aggrandizement were indeed one of Wheelock's objects, it is both sad and instructive to note the result. In addition to the farm of two hundred acres that he had received from the College, on which stood his mansion and the College buildings themselves, he had acquired, contiguous to it on the east and north, partly by gift and partly by purchase, some seven hundred acres more, entirely enclosing the College land. He had in all more than a thousand acres, most of it within one mile of the College. Not only the College itself, but its mills, malt and potash houses stood on his land. In the village, that had been laid out wholly upon the choicest part of the three hundred acres which were saved to the College from the five hundred originally given to it by Ex-Governor Wentworth, the best lots had been given away entirely at Wheelock's discretion (the north side of the Green to one of his sons-in-law, all north of that — one acre — to another, besides parcels in other quarters to nephews and others bound to him by many obligations), so that little about the village that was thought desirable remained to the College, — neither buildings nor any fitting spot on which to place them; so that in 1777 Wheelock himself proposed to the board whether they would "grant to the President three acres of land upon his sequestering the same quantity of his land for a building spot for the College." The boards of government and instruction were both in the control of his children and personal friends; and to cap the whole, he was able, in the exercise of the testamentary power conferred on him by the charter, to designate his son to succeed him as President of both. It is hard to conceive of a better outlook for the establishment of a family dynasty. He par-

celled out his lands to his four sons and two resident daughters in such a manner as to give to each of them a farm in the immediate vicinity of the College,—two hundred acres to each son, and one hundred to each daughter.¹ These six families represented no small part of the aggregate wealth and influence of the community. But, like other families prominent here in later years, all have long since passed away, leaving not one of Wheelock's name or blood connected with the College, or resident or landowner in the town. The saddest feature of the whole was the unhappy contention which in this case accompanied the change.

In his relations to the students Wheelock was both kind and stern. He would brook no opposition to his will, and treated with no little severity those who affronted him; but displayed to the obedient a degree of kindness which secured their profound respect and affection.²

Wheelock's ideas of college administration were in the line of a monarchical, not to say a despotic, prerogative in the hands of the President, extending over both students and Faculty,³ and in a less degree over the board of trust. He did not hesitate, on occasion, to express to that board his opinion of their shortcomings, and, as we have seen, even to hint in the broadest manner to such as displeased him that they had better resign. Claims of such a nature, however repugnant to present ideas and institutions, were consonant with the traditions of other colleges, though somewhat excessive, and might be submitted to in the peculiar circumstances of the case during the life of the founder himself, out of regard for his ability and his long and eminent services; but when put forward in later years, by

¹ These farms joined one another and encircled the village. Mrs. Ripley's lay along the river, northwest of the College; Mrs. Woodward's joined it to the eastward; Eleazar's lay directly northeast of the College, with his house on the crest of the hill behind Rollins Chapel. John's lay easterly of College Street, connected with the mansion-house, and covered what is now the experimental farm of the College of Agriculture. James's lay to the south of the road, later known as the Fourth New Hampshire Turnpike, as one goes from Lebanon Street to Sand Hill. Ralph's was south of the village and east of Main Street, with the farm-house near Mink Brook, where Mr. Charles Benton now lives. James and Eleazar lost what they had in mercantile and other business, but John, by shrewd management and by marriage, acquired a large fortune.

² See p. 297.

³ This term came first into use about 1828. Prior to that the style was, "the executive authority."

another of inferior talents and deserts, they occasioned a storm that shook the fabric to its foundations.

The portion of Dr. Wheelock's will relating to the College was as follows:—

“To my loving and afflicted son Ralph, or Radulphus, Wheelock (who has been, by the holy hand of God upon him, rendered useless a great part of his life, and is reduced to such a state that there is little or no prospect he will ever be able to get into any business which he may depend upon for his support), I give fifty pounds, lawful money, per annum, for his support, so long as he shall live and be incapable of performing business for his own subsistence; and this to be paid him in boarding or in whatsoever shall be necessary for his support and comfort, by either of my heirs which he shall chuse to take the care of him, and who shall consent to perform this service for him; and this to be paid by means hereafter named.

“And whereas the public calamities of the present day, by which all resources for the support of this School have been cut off and suspended, have rendered it necessary, and no other way appearing to pay the debt of said School and support such a number as I then had and till now have on charity, and preserve the reputation of this School and save it from sinking, but by the disposal of my patrimony and other private property which I left in Connecticut, and which I have disposed of for that purpose, to the amount of upwards of £1,000 lawful money, fifty pounds of the interest of which I devote, as above said, to the support of my said son Ralph. The rest of said interest, whatever it may be, I give to be improved toward the support of his mother during her life, or so long as she shall have occasion for it for her own support; and when they, my said wife and my said son Ralph, shall be by any means, either by death or any favorable circumstances in life, in no necessity thereof for their support, I give the whole debt that now is or shall be due to me from the School, both for principal and interest, at my decease, to the only use and benefit of said School forever, to be improved at the discretion and by the direction of the honorable corporation towards the support of the President, or a professor, as they shall judge most necessary or convenient. And this I the rather do to compensate the injury done to the School by several who, at the expense of the charity, received an education with a view to their serving in the Indian cause, but have failed of it, and are either unable or unwilling to refund the expense of their education. . . .

“And whereas I have founded, on my own tenement and at my own expense an Indian Charity School, now called Moor's Charity School, which from small beginnings has through much labor, application, and care for more than twenty years last past, under a series of most signal and evident smiles of Divine Providence, arisen to its present state of importance, and appears to exhibit a fair prospect of great usefulness towards the Christianizing and civilizing the natives of our American Wilderness, which is its first object, and of conciliating and establishing and perpetuating a firm and lasting friendship and peace between all these

numerous tribes and the American Colonies, as well as of great edification to the Church of God among the English, and is now incorporated by Royal Charter *into and with Dartmouth College*, which seminary is by said charter endowed with all the power, privileges, and immunities of a University, as by said charter may fully appear; and whereas it appertains unto me, as *founder and proprietor* thereof, as well as by grant in said charter, to dispose of said School and all donations and grants of lands and other interests any way given or granted for the benefit and use of said School in the best manner for the well-being of the School, and appoint my successor in the office of President of said Seminary, — I do therefore hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint my said son, JOHN WHEELOCK, to be my successor in said office of President of my Indian Charity School, and Dartmouth College, with and into which said School is now incorporated. And to him I give and grant all my right, title, and claim to said seminary, and all the appurtenances, interest, jurisdiction, power, and authority to, in, and over the same belonging to me, *as the founder of it*, or by grant in the charter to me, or by any other ways or means whatsoever.

[In case his son should fail to accept, he named, in succession, Rev. Joseph Huntington, of Coventry, Conn., and Rev. Sylvanus Ripley.]

“And moreover, to this said Charity School I do give and bequeath the stream called Mink Brook, that is the part and place where the saw and grist mills belonging to this School now stand, so long as the Trustees of this College shall think fit to maintain said mills by repairing the present buildings in that place, and also the log way and necessary mill houses, and only to the use and benefit of the same; and after that I give and bequeath the same, with all the privileges belonging to it, to my said son John, he repaying to the School for irons and tools belonging to the mills and the labor bestowed upon them, what they shall be appraised at by indifferent and judicious men.

“I also give two acres of land where the Trustees have or shall choose to erect a larger and more convenient building for the College; also the ground on which the Store-house and Hall, and the ground on which the Potash House and Malt-house stand, with said houses, I give to the only use and benefit of this School forever. . . .

“To my successors in the Presidency of this College I give and bequeath my chariot, which was given me by my much honored friend and patron, John Thornton, Esq., of London, by whose liberality my family has been chiefly supported for a number of years before the present war. I also give to my successors my house clock, which was also a donation made me by my much honored patrons, the Honorable Trust in London.”¹

He also gave to his successors in the Charity School, dependent upon an estate tail in John and Mary Russell, an acre of land and a house at the foot of the first hill, seventy rods

¹ The “chariot” was, not many years ago, preserved in the collection of Mr. J. G. Currier, but no longer exists. The clock has also disappeared.

directly south of the College, "to be improved as a washing place for their use and benefit, and for the use and benefit of Indian and other Charity Scholars educated in said School forever." The historic "log house," in connection with his dwelling-house and out-buildings, was also devised to his son John.

John Wheelock was not his father's first choice for the succession. Ralph, the eldest (and as Judge Jeremiah Smith once wrote, the "most worthy"), was his favorite, and had long been intended for the office; but incurable bodily and mental disease having precluded his appointment, Wheelock next turned his thoughts toward the Rev. John Maltby, his step-son, — but he, much to Wheelock's grief, was removed by death in 1771. The appointment of the second son, John, was doubtless accompanied with some misgivings. The young man was at the death of his father but twenty-five years of age, and eight years out of college. He had enjoyed no special theological training, but, as we have seen, had given himself of late to military affairs, and was at this time a lieutenant-colonel on the staff of General Gates in New Jersey.

The first substitute designated by the will, Rev. Joseph Huntington, a graduate of Yale in 1762, was a clergyman of Coventry, Conn., in high repute in that region, a brother of Gov. Samuel Huntington, President of the Continental Congress, and third cousin to Wheelock himself. The clerical sentiment was naturally averse to turning over the College, with all its traditions, to a young military officer, and a scheme was actually, though unostentatiously, moved to set young Wheelock aside in favor of Mr. Huntington. This gentleman, his biographer tells us, "was spoken of as most likely to succeed to the office, and communications were made to him that gave him reason to expect that he would be elected; but the result was different from what many had anticipated."¹

¹ Huntington Family Memorials, by Rev. E. B. Huntington, p. 118. "Mr. Huntington was rather above the middle height, of a slender and graceful form; and seemed to have an instinctive desire to make everybody around him happy" (Ibid., p. 120). "He was a man of fine personal appearance and of popular engaging manners. His intellectual endowments were much above mediocrity. His perceptions were quick, his memory retentive, his wit ready, exuberant, and agreeable. He was undoubtedly one of the most popular preachers of the day" (Sprague's Annals, i. 605). To the surprise of everybody, it was discovered at his death, in 1794, that he had long been at heart something of a Universalist (Dexter's Yale Biographies, i. 496, 497).

Colonel Wheelock being absent at the decease of his father, the presidency *pro tempore* devolved by the charter upon Beza-leel Woodward, senior member of the Faculty and a member of the board of trust. Though he had tendered a resignation of his tutorship on going into politics in 1778, it had been merely "placed in the files," not regularly accepted, and now for more than a year he was obliged to give to the College a large portion of his time, estimated at one half of it, though at the same time deeply engaged in the important political movements already described.

At the annual meeting in August, Colonel Wheelock was in attendance, and expressed a reluctance to assume the presidency, but consented, at the request of the board, to conduct the public exercises of Commencement, on condition that it should not be taken as an acceptance of the office. The trustees continuing to express a desire that he should accept, he finally did so, and entered upon the office nominally Oct. 19, 1779. But the actual executive functions continued, nevertheless, to be discharged very largely by Mr. Woodward till the following summer, Mr. Ripley instructing the two upper classes, and Mr. Smith the Sophomores and the Freshmen. Col. Elisha Payne was made treasurer, but after a single year gave that duty up to Mr. Woodward. Meantime the question of the succession remained still under advisement. Mr. Ripley alludes to it in a letter to Dr. Phillips in February, 1780, as an affair too delicate for him "to make any mention of."

At the annual meeting in September, 1780, the matter came to a determination. Colonel Wheelock proposed to resign; but the board voted "that the board is greatly reluctant to accept it, as they are entirely satisfied (as far as they are acquainted) with his past administration and discharge of the office, and think it of great importance that he enter on the work of the ministry, if he finds his heart inclined thereto, as soon as may be convenient." They at the same time soothed Mr. Huntington's disappointment by a degree of Doctor in Divinity and an election to the board in the place of Mr. Atkinson, deceased.

The College now experienced in the fullest degree the evils of its administration upon the paternal or patriarchal system, which in the nature of things was sooner or later to come to an end. The head of the institution having been taken away, all

its affairs were in confusion, and it had to be organized anew, upon a different basis, in the face of overwhelming difficulties. The condition of the College in its prudentials was such as might well have led any one to hesitate to take the helm. Pecuniarily it was laboring under the greatest embarrassments. Besides the very moderate tuition of the students and the precarious reliance upon charity, its only resources were in lands, which were mostly unsubdued to the plough, and for which there was no market. It was afterward stated by the second Wheelock himself that the treasurer at this period estimated that all the property of the corporation, if sold at vendue, would not be sufficient to pay its debts. Some of its best friends were inclined to abandon it as in a hopeless state. Mr. John Phillips, to whose efficient support, next to Governor Wentworth, Wheelock had been the most deeply indebted, wrote to Mr. Woodward, June 4, 1779, a letter of condolence, but it also brought his resignation.¹

"I heartily condole with you [said he] the breach made more especially upon the College by the decease of its worthy founder, the eminently pious and most indefatigable President, who now rests from his labors. What gives me concern is that the College affairs are in so perplexed a situation. The obstacles to its prosperity appear so many and of such a nature that without a wonderful interposition of Providence what hopes can we entertain of their removal? You doubt not my disposition to secure the College interest; but I assure you, dear sir, I have little prospect of being able to render it any considerable service at present; and the difficulty of journeying so far in hot weather appears so great that I must hope to be excused, and therefore beg the favor of you to request the board at their next meeting to accept my resignation."²

Fortunately Mr. Phillips, upon earnest entreaty, consented to remain, and held his place till 1793. He died in 1795, *at* seventy-five.

The dearth of supplies wellnigh eclipsed even the scarcity of

¹ Sketches of the Hist. of Dart. Coll., etc., p. 28.

² He adds the following curious enigmatic clause, which the reader must interpret for himself:—

"The repeated recommendations of a certain person induced a frequent attention with much patience, and a hope that something beneficial might be discovered, or real design compassed. Sometimes one would think him an *ignis fatuus*, but anon see him dancing after a meteor himself, and then observe a conjunction of more steady lights, whose motions indicate an appearance forty miles up,—you know where; and on their being fixed, future pilots will be at no loss how to steer."

money. In the winter of 1779-80, Mr. Ripley tells us, "the College would have broken up for want of provisions, if it had not been for the resolute exertions of Professor Woodward," the acting president.¹ This state of things was due partly to a failure of crops, and partly to the depreciation of the Continental currency. In August, 1779, the entertainment of the trustees at Commencement cost the College £300, the currency then being 20 for 1.² The tax-bill of the town was levied at that rate in 1778. In 1780 the currency was abandoned and the tax was exacted in wheat (or its equivalent) at five shillings the bushel; in 1781, wheat was taken at six shillings the bushel, and wheat-flour for the public store at 18s. 3d. the quarter.

Owing to the effects of the war, the number of students, too, was now at its lowest ebb. In February, 1780, the College counted but thirty, all told, upon the ground. The "School," or preparatory department, was nevertheless in "the most flourishing and happy state it had ever been since the removal into this country, — larger than the College in numbers, and having upwards of a dozen fitting for College in it for the next year."³ The ensuing fall twenty new members entered College, and the tide turned.⁴

¹ Letters to J. Phillips, Feb. 20, 1780 (N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., ix. 112).

² The rise of prices early attracted legislative interference. In response to representations made by a convention of towns in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, held at Dracut, Mass., in November, 1776, Acts were passed by the New Hampshire Legislature January 18, and April 3, 1777, by which prices were fixed on commodities sold at Portsmouth; and the selectmen of other towns were authorized to establish, on certain principles, a proportional scale. In November of the same year these Acts were repealed, having proved "very far from answering the salutary purposes for which they were intended." At the same time (Nov. 27, 1777) the selling of goods at vendue was prohibited for a while, and again in June, 1779, on account of "its dangerous tendency in depreciating the currency of the United States." In April, 1779, it was enacted that no person should purchase any corn or grain more than necessary for the use of his family; but all these measures were alike ineffectual. In 1780, Indian corn in Grafton County was \$25 a bushel, and prices in Rockingham County were as follows: \$1,200 to \$1,300 for a cow; \$40 per bushel for corn; \$80 for rye; \$100 per yard for common broadcloth, and \$50 to \$100 for linen; and increasing daily (N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., ii. 70). For the scale of depreciation, see p. 522.

³ Professor Ripley to Dr. Phillips, N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., ix. 111.

⁴ On the whole, the numbers held out through the war remarkably well. In 1771-74 the classes averaged five at graduation. In 1775-79 they steadily increased, and the average rose to sixteen. The three classes 1780-82 show the effects of the panics and military activity of 1776-78, graduating respectively ten, five, and four.

There were upon charity at Wheelock's death five or six Indians and several white youths, for whose support, after the exhaustion of the English funds and the cessation of the Scotch remittances, Dr. Wheelock had made provision, beyond the gifts of Congress, out of his own resources to the amount of the £1,000 mentioned in his will, which stood as an indebtedness to his estate. The burden of this debt the College assumed in the shape of an annuity of £50 a year to Ralph as stipulated in the will. This the College faithfully paid during Ralph's long life, — \$166.67 each year until his death in 1817, — much of the time with great difficulty, and often by the sale of lands at ruinous sacrifice. So far as can be ascertained, nothing was ever realized by the College from the legacy beyond a reimbursement from the Scotch fund in 1793 of about eight years' annuity.

Over £600 of debts connected with the School, but legally chargeable to Wheelock's estate, were also assumed by the College. Of these, that which gave the most trouble was the judgment obtained against him in 1774 in the court of Hampshire Co., Mass., upon the suit concerning the logs sent down in 1772. To the payment of this and other debts the board in 1779 appropriated eight hundred acres of land in Lebanon. The judgment was finally adjusted in 1784 by giving notes for £44 L. M. and for £400 in silver at 6s. 8d. the ounce. The principal of these old debts was repaid at last out of the Scotch fund in 1793.

To Dr. Crane for professional attendance on Wheelock in his

The class of 1783 graduated thirteen, and the numbers from that time rapidly increased.

It has been remarked as a curious fact that the Dartmouth students were drawn at this period in large degree from the old settlements in Connecticut, — from the very hearthstone of Yale College. Of the first class of four, three were from Connecticut; the second class numbered two, both from Connecticut; the third six, five from Connecticut; and the fifth eleven, eight from Connecticut. Of the eighty-nine graduates of the College in the nine years of Dr. Wheelock's presidency, forty-five came from Connecticut; and out of two hundred and eighty-four graduates in the first twenty classes, from 1771 to 1790, Connecticut furnished one hundred and twenty one, — some of them, it is true, coming from families which had emigrated to the New Hampshire Grants. Reasons for this have been found, not only in the personal popularity of Dr. Wheelock, but in the sympathies surviving from the Great Awakening, and from Yale's hostile attitude to that movement. See Dr. Tarbox in the "New Englander," November, 1883.

last sickness the trustees gave fifteen acres of land west of the village near the river. They also adjusted a claim for £120 which had been given by John Phillips to John P. Ripley, on account of his name, and which, intrusted to Dr. Wheelock, had been expended by him in 1774 upon the foundations of the new building.

The College furthermore (until the Scotch fund should be again available) assumed the burden of the future support of the five Indians, and of one of the English boys, Hugh Holmes, of Montreal, who had originally come to Wheelock under an arrangement for reciprocal benefits to be conferred on Wheelock's sons by Holmes's parents, and was unable to return home in the exciting, troubled state of public affairs. The next year, August, 1780, the rest of the charity students were taken into the care of the College. They were exhorted to do what they could by their labor to ease the burden, but were assured of their support.

Dr. Wheelock, being Treasurer as well as President, had exercised exclusive control of the finances; and notwithstanding some mild suggestions from the Governor and others, and some informal complaints from the board, no complete accounts of the College affairs had ever been submitted, though a partial auditing was made in 1778. The accounts were now with some difficulty brought to as perfect an adjustment as possible by a committee appointed by the board, and a treasurer was elected. President John Wheelock retained, nevertheless, control of the management and disposition of the lands confirmed to him in 1784 under the name of "Financier."

Not the least among the perplexities to which the board fell heir was Wheelock's dispute about the civil rights of the College under the charter; and at the first meeting, in 1779, a committee was raised to inquire and report upon it, which wisely suffered it quietly to die. But the most trying of all were the inextricable difficulties concerning the township of Landaff, which it will be necessary by and by to explain at large.

Added to all this, the College buildings had fallen into decay and required immediate repairs, and the laws prescribed for the government of the students demanded prompt revision. No fixed body of rules had as yet been promulgated. Excepting a few brief articles voted by the board in 1775, the rules

consisted of tradition, or of fragments put forth by the President as occasion required, under the general authority conferred in 1770. Ill-natured complaints had not been wanting that law was sometimes made to fit the facts after their occurrence; and we know that the Governor, as early as 1774, strongly but ineffectually advocated a fixed and written code. The trustees now also left the subject to be dealt with by the "executive authority," by whom a body of rules was compiled in 1780,¹ relating chiefly to matters of deportment, which stood substantially unchanged until 1796-97, when the trustees for the first time exercised their authority in the enactment of a new and well-digested code worthy of the name.

The only hope which the College now had of permanent support lay in its landed endowment; but large sales of it at that early day and at prices merely nominal, in order to meet current expenses, threatened to bring these resources to a speedy end. Exclusive of Landaff, it had been originally estimated at fifteen thousand acres. Some of it had been lost by defective titles, and some by accumulation of taxes.² The question of taxation having been brought to the attention of the New Hampshire Legislature, a measure of protection was secured.

"In the House of Representatives, Nov. 9, 1780: Voted that Mr. Livermore, Doct. Dearborn, & Mr. Giles, with such as the Hon^{ble} Board shall join, be a committee to consider of what is requisite to be done concerning the lands which were granted and conveyed for the use of Dartmouth College, and report thereon. . . . In council the same day read & concurred, & Mr. Thornton & Mr. Thompson joined. . . .

¹ This early code has but recently come to light from an attic in Massachusetts. It affords some curious hints of the manners of the times. The students, for example, were required to uncover their heads at the distance of four rods from a professor, and *six rods* from the President, "also when they enter his dooryard (when the weather don't render it inconvenient, and when their hands are not necessarily otherwise employed), and never to speak of him or to him but in a manner savoring of deference and respect," etc. Freshmen were moreover required "to have their heads uncovered when in the College or in the hall, and when they speak to Seniors;" and the Seniors themselves were enjoined "to inspect the manners of the Freshmen, . . . especially to a due observance of these rules."

² In 1779, 140 acres of divided land and the undivided rights of three original proprietors in Hartford, Vt., were sold by the trustees to Col. Joseph Marsh for £44 paid in wheat at 5s. a bushel, and beef at 20s. a hundredweight. He also had a deed of the undivided land of another right in consideration of having advanced £45 Continental money to pay proprietary taxes for the College in Hartford and Lebanon.

"The committee report that no land belonging to the College be sold for taxes, provided the Trustees of said College give notice seasonably to the selectmen of each town respectively, what lands they have in such town, & that the taxes for the present should be charged to the State. . . . Which report being read and considered [in the House, Nov. 10, 1780], Voted and resolved that the same be rec^d & accepted, and that all persons concerned take notice & govern themselves accordingly. . . . [In the council, Saturday, Nov. 11, 1780]. Vote to exempt the lands appropriated to the use of Dartmouth College from paying taxes, brought up, read, and concurred."¹

Under this vote total exemption for all lands owned by the College was for a long time claimed even in favor of tenants for years. But in 1839 the Supreme Court, upon a litigation about taxes in Lebanon, decided that the resolution was temporary in its character, and not a permanent exemption from taxation, and that the subsequent adoption of the constitution and passage of general laws for the assessment and collection of taxes terminated the operation of it.²

The obtaining of additional funds now became a matter of the first importance.³ At the meeting in 1780, Dr. Whitaker was requested to devote a portion of his time to soliciting once more for the College. In December, 1781, President Wheelock visited Philadelphia and made a final but unsuccessful attempt to obtain further appropriations from the Continental Congress.⁴

At the Commencement in 1782, Dr. Whitaker was present, and by invitation of the board sat with them as a counsellor. Two hundred acres of land in Landaff were given him in reward for his past services, and he was appointed to appear in behalf of the trustees before the Council of Safety in regard to the difficulties in that town.

It being determined to solicit donations from France, Holland, and other parts of Europe, President Wheelock, with Messrs. Whitaker and Huntington, were nominated for the mission, with one or more assistants. So desirous were the trustees that

¹ The next year (1781), upon the secession of the western towns to Vermont, an unsuccessful attempt was made (doubtless for political reasons) to repeal this exemption, and again in 1786.

² Brewster *vs.* Hough, 10 N. H. Reports, 138.

³ The only donation of which we have any record at this period was £125 Continental currency (about £6 6s. silver) from Col. John Chandler. From 1780 to 1782 about £240 were collected in money and clothing at Salem, Beverly, Ipswich, and Newbury, and from Philadelphia and New Jersey.

⁴ N. H. State Papers, x. 452.

Dr. Whitaker should be of the party that they offered, besides his own expenses, to pay for the support of his family at home during his absence, and of his son Nathaniel in Europe. He did not, however, consent, and President Wheelock, with his brother James, undertook the mission alone. £200 sterling were borrowed by the trustees with which to defray their expenses.

Preparatory to this, the Faculty was reorganized on a permanent basis. The "executive authority" of the College consisted at first of Dr. Wheelock alone, with a tutor whose function it was (in the language of the charter) "to assist the President in the education and government of the students." Dr. Wheelock himself sustained, to the end of his life, the united relations of president, treasurer, professor of divinity, and pastor of the College church. The first tutor was Bezaleel Woodward. John Wheelock was added in 1771, Sylvanus Ripley in 1772, and John Smith in 1774. In the spring of 1777 young Wheelock left for the army, and in the following summer Smith, expecting the College to suspend for fear of Indian attacks, gave up his place and took charge of a church at West Hartford, Conn.; but in November, owing no doubt to Wheelock's failing health and Mr. Woodward's devotion to politics, he was recalled and created the first "professor," under a written contract, ratified in 1778 by the board of trust, at a stipulated annual salary of £100, of which he the first year relinquished half on account of the embarrassments of the College. His department covered the "Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other learned languages," in all of which he had shown a remarkable aptitude. In 1782 the other tutors were also raised to the grade of professor. Mr. Woodward, abandoning politics, "resumed the exercise of his office as tutor," in addition to the professorship of mathematics and philosophy, Mr. Ripley became professor of divinity, and the President professor of history.

The President sailed with his companion in October, 1782. They were provided with ample credentials from the President of the State and the majority of the members of the General Assembly; from Washington and other prominent generals, and from the governors of several States; from the French minister and the United States Secretary of State, and from other persons of consequence. After spending some weeks in France, they proceeded, with friendly letters from the American

envoys, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, to the Netherlands, where they were kindly treated by the Prince of Orange, from whom and others they received some donations. Thence they went to London about the 1st of July, 1783. They visited the Earl of Dartmouth and other survivors of the former trust, and received from them written assurance of satisfaction with the faithfulness and integrity displayed by the first Wheelock in his expenditure of the funds. But they were discouraged from making any further solicitations by the bitter feelings then prevalent against America. They designed going also to Edinburgh; but being deterred by the expense, were able by correspondence, and by the good offices of their agent, Mr. Spottiswoode, to reopen negotiations that led ultimately to a re-establishment of friendly relations. They obtained some coins and curiosities, and the promise of philosophical apparatus, from Paul Wentworth, of Hammersmith, and Dr. William Rose, of Chiswick.¹

During the President's absence, Professor Woodward acted again as chief executive, and Professor Ripley resided with the family in the presidential mansion. The following anecdote of this period is handed down to us by Mr. Dewey. The students, it seems, took advantage of the opportunity to rid themselves and the Faculty of the little log hut, "the first sprout of the College," that stood near the mansion house, and had been honored with mention in Dr. Wheelock's will. Being remitted to the occupancy of servants, it was by this time in a deplorable state of neglect and decay, and obnoxious to everybody. The yard about it, enclosed with a heavy log fence, was used as a pasture, encumbered with piles of blackened logs and several of the ancient pines still standing. On a December evening in 1782 or 1783, Professor Ripley, in the President's house, happened to be entertaining a friend from Connecticut, and dilating with much satisfaction upon the orderly behavior of the students, and the freedom from noise and disturbance. In the midst of it they became aware of an unusual commotion without, and on going to see about it, discovered a body of students assailing

¹ Paul Wentworth, the cousin of Gov. John Wentworth, had been appointed in 1770 a member of the Council of this Province, but was never sworn. The Governor doubtless hoped to make him a resident, and was also desirous to have him appointed lieutenant-governor. He had a large ancestral estate in the Barbadoes, and died on his plantation in Guiana, on the Surinam, above Paramaribo, December, 1793. See Wentworth Genealogy.

the log house in such a manner that in a very short time little was left of it. The professor made an effort to stay the work, but the noise overpowered his voice. By his order a young man named Hatch went to summon Professor Woodward, who, when awakened, asked very deliberately who he was and what was wanted. "Oh," said Hatch, "the rogues are demolishing the log house, and Professor Ripley wishes your presence there as speedily as possible!" "Well," replied the professor, "who are they that are perpetrating the mischief?" "Oh," said Hatch, "I am there, and we are all there, and the work is almost finished; and if you, Mr. Professor, are not soon there, we shall have cleared out and you won't catch us!"

It was also during the President's absence in 1783 that there was formed in the College the earliest literary society, — the Social Friends; followed by the United Fraternity in 1786, and the Phi Beta Kappa in 1787. A full account of these will be given hereafter.

After being away a year, the President and his brother left London, Oct. 3, 1783, and embarked at Gravesend in the brig "Peace and Plenty," Captain Callahan, for Boston. The ship encountered a series of violent gales, and, dismasted on the Newfoundland coast, took refuge in Halifax for repairs. Sailing thence, she met another storm; and after running two days under bare poles, was wrecked off Cape Cod at four o'clock in the morning, Jan. 2, 1784. About forty souls were saved from the wreck by the people of Provincetown, but with the loss of everything except the clothing they wore. The President lost his "strong box," with all his money and papers, some of which he declared were worth £5,000 to the institution. He reached Hanover toward the end of January, and in March presented his report to the board, convened in special session at Exeter. Because of the loss of papers, he was unable to give a full account of receipts and expenditures. Though in some respects the College reaped an ultimate benefit, the pecuniary results of the expedition amounted to very little.

The promised apparatus being delayed, the President's brothers, James and Eleazar, went to England after it in 1784, and in 1785 it arrived. It consisted of an air-pump, orrery, standing telescope with achromatic lenses, an elegant set of the mechanical powers, a thermometer, and a barometer. Two large

globes had been received the previous year from Mr. Wentworth, with some other things, and a set of twelve maps of New Hampshire that had been engraved under his direction. There were also several duplicate sets of the maps for sale for the benefit of the College. William Forsyth, keeper of the Kensington Palace, added a large collection of lava, fossils, and curiosities from India, and from the South Seas brought by Captain Cook. There was also from another donor an official badge or "jewel," designed to be worn suspended on the breast of the President on occasions of state. It forms a part of the existing official paraphernalia.¹

Immediately upon the President's return, the subject of a new college building was revived, after slumbering since 1775. At the Exeter meeting in March, 1784, the board resolved, as soon as £2,000 should be subscribed, to utilize the building spot devised to them by Dr. Wheelock, by erecting, for the accommodation of the students, on the eminence east of the College Green, an edifice of brick three or four stories in height, and long enough for six rooms on each side, with ample hallways. A petition was ordered to be made to the General Court, and Professor Woodward was appointed "contractor,"—*i. e.*, to contract for labor and materials, and to inspect the work. The President and Messrs. Payne, Burroughs, Ripley, and Smith were delegated to solicit contributions, and plan and locate the building. Some very judicious ideas of improvement entered into their plans. Orders

¹ The badge is oval in form, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and 3 inches wide. Its face is a rounded surface of beaten gold beautifully wrought, surrounded by a raised beaded border of silver. It bears at the top the sun, and below it, in high relief, a spirited group of four human figures representing the fable of the old man and his three sons with the bundle of sticks, and the legend, "Unanimity is the strength of society." The reverse is of plain silver, bearing under a heraldic shield the following inscription:—

The Gift of
JOHN FLUDE,
BROKER,
Gracechurch Street,
London, 5th April, 1785,
TO
the PRESIDENT of
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE,
for the time being
at Hanover, in
the STATE of
NEW HAMPSHIRE.

were given to reserve for College officers the remaining lots on the west side of the Green, and Professor Ripley was solicited to exchange the acre given him by the College north of the square, which he had not yet improved, to be added to the Green, so that the new building might stand over against the middle of it. It is much to be regretted that this negotiation failed.

Upon the personal application of President Wheelock, the Legislature in session at Portsmouth gave authority, Oct. 30, 1784, "to set up and carry on a public lottery to raise money for the aforesaid end, in so many classes or drafts as the managers shall judge proper, not exceeding the sum of £3,000 L. M. in silver and gold, clear of expense, provided the same be finished within three years." John Parker, Joshua Wentworth, and Thomas Martin, of Portsmouth, and Josiah Gilman, Jr., and Thomas Odiorne, of Exeter, or the major part of them, were, on November 3, appointed managers to conduct the affair and pay over the money so raised to the trustees of the College. They entered upon their duties, and published a scheme for a first class.

In the mean time Davenport Phelps, James Wheelock, and others sent out for procuring subscriptions, had been moderately successful, so far as promises went. In January, 1785, nearly £3,000 had been subscribed, — mostly through the President's instrumentality. "I fear," says Mr. Woodward, "people will recoil when called on for payment." But it was thought safe to proceed with the work, though on a modified plan, with wood instead of with brick. But such, however, was the utter poverty of the College that so small a sum as £10, with which to make a beginning, could be provided only by borrowing. It was procured of Hon. John Phillips; and the note which he received being in the year 1800 still unpaid, was then renewed for a further period by order of the board.

In order to prepare the requisite lumber, it was necessary to build a new saw-mill, which was done in the summer of 1784, under the supervision of Mr. Woodward, at an expense of about £100. During the same season the cellar was begun and a portion of the foundation stone procured. The work of superintendence proving too burdensome for Professor Woodward, he was excused, and in September Col. Elisha Payne was designated as "Contractor" on the part of the board. The new building,

known to us as "Dartmouth Hall," was located in the same place where the first Wheelock had broken ground for a similar edifice in 1773, within the bounds of the two-acre parcel given by his will for this purpose, and close to its eastern limit. Its plan was somewhat reduced, but in externals, at least, it was much the same as that originally selected by him, and, like that, modelled after Nassau Hall at Princeton. It is three stories in height, one hundred and fifty feet long, and fifty feet in width.

It was also ordered that in placing it, regard should be had to erecting a chapel near one end, and a building for a library and apparatus near the other end, as soon as supplies could be obtained for that purpose; and Professor Woodward was authorized to proceed to build the library building at the north end whenever the funds should be secured.

Two years passed before the frame was ready to be set up. The timbers, mostly of pine, and still perfectly sound, were massive to the last degree. The principal ones are fifteen inches square, the chords of the roof fifty feet long, and the longitudinal sills and plates in sticks seventy-five feet long. The raising of this heavy frame, in 1786, was a work of no small magnitude. It occupied for ten days a large body of workmen drawn from near and far. Professor Ripley superintended this part of the work in person, and was the first to mount and traverse the ridge, as soon as the roof timbers were placed in position. Every morning and evening the workmen attended prayers, conducted by him in the College Hall. The master carpenter was John Sprague. To one viewing the timbers at this day, the wonder is how they could have been lifted into place by the unaided power of human muscles. The perfect condition of the old frame testifies to the excellence of the workmanship.

Though the work went on, the means for sustaining it were sadly lacking. The lottery tickets sold very slowly. In September, 1785, Colonel Payne was directed to try to dispose of them "for money or produce, and to convert the produce into specie in the best manner he can, for which he shall have a reasonable reward; and this board will be responsible to the managers for the avails of the tickets so disposed of." Application was also made through Samuel Phillips to the Legislature of Massachusetts "to grant an indulgence" for the sale of tickets in that Commonwealth. The subscriptions languished. Many

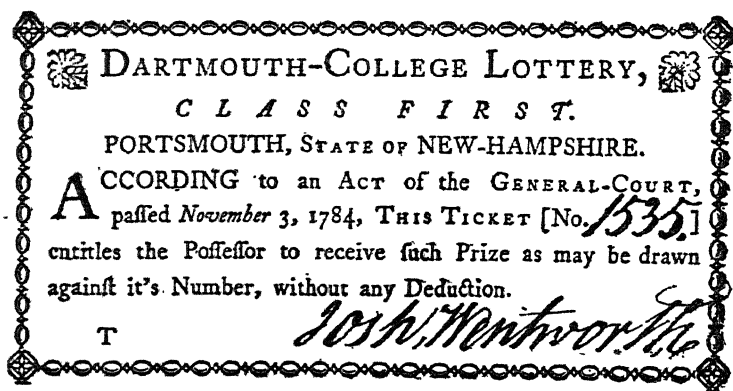
were not paid; some were payable in lands, but the deeds of the lands were not forthcoming, and if they were, it was no easy matter to turn the lands into money. Others were payable in grain, which had to be sold at a loss. The President, being called on to devise means to finish the work, applied anew to the Legislature of New Hampshire, and also to that of Vermont. His efforts resulted in some degree of success in Vermont (to be hereafter spoken of), but not in a way that relieved the existing embarrassments.

The application to the New Hampshire Legislature, dated Feb. 22, 1785, was in the shape of a prayer for the assignment to the College of the rights of land throughout the State originally appropriated for the use of the London Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts, on the ground that "the principal part of the lands lie contiguous to the College, and that the general object of the Institution is the same as that of the said Society." It was proposed that these lands should be appropriated "for the sole and exclusive purpose of educating Charity Scholars within the State. The objects of charity to be forever elected and appointed by his Excellency the President and the Honorable the Senate of the State for the time being, or in some other way as the Legislature may determine, and the persons so educated to be considered as indebted to the State for their education, and accordingly as owing them their faithful and obedient services as the offspring of a tender parent." On this it was ordered by the House, Feb. 24th, that the petitioners be heard before the General Court on the second Friday of the next session, and that in the mean time the substance of the petition be published in the New Hampshire Gazette. The Senate, however, non-concurred, and the matter dropped. The next year the trustees directed the application to be renewed, but it met with no greater favor than before.

In September, 1786, Colonel Payne was desired to contract to carry on the building by the use of the subscriptions, and they were turned over to him in October, with directions to enforce payment by the law if necessary, to get deeds of the lands that were subscribed, and sell them to the best advantage. Colonel Payne had already assumed great burdens and made great personal sacrifices for the sake of the work, and he consented to struggle along with it another year. He borrowed money for

it, where he could, on his personal credit,¹ when others were unwilling to assume the risk.

In July, 1787, the frame being up and covered, Colonel Payne made a contract in behalf of the trustees with Israel Parsons, of Hatfield, Mass., who had been for a time in charge of the work, to complete the joiner work on the inside, not including the plastering, and also the jut and outside finish and dial, and to finish the cupola, "with proper ornaments, agreeable to the rules of architecture," for the sum of £1,000, the trustees furnishing all materials and boarding the workmen.² The whole was to be done by September, 1789, and payment made, £100 at that time, and £120 annually thereafter out of the rents of the building, which were pledged for the purpose.



The lottery was now recognized to be thus far a failure. The managers reported to the Legislature in January, 1787, —

¹ The following obligation survives: —

HANOVER, 26th Jan^y, 1786.

I the subscriber do hereby, in consideration of the Hon. John Wheelock's being bound with me in a note of hand to Capt. Bowman, of Newburyport, for one hundred and fifty pounds, L. M., on interest, borrowed of said Bowman for the carrying on of the College building, promise to save harmless the said Wheelock, his executors and administrators, from all damages and cost that may arise to him as by being bound as aforesaid.

Witness my hand: ELISHA PAYNE.

President Wheelock subscribed £100 to the new building, and the same year had a special allowance from the College funds of a like sum "for the support of his table."

² The handles on the doors, with all the iron work, are said to have been made by Roger Hovey, a blacksmith who had a shop on the Parade at the centre village.

"That they have published a scheme of a first class, and advanced money for paper, printing tickets, &c.; that from the great scarcity of cash they have not been able to dispose of any number of the tickets, and have no prospect of succeeding in the business in this [the southeastern] part of the State; that to forward the matter they have entrusted President Wheelock with half of the tickets, part of which he has disposed of in the neighboring States and elsewhere; and that they conceive the only mode to effect the design proposed by the lottery would be to dispose of the residue of the tickets for grain and other produce of the country, which would answer the end of procuring the timber and other materials for the College, and the labor, but which can be done only by persons living near or on the spot."

They asked "to be relieved from their embarrassment," and were discharged by an Act passed Jan. 12, 1787.

At Commencement, Sept. 19, 1787, the building was so far enclosed that the public exercises took place in it, and President Wheelock sent on the 17th, by special messenger to Concord, an invitation to the Governor and the Legislature to attend. The invitation does not appear to have been generally accepted. An amusing incident enlivened the occasion. A stage for the speakers and a platform for the trustees and Faculty had been erected midway of the building on the lower floor, which was not yet divided by partitions. All went well till about the middle of the afternoon, when a number of spectators climbed up the sides of the official platform, and it suddenly collapsed, and dignitaries and spectators were scattered promiscuously on the floor. Some of the reverend gentlemen, we are told, "had to look for themselves in one place, and for their wigs in another."

On September 20th, by direction of the board of trust, application was made to the Legislature for the appointment of "some persons in the vicinity of the College to concert and carry into effect a new scheme of a lottery for raising country produce for the purpose, without being made answerable for the tickets issued by the first managers." An Act was accordingly passed, Sept. 28th, 1787, to set the lottery again on foot for raising £1,800, including expenses, and redemption of the old tickets. Bezaleel Woodward, Jonathan Freeman, Elisha Payne, and Ebenezer Brewster were selected as managers. Under this Act a second class was, after three years' delay, finally drawn, January, 1791, in the desk of the College chapel (much to the scandal of some worthy people), though the tickets were not all sold, as we find that in March the board voted "to receive of the treasurers,

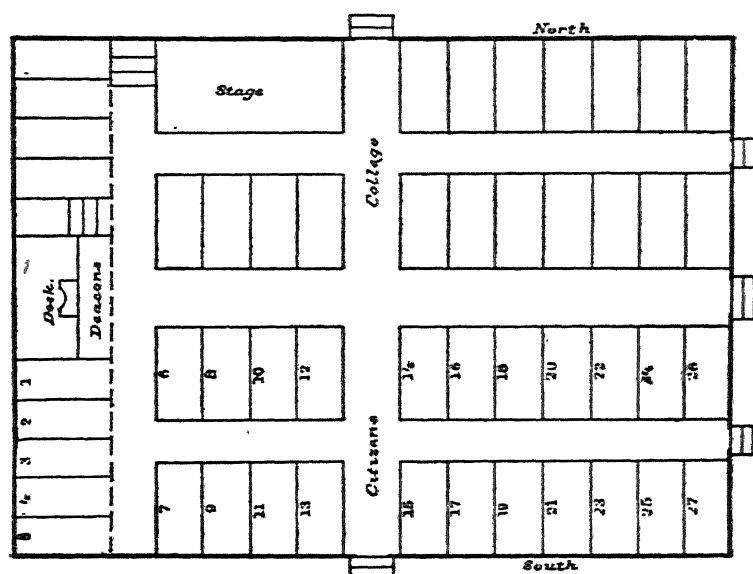
the tickets that were at the risk of the board, and deliver the prizes to the managers on account of their demands against the trustees for those tickets." The outstanding tickets of the first class were some of them exchanged for those of the second; others were redeemed in money, and others still by tickets in the lottery of 1795.

While the lottery was still incomplete, Colonel Payne was advised by the board in September, 1778, "not to attempt to render the building habitable the coming winter unless unexpected resources should arise." In December it became necessary to borrow for the building the sum of £400 in specie, at a rate of interest "not over 10 per cent.;" and in the following May the trustees, deploring "the embarrassed condition of the College finances arising from the demands, etc., for the new building," and the fact that the measures taken for the discharge of them had proved ineffectual, appointed a committee to use the utmost exertions to raise £100 specie for the first payment to Mr. Parsons under his contract, and from two to four hundred pounds more for completing the building and discharging other pressing demands, to be paid as soon as possible by sale of College lands. The £100 due Mr. Parsons were finally advanced by the President out of the funds of Moor's School, all efforts to borrow the money elsewhere having proved vain.

In 1789 the management of the lands (the "financier's" department) was transferred from President Wheelock, at his request, to Jonathan Freeman. In August more lands had to be sold to pay Ralph Wheelock's annuity, and in March, 1790, a list was put into the hands of the financier of pressing debts to be paid from sale of land as fast as a market could be found. Both of the old College buildings (means for their repair having been wanting) had fallen into a ruinous state. That of the "College Hall," comprising meeting-house, chapel, and commons department, was especially disgraceful. At the meeting in August, 1789, the trustees, notwithstanding their embarrassments, voted to build a new chapel if it could be done by selling lands so as not to add to the debt. But the students forced their hands by tearing down the old hall in a "nocturnal visitation" about Jan. 1, 1790;¹ and at a special meeting in March, 1790, the President

¹ A fanciful and inaccurate account of this affair in verse may be found on p. 374 of a volume of poems by Philip Freeman, of Monmouth, N. J., published in

reported that he had contracted with Ebenezer Lane to erect and complete a chapel for £300, of which half was to be paid "by the inhabitants of this vicinity, who have covenanted relative thereto, conditioned that they be entitled to the use of one half of it until they be reimbursed agreeably to obligation given by the President." In the course of five months the new chapel was completed. It stood on the spot primarily designated for the purpose, southwest of Dartmouth Hall, and very near it,



• *Chapel of 1790-1828* •

extending partly in front of the spot where Thornton Hall now stands. Its length (east and west) was fifty feet, and its width thirty-six feet. Its walls were about twenty feet in height, with a hipped roof arched within from the four sides, so that it formed a perfect whispering gallery.¹ From corner to corner, diagonally, more than sixty feet, a faint whisper, or the ticking of a

1795, entitled "The Demolition of Dartmouth *log* College." We are informed from other sources that even the College officers were in reality not averse to the disappearance of the old building, and that the perpetrators acknowledged their identity in a "round robin," and paid all the building was worth.

¹ Dwight's Travels, ii. 115.

watch, could be distinctly heard. At the same time, we are assured, it was an excellent room for public speaking. It was "without a chimney, and never profaned by a stove." Owing to the license indulged in by the students at some of their public entertainments, the use of the building was in 1793 restricted to religious worship, public collegiate exercises, recitations for the senior class, oratorical exercises for the students under inspection of college officers, and meetings for improvement in music by leave from the President.¹

In November, 1789, President Washington visited New Hampshire. He was at Portsmouth five days, from October 31, and at Exeter on his return on the 4th of November. He had planned to extend his tour to the "interior country," but was recalled by despatches received at Portsmouth. It would appear that he was expected at Hanover, as an address was prepared in the characteristic language of President Wheelock, which in consequence of Washington's change of route was not presented until November 14, after his return to New York. The address² was as follows:—

SIR,—A Providence that overrules the affairs of men and of nations has made in every age of the world some extraordinary display of power and goodness in favor of the human race. Greater events have been assigned for the eighteenth century than ever before took place in the annals of time. Among those events the revolution of our day in North America may be recorded as the most important. The discovery of the new world was made by a spirit of enterprise and perseverance; the advancement of it in people, in arts, and in wealth was effected by prudence, œconomy, and industry. But a revolution from a state of oppression to that of freedom and independency, and a political resurrection from a state without harmony, dispatch, and power to that of order, vigor, and glory, have been the achievements of all the combined virtues which can adorn the statesman and the hero. Through these most interesting scenes the eyes of mankind were turned to you, and in you they confided. Guarded and directed by the auspices of our Divine Parent, you have justly merited these sublime and endearing epithets,—*The Saviour of your Country and the Founder of a New Empire.*

¹ The interest of the citizens was afterward purchased by the College. The building was removed in 1828, by the aid of forty yoke of oxen, to the spot where Professor Quimby formerly lived, and was used as a "vestry" for occasional meetings, until the present vestry was built, about 1840, when it was again moved to where Mr. E. D. Carpenter now lives. It was there transformed into a barn, and not taken down till about 1870.

² From Ranlet's N. H. Gazetteer, Exeter, Dec. 19, 1789. See also the same paper, November 7, and the N. H. Gazette, November 5 and 11.

Influenced by these ideas, and impressed with a sense of that duty and gratitude which are claimed by services for humanity and arts unrivalled in the annals of fame, we embrace the first opportunity as a corporation to express those feelings of obligation which can never be erased through the devastations of time. We beg, Sir, of you to accept our sincere desire that the Father of Mercies may protract your life and health to a remote period of time before you are invited to angelic joys and sublimer triumphs. We pray that you may uninterruptedly experience all that felicity which the virtuous, wise, and beloved chief of millions has reason to expect or desire, and that every blessing may be extended to your illustrious family.

In the sincerest sentiments of duty and gratitude, we use the liberty of subscribing ourselves, Sir, your most obedient and very humble Servants.

Signed in behalf of the Board of Trustees

of Dartmouth College, at their annual meeting at said College,

JOHN WHEELOCK.

22^d day of August, 1789.

To this Washington made reply: —

GENTLEMEN, — In assigning so important an agency to the endeavors of an individual, as mentioned in your address, you render a tribute to my services which a sense of propriety forbids me to assume. For the flattering terms in which you are pleased to express your sentiments of those services, and for the kind wishes which you prefer in my behalf, I thank you with grateful sincerity.

To the animated spirit of freedom that pervaded our country, and to the firm temper of our citizens, which braved all dangers in defence of their privileges (under the protecting care of Divine Providence), are we indebted for the blessings of political independence. To the enlightened policy which has directed our public councils we owe the reform and establishment of our Federal Constitution. Under its auspicious influence, aided by the industry of those citizens who compose the great family of our Union, we may hope for the substantial enjoyment of individual happiness and national honor. From your superintending care, Gentlemen, as the guardians of a seminary and an important source of science, we are to derive great assistance in accomplishing these desiderata.

That your labors may be crowned with success and render you happy in its consequences, is my sincere prayer.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

In March, 1790, the old "College" being far gone in decay, and liable at any time to meet the fate of the "College Hall," and no part of Dartmouth Hall being yet habitable for students, Colonel Payne was directed to complete the latter "without delay, at every hazard." Mr. Parsons withdrawing from the work in the fall of 1790, Ebenezer Woodward was employed to furnish materials and complete it. In March, 1791, Colonel Payne, after seven years, fruitful labor upon it, retired from the

superintendency, and Mr. Woodward was put in charge. In September he agreed to lath and plaster the building, and accepted in payment ten acres of land on the College plain, north of the Academy, comprising the tract where now stand Mr. Hiram Hitchcock's house and the houses near it on Main Street, and extending to the river.

In the autumn of 1791 the first room was finished. It was the northwest upper chamber, and was at once occupied by George Whitefield Kirkland, a son of Wheelock's early missionary. The front middle apartment in the second story was, by order of the board, appropriated to the library, and the room over it to the apparatus. The rents of the students' rooms were to be so assessed as to raise \$216 from the whole building each half year. Phineas Annis completed the cupola, and the building was painted by Waters Clarke. The total cost, as near as can be ascertained, was about £4,500, of which about £2,200 was raised by subscription, and £366 from the lottery, and the rest was paid from various sources by instalments in later years.¹ After some litigation, settlement was made with Mr. Parsons by notes, payable annually in wheat at 4s. 6d. per bushel, delivered at Captain Phelps's store, or mill, at the White River Falls, the last of which was paid in 1798. With Colonel Payne a final adjustment was not made till 1805, when there was found to be due him, of the £3,000 which he had expended upon the work, nearly £500, besides interest. From first to last, this building was a source of trouble, anxiety, and pecuniary distress; and the load of debt which it entailed rested many years a hopeless drag on the prosperity of the College. The building was reputed the largest of its kind in New England. Dr. Dwight speaks of it in 1797 as having a "decent appearance," and much like the college at Providence, both being modelled from Nassau Hall. But it lacked in convenience, much of its space being wasted in passage-ways, — one longitudinal, and three transverse.

As soon as Dartmouth Hall was ready for use in 1791, the old College building was sold and taken down² to aid in the

¹ It is stated in the trustees' "Vindication," 1815, that the cost was \$30,000. It would seem that there must be some mistake in that figure.

² President Dwight (*Travels*, ii. 115) and Belknap (*History of New Hampshire*, iii. 222) state that it was burned.

erection the same year of an "academy building for Moor's School," near the spot where now stands the brick academy at present rented to the Scientific Department, on a parcel of a quarter of an acre then "sequestered" for the purpose.

There were at this period some rather curious projects of enlargement upon a novel plan. They began to be agitated soon after the President's return from his European tour, and first came definitely to the surface in September, 1784. The idea (first shadowed forth, as we shall see, by the Landaff school in 1780) was to extend the influence of the College over preparatory schools in various localities more or less remote from Hanover. Applications for a connection of this kind were received and entertained with favor from the Washington school at Newbury, from Rev. Mr. Wood, of Boscawen, in behalf of a grammar-school about to be established in that town, and from the Eastern Presbytery for concessions in the matter of tuition to their bursars. Besides this, the President, with Professor Ripley, was appointed "to concert a plan and take necessary measures for promoting the cause of literature by means of this College in the western part of the State of Vermont."

In September, 1785, the academy at Plainfield, N. H.,¹ was received into association with the College in this manner, and the academy at New Ipswich, N. H., in September, 1788. As to the latter, it was agreed in December of the same year that in case the proprietors of the academy should obtain an Act of incorporation and erect suitable buildings and establish proper funds for support of instructors, who should be approved by the College board, and if the laws of the academy should be conformable to those of Dartmouth College so far as circumstances would admit, and subject to the direction of the College board, "then the trustees will undertake the exercise of those powers for the welfare of the academy," and students entering College from there "shall be indulged the privileges of studying at the academy under direction of the rector" for such part of the time as the College authorities should think proper, and one half their tuition bills for such periods should be remitted.² It was

¹ A modified arrangement of the same kind in 1813 with Union Academy at Plainfield, N. H., was a prominent ground of complaint in the great contest.

² The articles as first framed in September provided for a still more intimate connection, by which the academy would become essentially a part of the College.

stipulated that the students while at Hanover should not be compelled to board in commons. The connection was in 1790 explained as having "no respect to any control in any way whatever of the finances of the academy." It subsisted, however, for a considerable period. In 1789 the globes belonging to the College apparatus were loaned to Prof. John Hubbard, the preceptor of the Academy, for the use of the school, and in 1792 articles of union were drawn up, which failing of observance by the academy, did not go fully into effect, though friendly and intimate relations continued.

In May, 1789, the plans directed toward western Vermont bore fruit in an application from the Clio Hall School at Bennington, to which was promised all possible aid. But the articles of connection proposed in August by Amos Marsh and Col. Joseph Fay were declared by the College trustees to be inadmissible under the charter powers of either party, and the negotiation came to an end.

Unsuccessful efforts were made at various times to recover the money given by Dr. Phillips for apparatus and intrusted to Governor Wentworth in 1773. At the August meeting of the Board in 1779 steps were taken to open communication with Wentworth by means of letters to be sent out in triplicate under passports to be obtained from Governor Trumbull and General Gates by the good offices of Dr. Pomeroy and Colonel Wheelock. At last, in December, 1783, Wentworth wrote in a very kindly manner from Halifax, offering to arrange with his kinsman, Paul Wentworth, to lay out the money in apparatus as originally intended. As apparatus had been already supplied, as we have seen, by the generosity in part of Paul Wentworth himself, it was agreed, with Dr. Phillips's consent, that the money should be expended in books for a distinct alcove in the library. For some reason this plan also failed, and in January, 1789, the New Hampshire Legislature, on petition, ordered the sum due to be liquidated and paid to the College out of the proceeds of the confiscated estates of the late governor. It was paid in notes of the State for £271 10s., payable in silver, and certificates for interest previously accrued about £90 L. M. These, with Dr. Phillips's consent, were turned over to Colonel Payne to be sold, and the proceeds applied to the immediate necessities of the College in the new building under pledge, upon security of cer-

tain lands, to be replaced within two years, one half in neat cattle. Apparatus was purchased out of this fund, in 1801, to the value of £150, and also books at other times.

The year 1789 witnessed the nominal endowment of the Theological Professorship under the following circumstances: The Divinity chair had been under the first President a principal department of instruction, administered by Wheelock himself. Professor Ripley, upon whom his mantle fell, died in 1787, and there were no means of support for a successor, so that the chair remained vacant. Dr. John Phillips had given in February, 1770, seven rights in the town of Sandwich, which were lost by non-payment of proprietary taxes. In October, 1781, "in consideration of the extensive charity of the design of erecting a College in said State, . . . and that lands given to public use, and to said College in particular, are exempted from taxes," he gave by quitclaim deed "to the College and Schools connected therewith" upwards of four thousand acres of lands situate in Lancaster, Orford, Warren, Lebanon, Hanover, and Plymouth, N.H., and in Wenlock (now Brighton and Ferdinand), Vt. None of the lands were for the moment productive or salable. In May, 1789, the President reported verbally to the board that by personal application to Dr. Phillips he had procured from him a further donation of £37 10s., to be applied to the use and benefit of the College, "provided that the board will sequester as a foundation for support of a *Professor of Divinity* at this College those lands which have been given by him to this board for the benefit of said College since the year 1780; . . . also four hundred acres belonging to the College in Warren and so much other lands in their hands as may amount in value to the above sum." The Trustees, at their wits' end for ready money with which to meet the demands of the new building, assented to the arrangement and voted the sequestration of a hundred acres in Sandwich, given to the College by Nicholas Gilman in 1771, "being of full value of the said £37 10s." and the four hundred acres in Warren, besides all the lands received from Dr. Phillips. They had afterward occasion to regret parting with the free use of so large a part of their unrestricted assets for so paltry a sum, and it produced in the end much trouble and perplexity. Though the endowment could not for the present support a professor, as the lands were scattered and unimproved, it began

before long to furnish a small income which the board was in 1790 forced to beg to be allowed to use by way of *loan* for the other indispensable necessities of the College. In 1791 Dr. Phillips gave to the College 285 bushels of wheat on condition of the sequestration by the board of a parcel of land from the one-thousand-acre tract in Hanover for a wood-lot for the professor; and in 1794 (the year after his resignation) he added another gift of a hundred-acre lot in Hanover in lieu of other land of which the title had failed. In 1794, the lands being "in some valuable degree productive," but not sufficiently so to justify filling the chair, plans of enlargement were discussed, and the title was fixed as the "Phillips Professorship of Theology." The chair was first filled, as we shall see, in 1804; but the unfortunate endowment has never from that day to the present afforded sufficient income fully to support a professor.

With the cessation of English supplies and the assumption by the College, on the death of Wheelock, of the debts of the "School" and of the support of the Indians and charity scholars, it might be supposed that Moor's Charity School, as distinct from the College, had now certainly ceased to exist. Such at first would seem to have been the understanding of all parties, and the only excuse for keeping up the fiction of a separate existence being the prejudices of the English and Scotch trustees, the exhaustion of one fund and the withholding of the other left no rational ground for it to stand on. The School came, therefore, to be nothing more than an ordinary "academy" for paying pupils,—a preparatory department controlled and supported by the College. We have seen how it flourished under the management of the College Faculty during the interregnum of 1780. Of the five Indians then remaining, all were gone by 1785, and from that time till 1798 not a single charity scholar of any color was maintained by the School.

But the reviving hope of recovering the use of the Scotch fund, coupled perhaps with a development in the younger Wheelock of an inherited reluctance to suffer a diminution of the power of the President, led soon after his return from Europe to schemes for re-establishing the old distinction on a still more independent footing than even his father had ever attempted. Out of these schemes grew a considerable part of

the troubles that culminated in the explosion of 1815. It will be our duty briefly to trace them out.

The old School, as distinct from the College, had in America no endowment whatever, and no property of any kind, excepting the two original College buildings, now fast falling into ruins, which had been built from the English funds, on land originally the private estate of the first Wheelock, now by virtue of his will the property of the College. But in June, 1785, three months after the departure of the last Indian, and while all in the board was yet harmonious, the President (in connection with other efforts put forth by order of the trustees to relieve the bitter poverty entailed on the College by the new building) presented to the General Assembly of Vermont, then sitting at Norwich in the old church on Goddard Hill, about three miles from the College, a petition for a grant of land. It was done, he tells us, without express direction from the board, except as included in the general instructions already quoted; but (we may well understand without any sanction from them) the grant was solicited in a novel way, for "the institution, embracing Dartmouth College and Moor's Charity School."¹

His memorial, dated June 9th, was presented and referred on Friday, June 10th, and so promptly considered that on Thursday, June 16th, the Council concurred in an Act sent up from the House granting twenty-three thousand acres of land, one half to the College, and one half to the "President of Moor's Charity School." It is said there were but sixty members of the Assembly in attendance, mostly from the southeastern section of the State. Of the twelve councillors, however, nine were present, among them Ira Allen, of Colchester, and Jonas Fay, of Bennington. Mr. Fay was of the committee that reported the measure, and we are informed that the chairman of this committee often declared in after years that the grant was made in accordance with a "mutual understanding among the public men of both States that there should be a union of interest in the College and a union of efforts to give it a high character and liberal endowments."²

There were then outstanding sixteen similar grants to others

¹ See pamphlet, *Vindication of the Trustees*, by Messrs. Wheelock and Jacob, 1807.

² *The State of New Hampshire and Dartmouth College*, pamphlet, p. 48.

not yet located, and "those most acquainted with the case were rather of opinion that after these 'hovering townships' should find a place there would be no residue for this; at best it would be on cliffs and rocks."¹ At the October session at Windsor, application was made to the Legislature to hasten the location, which resulted in a second Act, passed Oct. 24, 1785, empowering the Governor to issue the charter, but not out of regular order.²

At this session a jealousy of the College began to appear, stimulated by an anonymous article in the "Vermont Journal," written, it was understood, by Hon. Elijah Paine in support of a memorial, at that time presented by him, for the incorporation of a College at Williamstown, where he lived. To this, Mr. Paine offered to give £2,000 for buildings if the State would endow it with the lands that had been reserved in many charters throughout the State "for the use of a Seminary or College." A committee was appointed to consider the project between sessions; but it seemed so chimerical that it was not favorably received, and on the whole the good feeling toward Dartmouth was not seriously impaired.

Greater injury was done by an address at the October session, 1786, from President Wheelock, accompanying a letter of thanks, sent in to the Assembly by the trustees through their secretary, Mr. Woodward. The address, which had been ordered by the board at its meeting in September, was in line with that presented to the New Hampshire Assembly in February, 1785. It solicited for Dartmouth College an assignment of the same lands previously asked for by Mr. Paine, together with all the lands throughout the State that had been reserved in the New Hampshire Grants for the Society for the Propagation of Knowledge in Foreign Parts, and in the Vermont Grants for the church glebe and for academies, in return for which it was proposed to afford free tuition at Dartmouth to students from Vermont, and to set up and maintain, under Dartmouth control, an academy in each county of that State, and if necessary a branch college. The address also suggested that if Vermont should establish a college, as had been contemplated, it might be "joined in one

¹ See pamphlet, *Vindication of the Trustees*, by Messrs. Wheelock and Jacob, 1807.

² Vt. Gov. and Council, iii. 70, 72, 87, 89.

bond of union" with Dartmouth. This communication was referred to a joint committee, and reported upon as deserving consideration and likely to be beneficial to the State. Pending a postponement to March, the proposition and report were ordered to be printed in both the newspapers of the State. Brought thus to public notice, the proposals were subjected to severe hostile criticism, and to ridicule in prose and verse. They were denounced as an attempt wrongfully to divert the glebe rights and to prevent the establishment of a college in Vermont. President Wheelock himself replied with warmth in the columns of the "Gazette." But on March 3, 1787, the Assembly resolved that "the proposals are such that they cannot be accepted."¹

The animosity excited by these events was not sufficient to defeat the grant already enacted. By the aid of friends a location was with some difficulty secured, surveys were made, and a final order was obtained from the Council, Oct. 11, 1788, for the issue of the charter, under the name of "Santa Maria," which was changed, by President Wheelock's desire, on further consideration, to "Wheelock,"² the charter so issued bearing date as of June 14, 1785. Reservations were made for support of the gospel and for schools, and the township was declared exempt from taxation so long as its rents and profits should be appropriated to the purposes for which it was granted; namely, one undivided moiety to the College, and one moiety to John Wheelock as President of Moor's Charity School, "and his successor in office, solely and exclusively for the use and benefit of said School forever."

Settlements in a small way were begun the next year, and between 1790 and 1796 the bulk of the town (excepting two thousand acres considered unfit for settlement) was surveyed into one-hundred acre lots, and beginning Sept. 1, 1794, assigned to settlers on leases of 999 years, three hundred acres to a right, at an ultimate uniform rental of £2 (\$6.67) on each

¹ Vt. Gazette, Nov. 27, 1786, Feb. 26, 1787; Vt. Journal, January 1 to February 19, 1787; Vt. Gov. and Council, iii. 107, 108; Am. Quart. Reg., xiii. 394-96.

Judge Paine's memorial was brought up again in October, 1787, with a report that it was inexpedient to legislate until the State of Vermont should be more settled. In October, 1791, the University at Burlington was incorporated, on petition of Ira Allen.

² Vt. Gov. and Council, iii. 168.

hundred acres, payable in silver at 6s. 8d. the ounce, or its equivalent in wheat or corn. Payments began Jan. 1, 1796, but stood at half-rate till 1803. The rents when at the full were expected to afford an annual income of \$640 on each moiety, and did not fall far short of that figure. About \$3,000 were expended in making surveys and introducing settlers, and in roads, mills, etc., before any returns were realized. In 1807 a granary was ordered, built there to receive the rents.¹

The correspondence with the Scotch society, begun in 1783, resulted in a partial re-establishment of friendly relations, but only after some two years' delay and the production of numerous proofs and certificates. Among the documents thus submitted, in December, 1784, were certificates from the officers of the State² and from the members of the Grafton Presbytery. The society at length announced that although "the late Dr. Wheelock had been rather rash in drawing on the society without permission, yet it appearing from satisfying evidence now received that the money drawn for was faithfully applied, . . . and communication with America being now open," the old protested drafts should be paid; and "while Mr. Wheelock and his successors continue to promote the original design by keeping up the School or Academy for education of Indian youth, and fit out missionaries among the Indian tribes, and the society receives

¹ See pamphlet of 1807. For the charter see Appendix E.

² To the Honorable Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts:

From the best accounts which can be obtained, we have sufficient reason to believe that Moor's Indian Charity School, under the care of President Wheelock, has been attended with the singular smiles of Divine Providence, that Dr. Wheelock and his son and successor have been prudent and indefatigable in the management of it, and that the means for its support have been invariably applied with strict fidelity. And we do accordingly, with the greatest cheerfulness, recommend it as an object truly deserving encouragement and charity.

This paper was dated Dec. 25, 1784, and signed by Mr. Weare, President of the State, George Atkinson, Speaker of the House, and Enoch Hale, John Langdon, and Moses Dow, of the Senate (Memoirs of Wheelock, p. 204). The Presbytery certificate was signed by Samuel Todd, moderator; John Richards, of Piermont; Isaiah Potter, of Lebanon; William Conant, of Lyme; Lyman Potter, of Norwich; and Asa Burton, of Thetford. It testified to Wheelock's singular zeal and exertions in spreading Christian knowledge among the natives, etc., and certified that "from abundant evidence we are convinced that the moneys intrusted to his care were strictly and conscientiously applied, and have been of real benefit in promoting the kingdom of our common Lord."

satisfactory evidence of sums expended," they would continue to pay his bills, so far at least as the interest of the fund extends. But the accounts must be declared totally distinct from the expenses of Dartmouth College.

The President was accordingly allowed to draw for £625 sterling to cover a portion of the old balance, but further remittances were for the present postponed. In the same year (1785) the Board of Correspondents, discontinued during the war, was re-established in Boston, with James Bowdoin as President, Dr. Wigglesworth, of Cambridge, as Secretary, and Dr. Chauncey, still an active member till his death, which occurred soon after. President Wheelock was directed to submit the remaining accounts to them. In order to this, he applied, October 31st, to the Legislature of New Hampshire (referring to the large expenses of Moor's School and the outstanding debts, the absence of means of payment here, and the existence of the Scotch fund), and asked for the appointment of "some discreet, impartial, and understanding persons" near by, to ascertain the facts and certify them. This resulted in a resolve of June 28, 1787, directing the President and Council for the time being, as often as required, to appoint three reputable citizens, at the charge of the President, to examine and adjust the accounts in question.

The accounts, verified by a committee appointed by President Sullivan, were finally submitted to the Boston commissioners, in April, 1788, to their entire satisfaction, and with their approval drafts were made upon the society for the balance due, which were nevertheless, as on previous occasions, dishonored, and the commissioners instructed to review all the accounts of the School *from the beginning*, to determine whether it had been kept distinct from the College, and to ascertain what property the School had in America.

The attitude of distrust in which the society remained, notwithstanding all, was due in the main (as we now know) to an accumulation of unfavorable private advices from its American correspondents. Professor Wigglesworth had reported "that the principal part of the money collected in England was spent in procuring accommodations for the officers and English youth in Dartmouth College," and that the moneys in Scotland were in danger of sharing the same fate. Dr. Chauncey, with his

ancient venom, had written that "the Indian School since it was removed to New Hampshire has answered scarce any other end than to enrich the President's family, and that the Indians have received little advantage from it." And Mr. Hyslop: "I did some time before Dr. Wheelock's death look upon him as a designing man, and do not to this day think that the money collected in England and Scotland was ever applied according to the intention of the donors." Even Mr. Kirkland (who was, as early as 1792, proposing to the society to build up—in connection with his plans for the Hamilton Oneida Academy—a system of Indian schools somewhat after Wheelock's early methods) had written that there was "great reason to apprehend that the funds have been applied to the use of Dartmouth College." He stated that "only two Indians had been completed in their education since the removal of the School, one of whom died, and the other was unfit for the office of a missionary." But of course all this was unknown to Wheelock.

It now became necessary to define anew the relations of the School and the College. Whether or not the matter came definitely up at the annual meeting in September, 1788, does not appear, but there was at that time for some reason an unusual commotion in the board of trust. Professor Ripley's place had been vacant a year and a half. It was now filled by the election of Professor Smith. Mr. Jaffrey, the last of the charter members, resigned, as did also Samuel Phillips and two others (Messrs. Huntington and Hart) of recent appointment. The places of these were filled by Rev. Bulkley Olcott of Charlestown (a brother of Judge Simeon Olcott,¹ who had come

¹ Rev. Bulkley Olcott was the eldest son of Timothy Olcott, of Bolton, Conn., born Oct. 28, 1733; a graduate of Yale College, 1758; began preaching in Charlestown, N. H., in 1760; ordained and installed there May 28, 1761; and remained till his death, June 26, 1793 (Saunderson's *History of Charlestown*, p. 218).

Simeon Olcott, younger brother of Rev. Bulkley Olcott, was the first lawyer in Charlestown, N. H.,—the first, indeed, in the Connecticut valley in New Hampshire. He was born Oct. 1, 1735; a graduate of Yale College, 1761; and settled in Charlestown prior to 1764. He was judge of probate under the Crown from 1773, and one of the side judges of the Superior Court of Vermont during the second union, from October, 1781, to Jan. 28, 1782; Chief Justice New Hampshire Court of Common Pleas, Cheshire County, 1784 to 1790; Associate Justice Superior Court, 1790 to 1795; and Chief Justice of the same, 1795 to 1801; United States senator, 1801 to 1805; died Feb. 22, 1815 (*History of Charlestown*, p. 485).

Rev. Levi Hart was a graduate of Yale, 1760; died 1808, *at. 69*.

Rev. Job Swift was a graduate of Yale, 1765; he died 1804, *at. 61*.

into the board in 1784, on the death of Dr. Pomeroy), Gov. Peter Olcott, of Norwich (their cousin), and Rev. Job Swift, of Bennington, Vt. An attempt was made to retrieve the former error of excluding the chief magistrate of the State by electing in Mr. Jaffrey's place John Langdon in his official capacity as President of New Hampshire, but he did not accept the appointment.

At the same meeting, without any ostensible reason disclosed by the record, it was "Resolved that in the opinion of this board it will be unfit and improper that any officer of the College, *the President excepted*, should act as a member of the board in the determination of any question in which he shall have given his vote before in his executive capacity, or in which he shall be personally interested." Under the circumstances the only person to whom this vote could have had present application would seem to be Professor Woodward. Whether these proceedings had any connection with the schemes that were now forming, it is impossible to say. We only know that within two weeks after the meeting, under color of satisfying the doubts of the Scotch society, plans were ripened for confirming the family ascendancy over School and College to a degree that had hitherto never been suggested. It was proposed in a draft, dated Oct. 3, 1788, that —

"Whereas doubts had arisen whether the School be not absorbed by the establishment of the College," that "to remove all doubts in future, 'application be made to the legislature of the State for an act explanatory of the charter of the College, clearly designating that the President of said School is of right President of said College, and that he alone hath right to apply for the purposes for which they are given the monies collected by Dr. Whitaker and Mr. Occom,' and all other monies, legacies, & bequests vested in his hands *or the hands of the trustees of said College* for the purpose of promoting Christian knowledge among the Indians, he accounting to the trustees for their application. . . . And as the President of said School is also President of said College, this Board esteem it expedient and proper *that the President of said College and School for the time being have power to nominate and appoint his successor in that office* in the same manner and under the same limitations as Dr. Wheelock had right and did appoint his successor in said office. And to prevent doubts in future in respect to that matter, this Board esteems it proper that an act be passed by the legislature of this State explanatory of the charter in that respect, and expressly vesting such power in the President for the time being."

This paper, as preserved, is mostly in the handwriting of Mr. Woodward, though we have reason to doubt if it reflects his

views. It is indorsed in the writing of President Wheelock, "Proposals respecting the connection of Dart. College & Moor's School, Oct., 1788," and on Oct. 3d, 1788, Mr. Burroughs certifies upon a careful consideration that some such plan is "absolutely necessary and best adapted for carrying into effect the original design of the School and College, to prevent any perversion of the design;" and to make it complete, proposed to add a declaration that "the board holds itself in duty bound to appropriate to the use of the School, to be applied by the President, an equivalent for what of the School monies had been laid out on the College lands." Here was struck, at this early day, the key-note of the conflict that culminated twenty-eight years later.

These important matters came before the board at a special meeting, Dec. 23, 1788; but no action was then taken beyond the appointment of a committee consisting of Rev. Bulkley Olcott, Gov. Peter Olcott, Professor Woodward, and Mr. Burroughs, instructed "to examine into the relation of the College and School, to designate the proper objects of each, to report the state of application of moneys designated by donors for particular objects, and to point out what measures are necessary, proper, and feasible to be taken by the board relative thereto." Of this committee we know to what views Mr. Burroughs was committed, and we have reason to believe that Mr. Woodward was not in harmony with them. The other two were recent appointments, and naturally fell in with the President's wishes. The committee reported in May, 1789, in a modified form, substantially to the effect foreshadowed by the "proposals" of October. But the board, apparently not prepared just yet to go to that length of subserviency, contented itself with the following resolutions, designed merely to meet the present emergency by smoothing the way to an accommodation with the Scotch society: —

"Representations having been made to this board that apprehensions have arisen in the minds of some persons that monies collected in Great Britain by the Rev. Messrs. Whitaker and Ocom, under the direction of Rev. Dr. Wheelock, have been applied by this board to the use and benefit of Dartmouth College —

"Resolved, that this board have never had any control or direction of said moneys, nor have they to their knowledge at any time received or applied any sum thereof to the use and benefit of s^d College; but on the most critical

examination relative thereto we are convinced this board have ever considered themselves as having no concern with the application of them, but that they were subject to the application of the late Rev. Dr. Wheelock and his successor in the Pres^y of Moor's Charity School. Nor have they to their knowledge any interest in their hands on which revenues have arisen to them as the effect of monies laid out by Dr. Wheelock, or others which were of monies collected by Dr. Whitaker and Mr. Occom; and should any such in future arise, it is the sense of this board that such revenues be applied by Dr. Wheelock's successor solely to the objects for which the donations were made."

This was based upon the statement of facts furnished by Mr. Woodward as a part of the report. This important document, after reciting the circumstances attending the origin of the School, said, in part, that —

"The charter was granted (predicated on said School and its objects) for erecting a College for these and other purposes, and constituting a board of trustees capable of the tenure and disposal of lands and bequests for the use of said School and its objects as well as those of the College; . . . that it was the intention of the donors to the funds in Great Britain that the monies deposited there for the use of the School should be applied solely by the said Dr. Wheelock and his successors in the presidency of said School for the furtherance of his objects of promoting Christian knowledge among the Indians, and this board have never claimed or exercised any right to the control or disposal of those moneys, nor have they received or applied any of them; that on Dr. Wheelock's removal to this place in 1770, in order to accommodate the members of the School, he laid out considerable sums of the donations made in Great Britain, together with donations made to encourage the removal of the School & establishment of the College in erecting buildings and clearing and improving lands, of which buildings only that now called the *Old College Building* remains,¹ which said building has undergone repairs by this board since Dr. Wheelock's death exceeding its incomes. Of those lands which were cleared in Dr. Wheelock's lifetime, all the rents and profits were applied by him without any direction or control of this board during his life. By means of the war and other adverse occurrences, but few of those lands on which expense had been bestowed by him were rendered better by that expense; as, being neglected on account of the war and want of means to complete the clearing of them, they reverted to their original state. Those few which had been so far cleared as to become productive had by their profits more than paid their expenses of clearing.

"It appears that besides the donations which Dr. Wheelock received from Great Britain and elsewhere for these purposes, he incurred large expenses after the commencement of the war in prosecution of the same benevolent object; viz, educating Indians, supporting missionaries, and using means to lay a permanent fund for their support (which last measure

¹ The old "Hall" had been, as we know, a few months before destroyed.

however, unhappily proved ineffectual). Towards the discharge of these expenses he had advanced about £1,000 L. M. of his own estate, besides which large demands lay against him on the same account at the time of his death, together with a considerable number of Indians in the School to be supported. Although these expenses and debts had not been incurred by any express order of the trustees, it appears that the Board, on principles of justice and equity, were desirous, after Dr. Wheelock's death, to do all in their power to disencumber his own particular estate from those debts and aid his successor in prosecuting the same object (especially considering that no remittances could then be obtained from Great Britain for those purposes); and accordingly have advanced, since Dr. Wheelock's death to last Commencement (L. M.) £421 12s. 9d. towards Major Wheelock's support, on account of the £1,000 advanced by Dr. Wheelock of his own estate, and £604 17s 11d. in payment of debts which Dr. Wheelock had contracted in his lifetime (besides a net amount of £246 for support of Indian charity scholars and schoolmasters, making a total of £271 12s. 4d. then due the College). That the principal part of the debts now due from this Board (excepting to the Hon. Dr. John Wheelock, for his salary & allowances as President, and debts on account of the new College edifice) are on account of the said advancements made by the Board."

Armed with these resolutions and statements, and full details of all accounts, the President, with an assistant, waited once more upon the commissioners in Boston in June, 1789, and upon their report was enabled effectually to draw for a balance of £650 sterling. The amount due the College, according to the foregoing statement, entered into the accounts thus liquidated, and four years later £1,200 was passed by President Wheelock, without interest, to its credit.

The resolutions of May, 1789, served thus their ostensible purpose; but they were still unsatisfactory to the radical wishes of the President and his friends. At the annual meeting in August, the disposition of the subject made in May was not confirmed. The committee was enlarged by the addition of Professor Smith, and directed to take the whole matter once more into consideration; but it never came to the point of a further report. In April, 1790, the two Olcotts were discharged from the committee, and Jonathan Freeman, of Hanover, was substituted. Mr. Freeman was not at that time a member of the board, but on the retiring of John Phillips, with Messrs. Simeon and Bulkley Olcott, in 1793, he became a member at the same time with Rev. Israel Evans, of Concord, and Hon. Nathaniel Niles, of Fairlee, Vt. The latter was destined to play

an important part in subsequent years as a leading opponent of the President, while Mr. Freeman, though he died before the difficulties culminated, was known as his firm adherent.

The accord with the Scotch society was not of long duration. Attempts to draw upon the fund in their hands for a mission to the Cherokees on the Tennessee River, planned in 1792, led to a reopening of old sores, and a new examination at Hanover, in November, 1794, by their commissioners, Jonathan Mason and Peter Thatcher,¹ and in 1797 to the following ultimatum:

EDIN^R, 2 Sept., 1797.

SIR, — The Directors of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge have instructed me to inform you, with a view to save trouble both to themselves and to you, that, after having taken the opinion of eminent counsel upon the conduct which it behooves them to observe with respect to the funds collected in Scotland for Moor's Indian School, & placed under the trust & management of the Society, they cannot, in a consistency with that trust & with their pledge to the public, permit any part of that fund to be remitted for the use of that seminary until they shall have satisfactory evidence laid before them that the purposes of the Institution are carried into effect by the education of youth for the instruction of the Indians.

Until such evidence, therefore, shall be laid before this Board, the Directors of the Society request that you will not draw any bills upon them, because they shall feel themselves under an absolute necessity to decline acceptance of them. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient & most humble serv^t,

JAS. KEMP, *Sec'y.*

DR. WHEELOCK.

This was accompanied by instructions to the Boston board which the latter understood as prohibiting their exercising in future any functions in respect to the School. Some of those in Scotland connected with the society were desirous to employ the fund elsewhere; but it was finally determined, on legal advice, that its benefits must be confined to "Moor's Indian School, now incorporated with Dartmouth College."

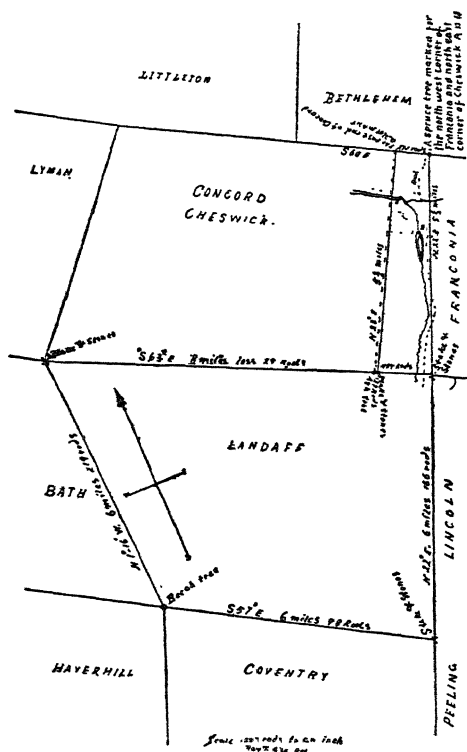
As after 1797 the Boston board declined to interfere in the affairs of the School, President Wheelock, in 1799, renewed direct to the parent society his proposals for a mission to the Cherokees, near Knoxville, Tenn., and soon after sent Rev.

¹ Mr. Thatcher reported "Wheelock is anxious for the money, but there is no prospect of his expending it to advantage." He thought him "honest, but has no economy."

Lyman Potter (lately minister at Norwich, Vt.) on that errand, but without results except to afford occasion for subsequent charges of fraud by the College board itself. When, in the year 1800, Indians began in small numbers to present themselves, Mr. Thatcher was sent again to Hanover (in 1801), and on his report remittances were resumed, and have, with occasional interruptions, continued ever since, but always conformable to the rule announced by the society in 1797 only upon vouchers for expenses already incurred and paid. The Board of Correspondents in Boston, which still exercises supervision, has been several times renewed. Its existing charter dates from Nov. 2, 1848. It is hardly necessary to say that the relations now for a great many years have been very harmonious and agreeable. In 1795 the fund amounted to £2,324 sterling, invested at four per cent. It is supposed to have since increased somewhat by accumulation of unexpended income.

It is necessary now to turn back and take up the story of Landaff. It will be remembered that a principal inducement for the transfer of the School to New Hampshire was the promise by Governor Wentworth of a township of land; that the promise was renewed by the Governor to Wheelock's agent, Cleaveland, when in Portsmouth in the autumn of 1768, on his way to examine the various proposed locations; and that by his request, on the advice of Mr. Whiting, the Deputy-Surveyor, the Governor promised to reserve for the purpose the township of *Landaff*, which had been previously granted in 1764, but had been forfeited for non-performance of conditions of settlement. It was granted anew to the College on Jan. 19, 1770, exactly one month from the date of the College charter itself, and the College narrowly escaped being located within its borders. Landaff was bounded on the north by Gunthwaite (now Lisbon), on the west by Bath, and on the south by Coventry (now Benton), and cornered upon Haverhill. It contained by survey 25,247 acres, 3 roods, and 10 perches of land. It had been originally granted to James Avery and others, January 31, 1764, by Gov. Benning Wentworth, upon the usual conditions of settlement and improvement, which had almost wholly failed of performance. Conformably to the practice usual at that time, a forfeiture had been declared by the Governor and Council without any judicial determination. The first settler

in the town, and the only one there at the date of the grant to the College, was one Samuel Palmer, who held a right under the first proprietors, and had improved, since 1768, a small



PLAN OF LANDAFF.

tract near the corner of Bath, and who afterward consented to hold under the College charter.

The conditions of the College grant were somewhat onerous: a road four rods wide through the town was to be cut, cleared, and made passable for carriages within two years from the date of the grant; and it was requisite that within four years sixty families should be "settled and resident on the premises," twelve of them within the first year. Six months of the period had already elapsed before even the location of the College had been determined, and nine months before the board of trustees had been organized. At the first meeting of the board, in

October, 1770, provision was made for surveying the township, and six thousand acres of the land was appropriated to be given for the promotion of settlement. In 1774 this action was confirmed, and on application by the trustees to the Governor and Council the town was incorporated, Nov. 11, 1774.

The boundary lines of the township were surveyed and marked, in the summer of 1771, by Jonathan Freeman, of Hanover, with Gideon Smith and John Woodworth chainmen, and some other assistants. The same party laid off also a number of hundred-acre lots to accommodate settlers, and in 1772 or 1773 Wheelock employed one Nathaniel Hovey to remove with his family from Walpole and form a settlement. Up to 1774, fifteen hundred acres had been given to some twenty families of settlers, and considerable improvement made on a parcel of two thousand acres laid off in one body on the Ammonoosuc River, at the northwest corner of the town, for a "College farm," on which was built a log-house and a large framed barn. A saw-mill was built in 1774, and a grist-mill in 1775, on the north side of "Mill Brook," an affluent of the Ammonoosuc, about half a mile southwest of the present village of Lisbon. Roads and bridges were also constructed at the expense of the College. By the end of 1775 about £1,000 had been expended, without any return whatever.

In 1779 three hundred acres were appropriated for the first settled minister, and in the following year additional inducements were offered to Rev. Ebenezer Cleaveland, of Gloucester, Mass., to come in that capacity, with seven other families, which he accordingly did in 1780, and remained five years. The expenses of his removal and an annual allowance for his subsistence were promised by the College, in consideration of his superintending the College affairs in that region. There was also established in 1780 a public grammar-school, connected with the College and endowed with the same privileges as Moor's School, for which a building was erected on the College farm, and two hundred acres of land near the centre of the town were sequestered for its support. Instructors were provided, and the School was maintained about two years and a half at the expense of the College. The school was named the "Phillips School," in honor of Hon. John Phillips, of Exeter, who took great interest in the township, for the sake of the

eventual support it was expected to give to the College, and after the English remittances stopped gave several times handsome sums for carrying on its improvement.

All this time the grantees of the first charter made no stir. Some of them did indeed apply to Wheelock for an amicable arrangement before the College settlement began. In 1773 fears were aroused by the charges of irregularity, in the declaration of forfeitures, made in the complaints of Livius against the Governor, and a premature announcement of an adverse decision threw Wheelock into consternation. He wrote to his agent, Sept. 13, 1773, —

“The last post brings me certain news that Mr. Livius has proved his charge in every article against Governor Wentworth, one article of which was that his granting a new charter of towns before a regular suit at law against the former grantees for the non-performance was illegal, and that, of consequence, the first grantees will hold the land. This report has stopped the young men who were designed this day to go up to make a pitch for a settlement, and throws me all into confusion. I dare not take a step further till I can write to Portsmouth and elsewhere for counsel and advice in the affair.”

The Governor hastened to reassure him.

PORTSMOUTH, 27th Sept., 1773.

DEAR SIR, — I have but just time to acknowledge & thank you for your kind letter by post. The Reports you are alarmed with arose from exaggerated accounts of a Report from the Lords of Trade, all w^h I knew before Commencement. Their real Report by no means invalidates the College title to Landaff, which I consider to be as safe as any title in Portsmouth, & wou^d therefore, if it was my own, proceed in the settlement without hesitation or apprehension, & so advise you to, in behalf of the College, and I do defy the world to divest them but by a failure in performing the conditions. My last letters, by Symes, 26th July, inform me that on my part the hearing was had before a Committee of privy Council, & totally in my favor.

Thomas Danforth, Esq., who came in [with] Symes, was present. He says the whole matter was perfectly in my favor, & that there was no doubt but the issue wou^d be so. That our College patron was deeply mine, & that the Lords of the Comm^{ee} seem^d unanimously & openly to declare in the highest terms of Respect and honor toward me. However it may terminate (which I've no doubt will be favorably) my heart assures me Justice & Truth declare in my favor. I wrote you a few days since by John Dennie, Esq., which I hope you've received.

With great truth & sincerity I wish you & yours & the College the best of Heaven's blessings, being, &c.

J. WENTWORTH.

REV^D DR WHELOCK.

Notwithstanding these assurances, Wheelock was now desirous to strengthen the College title by a purchase, if possible, of the former grant. But it was not thought by others worth while to attempt it, especially as the final decision of the Privy Council, soon after received, sustained (contrary to the view of the Board of Trade) the validity of the forfeitures under the circumstances. Nothing more was heard of the matter till royal authority had passed away and the sceptre had fallen into the hands of the Exeter party, whose former jealousies were now intensely aggravated, as will readily be understood, by the political attitude of the river towns, which they ascribed entirely to College influence.

Early in 1777 the first grantees, having slept on their rights now thirteen years, began to move for recognition. Their agent, one Joseph Davenport, came with an offer to sell their interest to the College, and Wheelock was again very desirous to close the contract. Wheelock wrote to his nephew, Bingham, "at the break of day," June 3, 1777, to —

"Visit Dr. Mead, who was principal of and agent for the first grantees of the town of Landaff, which is now retarded and discouraged by the influence of Mr. Joseph Davenport, who has inspired an apprehension in the minds of the populace that they shall be exposed to a quarrel if they should settle there. . . . I wish I could send you a copy of the College charter and enable you to discourse understandingly with D^r Mead and let him see how amply this incorporation is endowed, and how *independent it is made of this government*, or any other incorporation; . . . that such a matter of controversy can be decided by no judicatory but supreme, or one equal to that which incorporated it, — that is, the *Continental Congress*. . . . However, to prevent any expense in that matter, quiet the minds of the people, and facilitate the settlement, as well as exercise proper regard to those who have looked upon themselves injured thereby, I would propose some conditions of agreement with those first grantees whereby I might obtain their quitclaims to the premises."

He had previously written quite urgently to Dr. Phillips (March 22) and to the other Eastern members of the board; but they, relying on the former determination, did not assent to a compromise. Failing to come to terms with the College, Davenport sought a market among its enemies. The most prominent of these was Col. Nathaniel Peabody, of Atkinson. He had been quite active the preceding fall and winter, doing what injury he could by spreading, among the members of the General Court and others, reports to the detriment of Whee-

lock.¹ In common with others of that section, he was much engaged in land speculation; and Landaff, with its value more than doubled by the College improvements, presented at the same time an opening for profit and an opportunity to punish the disaffected section by crippling the College.

Colonel Peabody and his friends accordingly bought out a large part of the old proprietors at from £5 to £6 for each right. More than twenty such deeds are recorded in Colonel Peabody's name in 1778. The trustees, on learning of his intervention, awakened from their indifference and tried in the same year to negotiate with him. The following letter, written from Philadelphia, Oct. 18, 1779, by Colonel Peabody, while serving as a delegate in Congress from New Hampshire, to Josiah Bartlett at Kingston, discloses the situation:—

“The information you have given me of the enigmatical conversation & conduct of the incomprehensible old Mr. D—p—t, and the diabolical designs of the *Hanoverian* myrmidons, gives me some uneasiness. However, can't suppose that the old man is aiming by his ambiguity and versatility to circumvent those who are justly entitled to every degree of respect from him short of adoration; and as to the *Faction*, I have nothing to fear from them but the want of proper courts established so that law and justice might be duly administered in the county of Grafton. Mr. Lowell, from Boston, is now here, and gives it fully as his opinion that the first grant must inevitably hold the land against all subsequent claims.”²

Notwithstanding all this, confidence in the College title was so well established that in December, 1780, Landaff lands had doubled in price, and were thought a good investment. About 1781 the speculators began to introduce settlers in defiance of the College, and to annoy its tenants by intruding upon their improvements. Collisions were thus provoked, as of course had been designed, and some of them were serious. In 1782 Colonel Peabody sold a considerable number of his rights at prices varying from £100 to £120 each right, the same for which he had paid but £6 four years before.³ The first proprietors had never surveyed even the external lines of the township; but their successors, under the lead of Peabody, now pushed matters with so much diligence that by 1788 more than

¹ MS. letter of Rev. David McClure.

² MS. in Northern Academy Collections.

³ Grafton County Records, vol. ix. Colonel Peabody profited in the end but little from the speculation; he died an insolvent debtor in jail in 1823.

sixty families had settled under their patronage, and they had forced nearly all the College settlers (whose rent-roll to the College aggregated near £100 a year) to surrender and take new titles from them.¹

The perfidy of some of these, who had been especially encouraged by the College, was particularly annoying. In addition to other things, advantage was taken of the political dissensions to obtain favor at Exeter by representing the conflicts of settlers as having a political significance. Nathaniel Hovey and John Clark, both of whom had been settled at the expense of the College and peculiarly favored, became prominent tools of the other party in this connection. In October, 1781, Clark appealed to the Committee of Safety for protection against the jurisdiction of Vermont, and "especially from the Emesseries of the Collegd," suggesting "that most of the political difficulties subsisting in the counties of Cheshire and Grafton originate from the machinations of certain subtil tories, joined by those who have y^e conducting of the Indian School at Hanover and their emissaries, to promote the views of British Administration rather than any attachment they have to the pretended State of Vermont." Clark himself went to Exeter and presented their memorials, complaining also of certain so-called riotous proceedings toward Hovey, on Sept. 29, 1781, by Eleazar Wheelock and James Wheelock (brothers of the President), aided by Ebenezer Cleaveland, Absalom Peters, and Asa Bayley. The Committee of Safety entertained the complaint, and Oct. 19, 1781, ordered Col. Charles Johnston, of Haverhill, to protect the memorialists, arrest and confine all such rioters, and make report at the next session of the General Court.² Indictments also seem to have been procured against these persons, but we are unable to trace the result of the prosecution.

The trustees, on the other hand, stood in defence of their rights, and at the annual meeting, September, 1782, voted to assume the defence of the persons indicted as rioters, who were acting as agents in their employ. They ordered a letter of warning to Samuel Atkinson and his associates in Landaff to desist from hostile movements, and directed a letter to be writ-

¹ See President Wheelock's petition to the Legislature in 1783.

² N. H. State Papers, x. 412, 416, 417.

ten and transmitted by the hand of Dr. Whitaker to the Council of Safety and to the General Assembly, with a true statement of affairs in that quarter; and at the same time wrote to the settlers counselling "stability, patience, and peace." The Committee of Safety replied, October 4th, that "having read and considered the memorial of the 20th Sept., 1782, presented by Rev. Dr. Whitaker, they are of opinion that the matters complained of are such as are proper to come before the courts of the common law, which are now opened in the County of Grafton, and that this committee have no power to interfere in such matters."¹ In March, 1784, Bezaleel Woodward and Elisha Payne were deputed to apply to the General Court in behalf of the College, for an Act directing process for quieting titles in Landaff, but still with no result; and in 1785, the President appealed, November 13th, to those claiming under the first proprietors to end the "tedious disputes in the law" and the "innumerable disorders," by bringing the affairs to a "just and equitable issue" by arbitration; but the tactics were to worry the College out by numerous actions in the courts and local contention.

At last, in 1788, some of these actions coming to a decision adverse to the College, President Wheelock himself, by order of the trustees, presented to the General Assembly, Dec. 25, 1788, an elaborate memorial, setting forth the matter in detail and asking, with other things, as a compensation to the College for its losses, a grant of a tract of land twelve miles square in the extreme northwestern corner of the State, or else the protection of the State in the defence of the Landaff title. The College had now expended more than £1,500, nearly all in hard money, without counting loss of interest on the portion (£1,000) paid out in improvements before 1775. This petition was in January, 1789, referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Sullivan, Plummer, Barrett, N. Peabody, and Pierce, of the House, and Messrs. Lang, Smith, and Toppan, of the Senate. General Peabody, consistent in his hostility, was bitter in opposition to the measure, and the majority of the committee was unfriendly. Gen. Ebenezer Webster, of Salisbury, was a member of the Senate and heartily for the College. Seeing how the matter was likely to go, he procured himself to be substituted on the com-

¹ N. H. State Papers, x. 600.

mittee for Mr. Lang, but was not able to stem the current; and on the same day the committee reported, by Mr. Smith, a recommendation for postponement to the next session. The matter lay on the table nearly a fortnight, until on January 19, through the management of General Webster, Messrs. A. Parker and Abbott were added to the committee on the part of the House, and on the 24th the committee thus constituted reported by General Webster himself "that for the encouragement of literature a grant of eight miles square of land adjoining upon the old Canada line and Connecticut River be made for the benefit of that seminary, not infringing upon former grants, and that the President and Council of this State for the time being be added to and incorporated with the trustees thereof, and that they have the superintendence of the expenditures of all donations which have been or may hereafter be made by New Hampshire." On the same day the report was accepted by both Houses. General Sullivan, then suffering with "the first attack of fatal disease," had himself assisted from his bed, and supported the measure in a vehement speech, wherein he openly denounced General Peabody for his course in the whole matter. President Wheelock tells us that this was the last speech ever made in public by General Sullivan.¹

An Act was duly framed and passed in form, Feb. 5, 1789. A survey of the land was completed by Jeremiah Eames in October, and accepted and confirmed by the General Court, Jan. 16, 1790. But for some reason not disclosed, President Bartlett, notwithstanding repeated solicitation, delayed issuing the charter until Feb. 28, 1792. Possibly this was because the College still hesitated to make final surrender of their claims in Landaff, since the new grant was not understood to require it.

Pending the completion of these proceedings, negotiations were a second time attempted by the College, in May, 1789, with General Peabody for a settlement of all the disputes and for a compromise between the claimants on the basis of a retention, by the College and its grantees, of all the tracts improved by them and one half the unappropriated lands. The plan failed, as did also a further application, made by James Wheelock, Aug. 18, 1789, in behalf of the trustees, to the Legislature, to direct the Attorney-General to institute proceedings

¹ Sketches of the History of Dartmouth College, etc., 1815, p. 131.

for testing the first grant before the Court of Escheats, then lately established. It was here alleged —

"That Nathaniel Peabody, of Atkinson, and others did by virtue of said forfeited grant, and after your petitioners had been in quiet, peaceable, and uninterrupted possession of the premises for about ten years, forcibly and without right enter upon and take possession of a large part of said township, not only of land uncultivated, but also of farms under improvement and in possession of those who were settled there by your petitioners, which land said Peabody and others still continue, without right, to hold, possess, and improve."

In December President Wheelock applied to President Sullivan.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, Dec. 10th, 1789.

SIR, — The regard and friendship manifested by your Excellency to this literary institution give the board of trustees the highest confidence of the influence of the first Magistrate of the State in favor of the interests of the College.

The Institution of the township of Landaff, of which your Excellency has been informed has involved great trouble and expense to the trustees. They flatter themselves, however, that the act, passed by the General Court last February in respect to forfeitures would lead to a termination of disputes in respect to claims under different grants, and were happy to be informed that the Committee of the Legislature had directed the Attorney-General to institute sundry actions of that nature at the last Superior Court in this County. We are informed, however, that notwithstanding such direction, no action of that kind was brought, and are apprehensive none will be brought, without particular attention of the Legislature or Executive of the State to the subject. In the mean time the proprietors under the first charter avail themselves of the delay to insinuate and endeavor to persuade the settlers of Landaff, under the College grant, that no action can or will be brought on that statute, alledging that the Grant made by the Legislature last February was intended to make the College good for our claim on Landaff, which we conceive was by no means the case, and by every other means endeavoring to persuade them over to their interest. The board therefore entreat your Excellency's particular attention to the subject, and that proper and effectual measures may be applied for bringing to an issue those disputes, a delay of which must prove in a great measure ruinous to this institution.

The Hon^{ble} Mr. Freeman will wait on your Excellency on the subject as Agent for the board relative thereto.

I have the honor to be, in behalf of the trustees of said College, Sir, &c.,

JOHN WHELOCK.

His Excellency JOHN SULLIVAN, Esquire,
President of the State of New Hampshire.

On June 10, 1790, an inquisition was had at Haverhill before Justices Samuel Emerson and Jacob Hurd, and a jury, at the

instance of Nathaniel Hovey, a tenant of part of the College farm (who appears to have returned to his allegiance), against Caleb Stone, an intruder, acting under the earlier grant, for forcible entry and detainer. The trustees at their annual meeting assumed the conduct of the action, and directed other similar proceedings against Joseph Morrill and Col. [Josiah] Stow. The court dockets do not enable us to follow the proceedings, but we know that the course of decision was adverse to the College. The trustees at their next meeting, August, 1791, convinced that further resistance would be fruitless, reserving all defences to actions arising out of the subject, formally and finally relinquished all their claims to the township.

The total direct loss to the College for money expended in improvements within the limits of the township, and for expenses of the endeavors to maintain the title, with other damages, was estimated at not less than \$10,000. There were, besides, incidental losses to the College and to individuals of large amount, which the College was not able to reimburse, upon covenants of warranty in conveyances that failed. Many years elapsed before the litigation growing out of the affair was terminated. Claims were pending certainly as late as 1806. The loss of a township so favorably situated and so well advanced in settlement was a serious blow. The College itself would probably have perished in consequence, had it been located there, as first intended.

The lands covered by the grant of 1789, known as the "First College Grant" (now Clarkesville), were estimated upon the survey at 40,960 acres, but on more accurate examination fell considerably short of that. The pressure of debt under which the College labored induced early application (Dec. 10, 1789) for permission to sell them, which was renewed Dec. 6, 1791, and Feb. 27, 1792,—all before the issue of the patent. On April 12, 1792, within six weeks from the date of the patent, twenty thousand acres, cut from the eastern side of the grant by a line parallel with its eastern boundary, were sold to Major Jasper Murdoch, of Norwich, Vt., at a shilling an acre, realizing £1,000, hard money; and on Feb. 8, 1794, a further strip of ten thousand acres, cut in like manner from the eastern side of the residue, was sold to Samuel Franklin, of New York, for £1,250. The remainder of the grant, comprising about six thousand

acres, much of it meadow-land on the Indian Stream and other headwaters of the Connecticut, and thought to be the best of the whole tract, was lotted, and some of it rented on long leases about 1821. Sales were made from time to time, and the last remnants were disposed of in 1872. These scattered sales realized an aggregate amount approaching \$10,000. The College title is now completely extinguished in the entire tract.

During all the years from 1784, the trustees had been driven wellnigh to distraction by the ever-increasing load of debt arising from the protracted difficulties just described, as well as from the new building and inherited liabilities. No probable means of relief were left untried. Besides those already noted, several unsuccessful appeals were made to the New Hampshire Legislature. In June, 1789, an annuity of £200 was solicited to continue during the embarrassed condition of the College. In 1791 Jonathan Freeman was deputed to ask of the State a loan of \$600 to pay the debts with which the College was all but overwhelmed. In June, 1792, a memorial was presented, reciting the great losses which had been occasioned by the troubles with Landaff and the inadequacy of the first grant, and asking further relief from the General Court. This being laid over to the December session, and again urged by an agent in attendance for the College, a committee was appointed, which recommended an additional grant of land adjoining the former one, so as the whole should amount to sixty thousand acres. The report was accepted, and leave given to bring in a bill. But the bill, as brought in, did not meet with approbation. In June, 1793, the matter was again brought up by Russell Freeman as agent of the trustees, and a new committee, by John Hale, made report,¹ —

“For encouragement and aid to literature in this State, agreeable to the principles of the Constitution, and to aid the Trustees of Dartmouth College in their exertions to promote literature by means of that institution, and in consideration of a deficiency of 4,500 acres of land intended by a former grant made by this State, and that a vote of the General Court, passed Dec^r 20, in the year 1792, hath not been carried into effect, that an Act or resolve be passed granting to the Trustees of Dartmouth College a warrant to locate, etc., 24,500 acres, beginning at the N. E. Corner of the grant

¹ The original report, on file in the State archives, is in the handwriting of Professor Woodward.

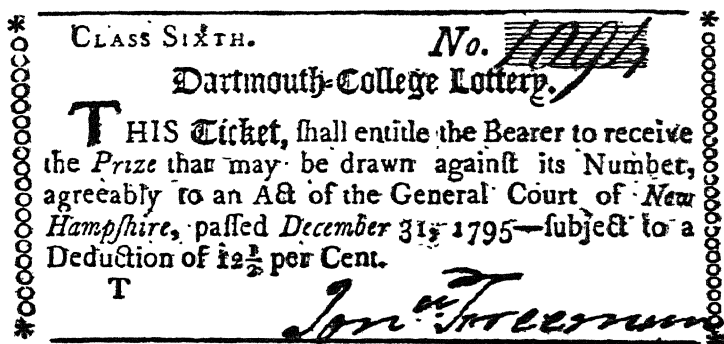
made to them, Feb. 5, 1789, and extending to the easterly line of the State, under the same restrictions as the former grant."

In February, 1794, the matter got so far that a bill, conformable to this report, was brought in for consideration granting the desired tract lying to the northeast of the first grant (comprising the land about the headwaters of the Connecticut, east of what is now Pittsburgh), on condition that the College should pay taxes and cost of survey, and keep such roads as the Court of General Sessions should order. This bill provided that the Governor and Council should be incorporated with the trustees, so far as respected the expenditures under this grant, and any other made by the State. The matter dragged along several years. It came up in 1795 in connection with an exhibit made by Mr. Woodward, as secretary of the trustees, regarding the expenses and relations with Moor's School, and again in 1797. Notwithstanding all this bustle, no grant of lands was secured at that time.

But a measure of relief was obtained in the privilege of a new lottery, granted on application, Dec. 31, 1795, to raise for the use of the College not exceeding \$15,000 over expenses, and to be carried into effect within five years. The trustees were to appoint managers, who should be sworn and give bonds and render annual accounts; and the Governor and Council, for the time being, were incorporated with the trustees so far as related to the application of the proceeds. Jonathan Freeman, of Hanover, Benjamin Conner, of Exeter, and William A. Kent, of Concord, were appointed managers, and gave bonds as such. Seven "classes"¹ were drawn between 1796 and 1800. After

¹ The scheme of the *first class* was issued Feb. 25, 1796, with five thousand tickets at \$4 each and 1,668 prizes, amounting to \$20,000 (the full value of the tickets), payable with a deduction of 12½ per cent. It was drawn at the Assembly rooms in Exeter, June 7 to 16, 1796. The trustees again ordered application to the Massachusetts Legislature for a suspension of the law so as to allow the sale of the tickets in the Commonwealth, and it was in some manner granted. The subsequent classes each consisted of six thousand tickets, amounting (at \$4) to \$24,000, subject to the same deduction as the first class. These were all drawn at Concord. The scheme of the *second class* was dated June 16th, and drawn December 1st to 16th, 1796. There were in this 1,896 prizes. As in the first class, the highest prize was \$3,000, and the lowest \$6. The scheme of the *third class* was dated January 13th, and the drawing began June 13, 1797, with 1,622 prizes. By the request of "adventurers," the grand prize of \$3,000 was in this scheme divided into thirty prizes of \$100 each, and the lowest prize was fixed at \$8, and the highest at \$1,000. The *fourth class* had

the completion of the third, Mr. Conner resigned, and Michael McClary, of Epsom, was appointed in his place. The net proceeds of the whole were nearly \$4,000, and (with the proceeds of the land-grant) afforded the first substantial relief which the College had received since it took its plunge into debt for the new building in 1784.



After the last attendance of Governor Wentworth, in 1773, many years passed before the chief magistrate of the State again took part in the deliberations of the College board. There was evidently much confusion of thought as to the legal relations with the new government. In March, 1784, Governor Wentworth's place was declared vacant, and was filled by the election of Simeon Olcott, of Charlestown. But the wisdom of a more conciliatory attitude was after a while perceived, and in September, 1788, John Langdon, in his official capacity as President of the State, was chosen into the board in the place of Mr. Jaffrey, resigned, but did not present himself. In August, 1789, the degree of LL.D. was conferred on President Sullivan, and it was resolved (and so communicated), as the opinion of the board, "that the President of this State for the time being is, in virtue of the charter, of right a trustee of this College; and it is the desire of this board that he attend our meetings as such."

1,652 prizes on a similar plan, and the drawing extended from February 21 to March 12, 1798. Hitherto the competition of the Harvard College lottery had interfered with the sale of the tickets in Massachusetts; but there being at this time nothing of the sort in progress from that source, eight hundred of the tickets were sold in Boston. The *fifth class*, with 1,617 prizes, — scheme dated June 19th, — began drawing Nov. 22, 1798. The *sixth* was drawn in January, 1800, and the *seventh* in June of the same year.

Notwithstanding President Sullivan's strong friendship for the College, he did not accept the invitation, being prevented probably by the state of his health.

July 1, 1790, President Wheelock congratulated Josiah Bartlett upon his election to the Presidency of the State, and invited him to take the vacant seat in the board. He wrote, —

"From the spirit and intent of our charter, and as conceived of by a vote of the board, you have, as President of the State, a right to act in all matters as a trustee of this institution. We ask the favor of your friendly patronage. The annual meeting of the trustees will be on the fourth Tuesday in August, and it would give us singular pleasure could you find it consistent with your important concerns to honor the board with your presence."

Although the invitation was, like former ones, ignored, the board at their meeting bestowed upon President Bartlett the honorary degree of Master of Arts, of which he was duly notified. They also appointed Messrs. Freeman and Payne to apply to the General Court for leave to send a member on behalf of the College to the constitutional convention at Concord. It is needless to add that the prayer was not granted. In August, 1791, President Bartlett was again invited, and in 1792 (being the first president of the New Hampshire Medical Society, founded in 1791), he was honored with the degree of Doctor in Medicine, — the second degree of that kind ever conferred at Dartmouth. All of these attentions seem to have been received in silence.

This hesitancy to enter the board may have been due to doubts as to whether the position reserved therein by the College charter to the Royal Governor passed by the Revolution as a function of sovereignty to the chief magistrate of the State, or whether the right bestowed on a governor could be properly exercised by a president. It may be, too, that old animosities had an influence, though that can hardly be surmised respecting President Sullivan, from whom the College had received such hearty and valuable aid at the critical point in 1789. Under the constitution of 1792 Dr. Bartlett was retained two years longer as the chief magistrate, with the new style of governor; but the Governor's seat in the College board still stood vacant. It was filled at last in 1794 most happily, after twenty-one years' vacancy, by Gov. John Taylor Gilman, of Exeter, who came to the chair animated by the same friendly spirit that characterized

Governor Wentworth. This he continued to manifest during more than twenty years of intimate connection with the College. The full restoration of official relations of the State to the College was emphasized the next year (1795) by the meeting in Hanover of the Legislature and the inauguration of Governor Gilman in the College Chapel.

The College was now enjoying a period of extraordinary prosperity. Beginning in 1780, when the depressing influences of the war were at their worst, with a total of 30 students, the number rapidly rose to 100 in 1786, and 160 in 1790; then, receding gradually to 116 in 1798, rose again to 174 in 1810. As compared with the other colleges, Dartmouth's prosperity in numbers was greater during the decade from 1790 to 1800 than at any period of its existence, before or since. In 1791 Dartmouth graduated to the degree of A. B. 49, Yale 27, Harvard 27, and Princeton 27. The totals for the ten years give Dartmouth 363, Yale 295, Harvard 394, and Princeton 240. Moor's School, as an academy, shared in the general prosperity.¹ It was also a period of great improvement. In 1794 the custom of fagging came to an end by general consent. The laws were amended by the trustees, upon petition of the incoming Sophomores that Freshmen should be excused, if they desired, from going on errands, on condition of being themselves debarred from exercising like tyranny over succeeding Freshmen. In 1796 the College laws were wholly revised and placed on a manly basis, and the course of study was advanced. The same year it was ordered that the College accounts should henceforth be stated in dollars, instead of in pounds, though the accounts of Moor's School were still kept in pounds as long as President Wheelock controlled them.

¹ The following, from the "Eagle" newspaper of April 7, 1794, gives an idea of the success of the "School" in this sphere of usefulness: —

"On Wednesday, April 2, were exhibited at the College Chapel a pleasing variety of exercises by the members of the Academy under the preceptorship of Mr. McFarland. The procession of the pupils from the Academy to the Chapel, consisting of about *eighty of both sexes*, together with the Preceptor and Assistant, was brilliant and pleasing. The various exercises of the day were happily calculated for the improvement of the pupils and the entertainment of the audience. The tribute of gratitude from the inhabitants of this vicinity is certainly due to Mr. McFarland for his unwearied exertions in cultivating the minds of their youth and informing their manners and morals."

A Department of Medicine was established in 1797, and confirmed in 1798 by the election of Dr. Nathan Smith as "Professor of Medicine." The northwest corner room on the lower floor of Dartmouth Hall was appropriated to his use, and the first course of lectures was begun November 22d. The prosperity of the College was reflected, of course, upon the village. Population and wealth increased, vacant lands were taken up, trade flourished, a new meeting-house was built in 1795, and a bridge over the Connecticut in 1796. These matters will be more appropriately discussed in another place.

But with all this material prosperity the moral tone of the students had sadly deteriorated. Their manners are thus described by one who was a member of Moor's School between 1785 and 1789: —

"The students, at that early day, were many of them very unruly, lawless, and without the fear of God. On a certain night they met according to agreement and prostrated the unsightly hall [the old Commons Hall], of which I have spoken, and they all soon presented to their brethren their names written in a circle. I believe they paid all the building was worth. . . .

"The number of the students at this College at this time (1847) is much larger than it was at that early day, and if they are proportionally headstrong and ungovernable, I should think the Faculty need the wisdom of Solomon, the nerves of Achilles, the patience of Job, and the meekness of Moses to manage them. . . . The stage at that time exhibited scenes wounding to Christian piety, and to which modesty was indignant. In a quarrel on the stage one would stab the other, and he would fall as dead, wallowing in blood from a concealed bladder, which was wittingly punctured by the point of the sword. A student would take the stage, assuming to be a preacher, and with a pious tone would *barbecue* Scripture, with a view to shower contempt upon unlearned ministers. One of these young preachers, in executing his purpose, said that 'Nebuchadnezzar's fundament was het seven times hotter that ever it was before.' Another on declamation day took the stage, dressed in a black gown, a band, and a large gray wig, with a book under his arm, and preached a sermon from the following words: 'Give me children, or else I die.'"¹

Things grew so bad in this respect that the College authorities were obliged in 1791 to enact "that all dramatic exhibitions, either of a comic or a tragic nature, and spirituous liquors or representatives thereof, be wholly excluded from the stage, and that no profane or obscene expression or representation, or

¹ Sketches of the Life and Times of Elder Ariel Kendrick, p. 90.

female habit, be introduced in any exhibition on the stage on penalty of a fine not exceeding five shillings, or admonition.”¹ In 1793 there was a terrific outburst of rowdyism, in hostility to the literary societies, and in 1798 the state of religion was so far reduced that but a single member of the class of 1799 was publicly known as a professing Christian, though to a classmate (a spontaneous inquirer) was disclosed after some delay a private weekly prayer-meeting, to which he was by favor admitted.² So great was the change from 1775 when, as will be remembered, every member of the graduating class was a professor of religion. But the condition at Dartmouth was no worse than at other colleges. A wave of irreligion had for the moment submerged them all. Here a change for the better began with the century. In 1801 a permanent Students' Religious Society was for the first time established, followed in 1808 by the Handel Society, devoted to the elevation of sacred music.

In the autumn of 1799 new anxieties arose in regard to the township of Wheelock. The tenure of lands enjoyed by the inhabitants, under perpetual lease, was calculated to breed discontent, however unreasonable. Besides this, the growing enmity to President Wheelock in the immediate neighborhood of the College, and in the board of trust itself, was doubtless reflected in some degree in Vermont. The interest of the College seems to have stood secure, but the attack was made upon that portion of the grant which vested in the President as sole proprietor of Moor's Charity School.

The matter came to the surface on the 18th of October, 1799, by a petition to the General Assembly at Windsor, signed by Elisha Burton, Israel Smith, Zabrina Curtis, and Elias Stevens (well-known land speculators), alleging the grant of 1785 to Moor's School to be void, because that "School or seminary did not exist at the time of the grant, nor at any time since, nor hath any person whatever right or power to act for it." They prayed for a grant of the same land to themselves and their associates to the number of thirty-two. Upon this a joint special committee was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Daniel Chipman, Williams, and G. Olin, of the Assembly, and Messrs. Chamberlain and Jacob, of the Council. Mr. Chipman, a graduate of

¹ MS. laws, 1791, *Memoirs of Wheelock*, p. 153.

² Professor Long's discourse on the death of Professor Shurtleff.

Dartmouth of 1788, and Mr. Jacob, who had been a member of College under the elder Wheelock, proved staunch friends. President Wheelock, being notified, attended the committee, as did also an attorney specially appointed in behalf of the State. The committee, after examination, reported "by a clear majority," as stated by the chairman, Mr. Jacob (November 2d), "that the facts set up in the petition are not supported," and that the petition be dismissed. The report was not at that time accepted, but the petition being (November 4th) postponed to the next session, was then, Oct. 17, 1800, read and dismissed.

These difficulties gave rise to an open breach in the board of trust. Hon. Nathaniel Niles, who came into the board in 1793, had been a member of the Vermont Assembly in 1785, and of the Council the next year, and was familiar with all the circumstances of the grant. He was now definitely charged in open board with having instigated this attack, and admitted that he had incautiously let fall certain imprudent remarks, "on a sudden emergence without deliberation." Upon this explanation the accusation was dropped; but President Wheelock did not fail to lay the whole trouble at his door, and never forgave him.

There were two points of infirmity in the position of the President. One was the fact that neither Indian nor charity scholar had been supported at the School since the date of the grant; so that it was freely charged that the grant was made to accrue to his personal advantage. The other and more serious difficulty was the lack of legal status. As soon as it was found, in November, 1799, that the favorable report of the majority of the committee was not then acceptable to the Legislature, Messrs. Jacob and Chipman joined in advising the President to procure an Act from the Legislature of New Hampshire fixing the status of the School, with a preamble reciting its history. But the President was very reluctant to take that step, deterred in part, perhaps (besides other reasons), by fears of new complications with the Scotch society.

To the amendment of the other infirmity of his position the President applied himself with diligence, — the greater, perhaps, because he might thereby at the same time hope to open again an avenue to the Scotch fund, now unresponsive to his drafts. A white student was taken on charity, and through his own nephew, Davenport Phelps, then settled in Canada, near the

residence of Joseph Brant, the President re-opened correspondence with the latter, who evinced, as of old, the most friendly attachment to the School, and in October, 1800, sent hither, under convoy of Col. Benjamin Sumner, of Claremont, his sons Jacob and Joseph. These boys remained in the School about a year and a half. Brant was just at that time desirous to return to the United States and to colonize with his Indians a portion of the territory west of Lake Erie. At his solicitation the President exerted what influence he could in his behalf, for a grant of lands, through Jonathan Freeman, then member of Congress, and otherwise, but with no results. In the same year (1800) the President, notwithstanding a lack of approval by the Scotch board, sent Rev. Lyman Potter, of Norwich, in the hope of obtaining pupils from the Cherokees on the Tennessee.¹

The subject of a legislative recognition of the School was more tardily approached. Hoping, doubtless, to avoid application to the Legislature, an attempt was made in 1801 to take shelter under the wing of the College authority by proposing that the board should undertake to audit the President's accounts, in order "to prevent all possible perversions in future ages, so that if possible the funds attached to the School (excepting those in Great Britain) may be rendered more subservient to the charitable objects of the School, . . . as the President, with the *properly modified* approbation of the board, shall from time to time think proper." The trustees assented, and named a committee to arrange details, which in 1802 went into an examination of all the President's School accounts from 1791, and found an old balance of £600 due to him. All the current expenses of keeping up the "academy," including, with other items, building in 1791, salary of the master at £56 a year, and board in the President's family at twelve shillings a week, had been paid out of receipts from the Vermont grant. On recommendation of a like committee in 1805, \$200 a year, in addition to his College salary, were thereafter charged by the President against these Vermont funds for his personal services in relation to the School. This arrangement continued in force with him and his successors until 1865.

¹ It was afterward made an accusation against him that the mission was a mere pretence, in order to pay the expenses of Mr. Potter on a tour of inspection, as he soon after emigrated to that country.

In 1802, a vacancy occurring in the board by the resignation of Rev. Lyman Potter, was filled by the election of Hon. Stephen Jacob, of Windsor, who had rendered such important service in the Vermont Legislature two years before. In 1803 Mr. Jacob was added to the committee on Moor's Charity School, and they were "requested to proceed in the objects of their appointment and make report as soon as may be." They reported in May, 1804, —

"That it will be beneficial to the institution for the Trustees to unite with the President in an application to the Legislature of N. H. to pass an Act so far explaining & extending the Act of Incorporation of said institution as to enable & make it the duty of the Trustees, with the President of said institution for the time being, to superintend and control the management & expenditure of the funds of Moor's School appropriated or hereafter to be appropriated in America to the said School, in any manner consistent with the intention for which such funds are, or may be, appropriated."

This report was signed by Messrs. Freeman, Burroughs, Woodward, Jacob, Peter Olcott, and Thompson; but through the influence of the President, as we suppose, was again postponed, and the following year (1805) considered by a new committee, consisting of the President himself and Messrs. Burroughs, Freeman, and Thompson. Mr. Woodward had been removed by death in August, 1804. This committee reported the form of a law, and the President was requested to apply for its enactment, which he did, in a modified shape in 1806, under the spur of new agitations in Wheelock.

The immediate occasion of complaint was the matter of roads in the township, which, touching the old sore of tax exemption, and falling in with the spirit of hostility still smouldering in various quarters, started the fires afresh. The disaffection in Wheelock, after being under discussion for a year or two, came to a head in the fall of 1806 in a vote of the town (not now on record) to apply for relief to the Legislature. The vote was said to have been obtained through some kind of a trick by a minority of voters, and a large number of the inhabitants united in a protest against it. The complaint was nevertheless presented to the Legislature at Middlebury in October. The burden of it was that by reason of the thinness of settlement and the neglect of the landlords the maintenance of roads was a great hardship to the inhabitants. The prayer was for a *land-tax* to reach non-

resident owners, in order that the inhabitants might thus "enjoy all the immunities and privileges of other incorporated towns," as had been guaranteed in the charter. Upon this a committee reported to the Legislature, October 20th, that the facts were true as stated, but that the prayer ought not to be granted, since the charter conferred an exemption from all public taxes, whereupon a joint committee was raised "to inquire into the validity of the charter." President Wheelock and Mr. Jacob attended with a written statement of facts, which the committee unanimously agreed to admit as true without proof; but they reported, Nov. 6, 1806, "that said School never had any corporate power, that it does not exist as a corporation, and that the said John Wheelock, as President of said School, is not accountable for the rents and profits of said land to any man or body of men."¹

Upon this the General Assembly appointed, November 8th Messrs. Daniel Chipman, Chase, and Spencer "to make and receive proposals for compromising the dispute," and the Council, on the 10th, added Lieut.-Gov. Paul Brigham and Mr. Witherell. A proposition was made by this committee on the same day, —

"That if the Trustees of Dartmouth College will join with the President of Moor's Charity School in a surrender of the charter of the township, the Legislature will grant a new charter of the same to the Trustees of the College, to hold one half to the use of the College, and the other half to the use of the School, the avails of the latter to be appropriated by the trustees to the support of the School, or such part of it as they should judge proper; and if they should at any time find that the School could be supported with a less sum than one half the avails of the lands, they could in their discretion appropriate the surplus to the support of the College. That the lands should be free from all taxes to be laid by the Legislature, and that if necessary, a law should be passed confirming all contracts which had been made in relation to the lands under the present charter."

That this was a very fair, reasonable, and even generous offer will at this day hardly be denied. If accepted, it would forthwith have cleared up every doubt, and conferred important and lasting pecuniary benefit on the College, besides putting at rest some of the irritating causes that contributed at last to the catastrophe of 1815. Twenty-five years later, when the trustees united

¹ Pamphlet published by Messrs. Wheelock and Jacob, 1807; Vt. Gov. and Council, v. 121; Journal Vt. Assembly, May 18, 1807. The committee consisted of Messrs. Chase, Chipman, Moffit, Lyon, and Potter, with Messrs. Keyes and Wheelock, of the Council.

with President Lord in soliciting a similar union of interests, the assent of the Legislature could not be obtained. But in the light of President Wheelock's previous course we are not surprised that the next day, November 11th, the last of the session, he declined to surrender his personal control of the fund, though willing "that a resolution should be made declaring the President of the School for the time being to be the same person as is the President of the College, and that he is accountable to the trustees for the application of the avails of the undivided moiety belonging to the School under said grant." On the same day the Legislature adjourned without day.

Forced now to prepare for the coming storm, the President obtained at last, in June, 1807, from the Legislature of New Hampshire the *quasi* charter which had been urged upon him by Messrs. Jacob and Chipman more than seven years before:

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, A. D. 1807.

An ACT more effectually to define and improve the charitable establishment known by the name of *The President of Moors Charity School*, and the powers and duties of the President thereof, and to constitute a Board to assist in directing the expenditures of the funds of said School.

Whereas a School was a long time since founded by the late Reverend ELEAZER WHEELOCK, S. T. D., who was President or Director thereof, and also President of Dartmouth College, which was formerly and still is known by the name of Moors Charity School, as well as Moors Indian Charity School; and has, since the death of the said Eleazer, been kept up and continued at Hanover, in this State, by the Honorable JOHN WHEELOCK, LL. D., President thereof, and of Dartmouth College, as the successor of said Eleazer, as President of said College and said School. And whereas many and valuable donations and grants have been made of property in America for the benefit of said School, not only to the said Eleazer, but to the said John, the successor of the said Eleazer, in the office of President or Director thereof, considered as being distinct in its objects from Dartmouth College. And whereas it has always been considered that Dartmouth College and Moors Charity School are different branches of the same institution, and that the President of said College ever has been and ever should be President of said School; and as the Trustees of said College have not considered that they had any official right to be concerned in the application of the funds of said School; and as it is the desire of the President, and deemed by the friends of the institution advisable, that the President, in the application of the funds of said School, should act by and with the advice and concurrence of other persons: THEREFORE,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened, That the said JOHN WHEELOCK, President of Dartmouth

College, and his successors in office for the time being, appointed agreeably to the Charter of said College, whether by the last will of the President preceding, or otherwise, shall for ever hereafter be, and hereby is declared to be the President of Moors Charity School, and the board of Trustees of Dartmouth College, for the time being, shall for ever hereafter be and hereby are declared to be the Trustees of said School; and that said School as a Corporation, and as heretofore considered for the purposes aforesaid, may and shall be known and called hereafter by the name of the President of Moors Charity School, and that said President, with the advice and concurrence of said Trustees, may and shall expend the issues and avails of all the funds and property of said School, for the uses intended by the donors: *Provided, nevertheless,* That the funds of said College and School, and their proceeds, shall be distinct and separate, and that nothing herein contained shall be considered as having any concern with the funds in the care of the honorable Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge, or as interfering with their right of inspection, or as affecting any other property belonging to said School, than such as has been or may be hereafter granted in America for the use and benefit of said School.

Approved, June 10, 1807.

This Act served its purpose for the time, but occasioned in after years worse confusion than ever.¹ So troublesome were the doubts as to its meaning that the very next year after its passage the help of the Legislature was sought to resolve some of them, and incidentally to strengthen the President's position, which it did by a second Act.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, A. D. 1808.

An Act in addition to and in explanation of an Act entitled, "An Act more effectually to define and improve the charitable establishment known by the name of The President of Moor's Charity School, and the powers and duties of the President thereof, and to constitute a board to assist in directing the expenditures of the funds of said School."

Whereas, doubts have arisen with respect to the powers in and by said Act entrusted to the Board of Trustees constituted by said Act, and also with respect to the powers retained by the President of Moor's Charity

¹ Jeremiah Smith, when called on in 1818 by President Brown to interpret this Act, replied: "The Act was a creature of the late President, and I have not sufficient confidence in my own powers to venture on a construction of anything from his pen. Like Oliver Cromwell, he did not always intend to express himself clearly; and from some cause which philosophers who have speculated on the connection between the head and heart have sometimes attempted to explain, he was not always clear and direct when his interest happened to lie that way. Originally the School and the College were one. After some time they came to be treated as separate. The Act seems to aim at a closer connection, and in a degree blending; but how far, my means of information does not enable me to determine."

School,—for the removing whereof, and in conformity to the desire of the said President,

Therefore, Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened, that the President of Moor's Charity School, and the trustees of said School, shall each have a negative on the other in the management and disposition of the funds which have been and may hereafter be given to the said School, and in the management of all other concerns of said School, excepting only the funds in Scotland.

And be it further enacted that the Board of Trustees of said School may sit on their own adjournments, and may from time to time be convened by the President, he causing to be left at the place of abode of each member a notification thereof in writing twenty days previous to the time of meeting; and that the Board of Trustees of Dartmouth College may, at any time when in session, resolve themselves into a board of trustees of Moor's Charity School

Approved Dec. 21st, 1808.

On the reassembling of the Vermont Legislature in 1807 at Woodstock, a bill was brought in (October 10) directing a suit to be instituted by Daniel Buck and Dudley Chase "for the purpose of ascertaining the validity of the charter of Wheelock." On the 10th of November the bill passed, and in due course there was sued out of the clerk's office at Danville, Aug. 4, 1808, a *scire facias*, which was entered at the September term, and continued a year for notice.

The writ was exceedingly voluminous, occupying three and a half newspaper columns closely printed. After reciting the facts of the grant, of the early history of the School, and of the foundation of the College, it alleged in substance that the grant was made "upon the consideration and firm belief that the said charity school then had a legal corporate existence," and that the funds accruing to the College should be forever applied according to the design upon which the College was founded; but that in fact, at the time of obtaining the grant and charter of Wheelock, "there was no such School in existence as Moor's Charity School incorporated with the College," but that the School had been merged into the College; and that President Wheelock had ever since the grant taken the rents and profits of one moiety of the township to himself, without account to any one; and besides that, since his accession to the presidency, he had so artfully managed as to fill up the College board of trustees with a majority of his family connections and

friends, and obtain sole control of the whole concerns of the College, and thus to procure the property of the College to be diverted by degrees to his personal advantage, so that the College funds were diminished, education upon charity stopped, and the College become entirely mercenary; and that for more than twenty years "not one Indian youth nor one poor English scholar had been educated in the College upon charity," nor any means used to instruct or civilize the Indians. Revocation of the grant and charter was therefore demanded, as having been obtained by fraud.

Pending the continuance of the suit, President Wheelock appeared once more before the General Assembly at Montpelier, and in conjunction with William H. Woodward, on behalf of the trustees, filed a petition for consent to remove the cause into the Federal Court, "from a consideration of its importance; of the trouble and anxiety attending it; its bearing on public character and personal reputation; the delicate situation of the judges [holding their offices by annual appointment from the Legislature, one of the parties litigant]; and the interest exciting in the State and Legislature." Otherwise (President Wheelock tells us in his "Sketches"), he "entreated the House to become a tribunal themselves, offering to appear at any time for trial before their whole body or their committee." His petition was referred, Oct. 19, 1808, to a committee of six, consisting of Messrs. Morris, Olin, W. Chamberlin, Cameron, and Pratt, with Asa Lyon on the part of the Council. The President met them with voluminous accounts and records, and the New Hampshire Act of 1807; and on Nov. 1st, 1808, the committee reported entirely in his favor,—"that Moor's Charity School, before and ever since the incorporation of Dartmouth College, has been considered as capable of taking, holding, and conveying real property, and doing all the acts and things which might be done by a body corporate;" that the grant to it is valid in law and equity, and ought not to be made void; and that the Act directing suit ought to be repealed. Messrs. Nathaniel Chipman, Rich, and Olin were the same day appointed to bring in a bill, and to them was referred also a further request by President Wheelock for an Act confirming the grant and regulating the appropriation of the rents. The committee reported a confirmatory Act, which passed the House by

126 votes to 55, and became a law on November 5th, as did on the 8th an Act to revoke the order of suit.¹

The importance to the institution of this litigation may be seen from the fact that as late as 1815 this township comprised "at least one half of the permanent funds both of College and School," its annual rents then being about \$1,400, one half of which accrued to the benefit of the College, while all the other rents and income of the College from other permanent sources, including the Phillips fund, very little exceeded \$700. It has continued to furnish an income to the present day, though greatly diminished by successive payments of capital.

While these matters were under discussion, the interests of the College were kept in various other ways before the Legislature of New Hampshire, in the hope of an enlargement of its resources, the temper of the Legislature being now particularly friendly and generous. In November, 1804, a petition was presented by Mr. Thompson, in behalf of the trustees, asking the attention of the Legislature to the financial concerns of the College, "and in order that they may be fully and fairly known, [requesting] that a respectable committee be appointed to visit the College, at the expense of the trustees, and fully investigate its concerns, and report at the next session." Both Houses concurred in the request, and appointed a joint committee to nominate a board of visitation; but the committee appears never to have reported.

But at the session in Portsmouth in June, 1805, the President and Prof. Nathan Smith attended with a memorial, stating—

"That the incessant care and attention of five instructors are employed, and one more is needed, besides the chemical and medical department; and that the whole income of the capital yields but little more than \$1,200 yearly; that though under Divine Providence it has and does greatly prosper in its internal order and the improvement of its members, yet the trustees have to encounter almost insuperable difficulties in obtaining the means which are absolutely necessary for its support; and notwithstanding the compensations are small, furnishing only a scanty maintenance to those who are devoted to its services, yet, struggling with embarrassments, they have been and are obliged to encroach upon the principal, and unless they can obtain

¹ Vt. Assembly Journals, 1807, p. 33; 1808, pp. 28, 96, 97, 101, 126; 1832, pp. 183-192, 196; Vt. Gov. and Council, v. 153, 202, 224, 228. Spooner's Vt. Journal, Oct. 24, 1808, contains a copy of the writ.

assistance, will be reduced to expend the productive capital to support existence, by which the seminary must languish and decline to ruin."

A committee upon examination found and reported that the annual expenses of the College indispensable to its support on the present establishment exceeded the income by \$533.96 (besides \$350 that might be fairly estimated to cover bad debts and cost of insurance), and recommended, as absolutely necessary to preserve the seminary from total destruction, a grant out of the interest of the three per cent stock in the funds of \$900 annually, until revoked by the Legislature. In this the Senate concurred, with the amendment that "the grant shall not extend beyond the present year;" and so it passed. At the same session a handsome appropriation was made to Dr. Smith for the medical department.

In 1806, at the session in Hopkinton, a joint committee of fifteen members from the House, and two from the Senate, raised on the 6th of June to consider a new application from the College, reported, June 10th, in favor of a grant of land, and also for permission to raise by lottery \$1,000 a year for a term of five years. The next day the report came up for action in the House, and being divided, the proposition for a land grant was approved by a vote of 82 to 72, and a further committee was appointed to consider the propriety of granting a sum of money to the College from some other source than a lottery. Still another committee, appointed June 13, to consider the propriety of taxing the banks in the State, and whether the sum so raised shall in whole or in part be appropriated to the use of Dartmouth College, reported, June 17, "that the treasurer assess a tax annually of $\frac{1}{4}$ of one per cent on the actual deposited capital of the banks now or hereafter incorporated, and pay to the trustees of Dartmouth College, out of it, nine hundred dollars annually, to be at all times subject to the control of the Legislature." This report being accepted (83 to 67), a bill was introduced and passed both Houses on the 19th, imposing the tax at $\frac{3}{4}$ of one per cent. It was vetoed by Governor Langdon, on the ground that a tax in that shape upon the banks was "unequal, unreasonable, unjust, and against both the spirit and the letter of the Constitution." Its friends were unable to pass the bill over the veto, though it had 90 votes in favor, to 56 opposed. At their annual meeting in August, the trustees

appointed a committee to consider the expediency of asking the Legislature to enlarge the board by adding certain State officers.

At Hopkinton, in June, 1807, Governor Langdon in his speech commended to the Legislature the encouragement of literature. The committee to whom the speech was referred reported, June 12th, —

“That in their opinion the respectability, the welfare, and the very existence of the State as an independent sovereignty depend on the general prevalence of literature and useful science among the people; and that it is highly impolitic and derogatory to the dignity of the independent republic of New Hampshire to rely on other States for the education of her sons; that unless a seminary of general science and literature is supported in this State, we must necessarily resort to other States (whose policy and views may be essentially adverse to the interests of this State) for the preceptors of our academies and for the instructors of our common schools; that it is the indispensable duty of the Legislature to make further provision at this time for the support and advancement of literature in the State; and that for the promoting this laudable object a grant of the unappropriated lands of the State, amounting at least to a township or a tract of six miles square, be made to *Dartmouth College*; and in order that the just expectations of the State in making it may be fully realized, that the members of the Council, the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Chief Justice of the Superior Court for the time being, or such other officers of this State as the Legislature may deem expedient to appoint, be *ex officio* members of the board of trustees of said College.”

This recommendation was at first rejected by the House (81 to 63); but on coming back (June 16) from the Senate, where it had been accepted, it found acceptance also in the House by a vote of 88 to 60. The Act was passed in due course June 18th.

The Act, after a preamble in which the necessity of the “promotion of knowledge among all classes of people” was declared, enacted “that a tract of land amounting to six miles square be granted to the trustees of said College, to be located within one year from the passing of this Act by the trustees recognized in this bill, with the approbation of the Governor and Council of this State; and the same may be located in one body not interfering with any other grants of land heretofore made by the Legislature or Government of the said State, which said land, amounting to six miles square, shall be to the use of the trustees of said College and their successors, to be held by them forever

without alienation; and the avails and incomes of said land shall be applied wholly and exclusively to assist the education of the youths who shall be indigent, and to alleviate the expenses of the number of families in this State whose necessitous circumstances will render it impossible for them to defray the expenses of an education at said seminary without such assistance."

On the same day that the House rejected the committee's report it gave liberty (by 83 votes to 58) to bring in a bill granting the trustees liberty of a lottery to raise \$10,000; but with the change of purpose regarding the land grant, this plan was abandoned. The land thus granted was located by Jonathan Freeman on the Maine border, next above Wentworth's Location, and is known as the "Second College Grant."

In 1812, President Wheelock, in pursuance of directions given by the board the preceding August, applied again for the privilege of a lottery of \$30,000 to provide a philosophical apparatus and erect a library and repair the College buildings. A committee of twelve reported favorably (June 16), on condition that liberty be got to sell and draw the lottery in Massachusetts.¹ As the petition contained also a general prayer for patronage, upon which the committee asked leave to report at the next session, the whole matter was put over, and did not come up again.

Notwithstanding the generosity of the State, pecuniary resources did not keep pace with growing numbers, and though the times brought many improvements, there was still much to be desired. The requirements of study were advanced, but the corps of instruction was not correspondingly enlarged. The adjustment of 1782 gave three professors. Professor Ripley died in 1787, and from that time till 1803 the whole course of instruction was conducted by the two remaining professors, with the assistance of the President and one tutor, Professor Woodward having the Mathematics, Professor Smith the Languages, and the President History and Metaphysics.

In 1803 a second tutor was added, and in 1804, under circumstances to be hereafter narrated, a third professor, Roswell Shurtleff, in the revised chair of Divinity. Simultaneously with

¹ The trustees had ordered simultaneous application to the General Court of Massachusetts. In 1808 the New Hampshire Legislature had given leave for the sale of the tickets of the Harvard College lottery, but in 1811 had passed a general prohibitory law.

this the College suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Professor Woodward. His successor, a very accomplished man, John Hubbard, appointed in 1804, died in 1810, and was followed by Ebenezer Adams. Professor Smith,¹ the last of the old

¹ Professor Smith was born in Byfield, Mass., Dec. 21, 1752. His father was Joseph Smith, and his mother Elizabeth Sawyer, a sister of Deacon Sawyer, one of the first settlers of Hopkinton, N. H. In 1771 he was a pupil of Samuel Moody, of Dummer Academy, fitting for Yale College. In August of that year Mr. Moody, coming with Governor Wentworth to the Dartmouth Commencement, persuaded young Smith, who had then attained great proficiency in the languages, to go with them and remain at Dartmouth. He entered the Junior class, and was graduated in 1773. During his first year he mastered the Hebrew and Chaldee languages so far as to begin the preparation of grammars of both. That of the Hebrew was sent by Wheelock to the trust in England for publication. Failing in that, it was published here in 1803. The Chaldee grammar never was printed. He published a "New Hampshire Latin Grammar" in 1802, which went through three editions and was furnished without charge to the College, and a Greek grammar in 1809. Smith was so proficient in Hebrew that he read through the Hebrew bible, and most of it twice, during his Junior year. After graduation he studied divinity with President Wheelock, and served as tutor in the College. In 1777, the College being very near breaking up through fear of the Indians, Smith preached at West Hartford, Conn., and had a call to settle there, but returned to Hanover in November on the urgent request of Wheelock as professor of the learned languages, being the first "professor" ever appointed in the College. Until he married, he lived in Wheelock's family. He served as Wheelock's amanuensis, wrote his will, was present at his death, and revered him as a father. Feb. 8, 1781, Professor Smith married Mary, daughter of Wheelock's old friend Rev. Ebenezer Cleaveland, of Gloucester, Mass. She died April 3, 1784, leaving two daughters, one of them only two months old. The elder afterward became the wife of Dr. Cyrus Perkins, and the younger of John Bryant, of Boston. Professor Smith married for a second wife Susan, daughter of Col. David Mason, of Boston, Jan. 13, 1785, by whom he had six children. This lady came to Hanover as a bride on horseback, by a blazed bridle-path through the forest from the Merrimac valley, and in the course of her early married life made the same journey five times in a similar manner. She was a most estimable woman, and highly esteemed at Hanover, where she continued to reside till her death, Dec. 19, 1845, at the age of 83. She left a manuscript memoir of her husband, written two years before her death. Professor Smith was College librarian from 1779 to 1809, and with the help of his wife kept the "Hanover Bookstore" in a room of his house, which stood where the Episcopal church now is. After his death Mrs. Smith continued the business three or four years. Professor Smith suffered for several years from a cough, which eventually developed into consumption. In his youth he was pale and slender, but in later years came to be the stoutest person in the village, weighing over two hundred pounds.

Dr. Shurtleff gives the following account of Professor Smith: "He was rather above the middling stature, straight, and well proportioned. His head was well formed, though blanched and bald somewhat in advance of his years. His face, as to its lineaments, was regular and comely. His eyes were of light blue, and tolerably clear.

"As a linguist he was minutely accurate, though I used to doubt whether he was familiar with the classic writers much beyond the field of his daily instructions. . . .

régime, died in 1809, and was succeeded in 1811 (Rev. Francis Brown having declined the offer of the chair) by Rev. Zephaniah Swift Moore. During the interval of two years the department of Languages was conducted by Professor Adams part of the time, in addition to his other duties as Professor of Mathematics.

In these he was perfect to a proverb. The student never thought of appealing from his decision.

"In disposition he was very kind and obliging, and remarkably tender of the feelings of his pupils,—a civility which was always duly returned. In religious sentiment he was unexceptionably Orthodox, though fearful of Hopkinsianism, which made some noise in the country at that period. His voice was full and clear, and his articulation very distinct. His sermons were written out with great accuracy, but lacked pungency of application; on the whole, he could hardly be considered a popular preacher.

"He was constitutionally nervous and timid.* He could not well take a joke, and still less could he retort one. When a little disconcerted, he at once lost his balance, and could only receive with meekness what should come next. Having a recitation of the class of 1802 in Watts' Logic, on the doctrine of identity notwithstanding renewal of parts, one of the class, Fisk, held up his jack-knife and asked, 'If I lose this blade and get a new one, is it the same knife?' 'Yes.' 'If I next lose the handle and get a new one, is it still the same?' 'As a *knife* it is still the same.' 'Well, then, my chum finds the old blade and handle and puts them together,—what knife is *that*?' which silenced the professor."†

The following anecdote would indicate in Professor Smith a greater readiness of retort than Dr. Shurtleff gives him credit for. One day in recitation before Professor Smith a student used a word which he pronounced "quolity." The professor corrected him, and said it should be pronounced "quality." The student replied that Professor Woodward pronounced it "quolity." "That," said Professor Smith, "does not belong to his department."

"Professor Smith," says Samuel Swift, in the "Dartmouth" for 1872, p. 400, "was an amiable man, but of formal manners, a critical book scholar, but an artificial teacher. He preached with little animation or force in his composition or delivery."

Of Professor Woodward, Dr. Swift says: "He was in everything the reverse of President Wheelock and Professor Smith. There was nothing scholastic about his appearance or manners. He was of plain and informal manners, and mingled in society as other men who had no connection with the College. He was more popular with the students as a man than either of the others." His was by all odds the best-balanced and rounded character in the first Faculty. His long and varied experience in public and private life as statesman, judge, and legislator, as well as teacher, preacher, and treasurer, and his uniform prudence and ability in every capacity, gave him a standing, influence, and popularity at home and abroad superior in every way to that of either of the Wheelocks themselves. He died August 25, 1804.

* Illustrated by the anecdote about the bears, *ante*, p. 230.

† Sprague's *Annals of the Am. Pulpit*, ii. 91. The anecdote is told also by Dr. Chapman in his "Alumni of Dartmouth College," p. 107, but wrongly ascribed to Professor Woodward, whose keen wits would hardly have left him thus at the mercy of the student.

The finances, so sadly involved at the death of Wheelock in 1779, were kept for many years in a state bordering on bankruptcy by the cost of the new building. In 1789, without reckoning the overdue salary of the President, the College was in debt £500 for current charges, and above £2,300 on account of the building. These debts were gradually, though only partially, lifted by the growth of tuition bills, consequent upon the increase in the number of students, by the successful lottery, by the sale of lands, and by the letting of long leases. But the College was never free from debt. The salaries of the professors, small at the best, were always in arrears, and that of the President accumulated till it reached a debt of a very large amount. In 1799 the building debt was paid, but dues to the officials amounted to almost \$3,000.

Dr. Wheelock acted himself as treasurer as long as he lived, and as he rendered no connected accounts, matters on his death, in 1779, were in great confusion. Accounts in his behalf were then stated, so far as possible, by a committee appointed by the board. Colonel Payne was then chosen treasurer, but after a few months' service gave way to Professor Woodward. The second Wheelock, however, retained a sort of concurrent authority and exclusive control of the lands, in the capacity of "financier." Notwithstanding an almost immediate lapse of the finances into new confusion, in consequence of this dual organization, it was kept up till 1808, when, on the death of Jonathan Freeman, who had succeeded Wheelock as financier in 1804, it was abolished.

Leaving out of view the foreign funds, the original endowment of the College was entirely in lands. The whole amount pledged in advance of its location was about forty-four thousand acres. Of this amount twenty-four thousand acres were lost in Landaff, and of the balance some three thousand more by failure of subscribers. Out of it all, therefore, there remained available not more than seventeen thousand acres, of which about eleven thousand lay in New Hampshire, and about six thousand in Vermont. These lands were widely scattered in many towns, many of them in undivided "rights," and some already clouded with tax-sales or conflicting titles. At no time during the lifetime of the first Wheelock were any of them, except those in the immediate neighborhood of the College,

available for any useful purpose. Some proved eventually valueless from poverty of soil or inaccessible location, and many were lost by subsequent forfeiture and by inability to pay the charges upon them. Many were sacrificed in the struggle with the building of Dartmouth Hall. In 1780 four thousand acres were added to the endowment by Dr. John Phillips, but some of these were likewise lost by imperfect title. So great was the confusion resulting from divided authority and the imperfect methods of administration and accounting, that it is impossible to determine precisely how much was realized from the land-sales of this period. The treasurer, from 1779, rendered annual accounts of cash, and so after a time did the financier, but no account of lands bartered away in payment of debts and current obligations.

About 1785 some of the best-located lands began to be in demand for rent, and were gradually leased for terms of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, at small annual rents, payable, many of them, in wheat or corn. These rents aggregated in 1806 about \$600 a year. From 1798 the College moiety of Wheelock began to yield an equal amount from similar leases.

In 1806 an account of stock was taken by a "comptroller," specially appointed by the board of trust. As nearly as can be ascertained, upward of \$13,500 had been realized from the sale of lands, of which about a half was derived from the land given by the State in 1789. There remained from the State grant about six thousand acres, mostly very well situated; some twelve hundred acres of poor, rough land in Wheelock, not leased; and a little over eight thousand acres of the earlier gifts, of which twenty-seven hundred were under lease and productive. Twenty-five hundred acres were reported as mostly very poor land and of little value, and upon the remainder (twenty-eight hundred acres) the title was in dispute and desperate. The whole of these unleased lands, aggregating over eleven thousand acres, were estimated as worth, in 1806, \$9,500. The capital of the leases was worth \$20,000 more. This, besides the buildings, apparatus, and library, comprised the entire property of the College. It was still indebted about \$3,000, the most of it to President Wheelock for arrears of salary. The land grant of 1807, known as the "Second College Grant," was divided for leases by the trustees in 1828, and began to yield a small income in 1830.

The receipts from students were very small from 1779 to 1782, averaging hardly £80 (\$266) a year. In 1783 they increased to £364 (\$1,213), and from that time rapidly until they reached £620 (\$2,070) in 1789, and about \$2,900 in 1806. The charge for tuition in 1780 was 20s. a quarter, in 1800 \$4, and twenty-five cents for "incidentals," and in 1807 it was \$5 a quarter.

The annual expenses in 1806 were about \$4,300, and the income estimated at a little over \$4,500, of which about \$1,200 were derived from rents, and the balance from charges against students. Owing to the system of credit, a large part of the charges against students was necessarily lost. The College would by this appear to have been self-supporting; but the showing was deceptive, since there was a large and constantly increasing mass of uncollected and uncollectible assets, and with the help of College commons, re-established in 1805, the debt still increased until, in November, 1814, it amounted to about \$7,500, of which nearly \$6,000 were due to President Wheelock for money borrowed and for acknowledged arrears of his salary. There were nominal personal assets of \$11,000, consisting largely of disputed claims, and there was in that year the same delusive statement of estimated income of \$5,140, and expenses of \$4,850.

After the Wheelock lands began to be productive, the property of the "academy," or Moor's School, was in no wise dependent upon the whims of the Scotch society. Though we have no catalogue of its students or a record of its course of study, yet we know something of it incidentally. It had thirty scholars in 1780, eighty in 1794, forty-four in the fall of 1813, and sixty-one in the summer of 1814. Of these sixty-one about seventeen were charity scholars, carried upon the Moor's School share of the Wheelock rents, and one was an Indian on the Scotch fund. The tuition charged to paying pupils was two dollars a quarter, and was given to the preceptor. In August, 1810, at the annual examination of the School by a committee of six, thirty scholars were examined in various classes. The lowest class, in which was an Indian named Ignatius, was examined in reading and spelling only; the next in the same, with the addition of English grammar; a third in English grammar and arithmetic; a fourth in Vergil; and a fifth, containing an

Indian, Noel Annance, in Cicero's orations and the Greek Testament. The scholars at this time were nearly all boys of the village.

The academy building was for some years after its erection devoted in part to other uses. From 1794 till 1801 the second story was occupied as a printing-office. The school-room, designed to accommodate one hundred pupils, was on the lower floor. In August, 1801, the printing-office was removed, and in 1804 the position of the building was slightly changed, and it was thoroughly repaired. The upper room was sometimes devoted to a private school. The Brant boys, who came in 1800, returned home finally, — Jacob in April, and Joseph in August, 1802, — leaving the School destitute of Indians. In October of that year the preceptor of the School, Mr. F. A. Merrill, visited Dr. Wheelock's old friends and pupils, the sachems Annance and Gill, of the St. Francis tribe, and in that month and the next March they sent four of their sons and nephews, boys of nine to twelve years of age, who remained at the School six or seven years. With the Indians in general, the influence of the priests was still strong enough to prevent their sending their children to the School. But recruits were obtained from time to time. In February, 1807, Wheelock's old Huron pupil of 1771, Sebastian, brought his two sons to the School, and in November of the same year aid was given to Eleazar Williams,¹ a half-breed from Caghnawaga, to fit himself for the ministry. From 1803 to 1810 there were generally three or four Indians at the School. That they were not always desirable members of the School is shown by the record that Paul J. Gill was dismissed "as wholly bent on vice." In May, 1810, the numbers being reduced to two, Rev. Elijah F. Willey was sent as a missionary to St. Francis and Caghnawaga, and returned in November, bringing a Caghnawaga boy, named Louis, aged seventeen, reaching Hanover after a journey of nine days. In October, 1812, the other two boys returned to Canada, leaving Louis as the only representative of the Indians. He remained till 1814, when he was "versed in reading, writing, arithmetic, plane geometry, geography, Latin grammar, and the principles of religion." In the same year Mr. Willey went to

¹ He was a great-grandson of Rev. John Williams, of Deerfield. See note, p. 311.

the St. Regis tribe, but was unable to get any recruits because of the war. In January, 1815, an Indian came by way of Saratoga, and in the spring Mr. Willey went to the Senecas, and brought back in June two boys, aged fifteen and sixteen, and Simon Annance came of his own accord from St. Francis. From that time to the present, Indians have occasionally been numbered among the students of the College.

The course of events which culminated in the great controversy of 1815-19 makes it necessary to turn back, at this point, to the religious establishment which during a series of years absorbed to a great extent the attention of the College authorities. These events, however, together with many topics of much interest at this period, must necessarily be left for special treatment to the second volume.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

CHARTER OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

GEORGE the THIRD by the grace of GOD of Great-Britain France and Ireland KING Defender of the Faith and so forth.

To all to whom these Presents shall come. GREETING.

WHEREAS it hath been represented to our trusty and well-beloved JOHN WENTWORTH Esq Governor and Commander in Chief in and over our province of New Hampshire in New England in America, that the Reverend ELEAZER WHEELOCK of Lebanon in the colony of Connecticut in New England aforesaid, now Doctor in divinity, did on or about the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty four at his own expence, on his own estate and plantation set on foot an INDIAN CHARITY SCHOOL and for several years through the assistance of well disposed persons in America, cloathed, maintained and educated a number of the Children of the Indian Natives with a view to their carrying the Gospel in their own Language and spreading the Knowledge of the great REDEEMER among their Savage Tribes, and hath actually employ'd a number of them as Missionaries and School Masters in the Wilderness for that purpose : And by the blessing of GOD upon the endeavours of said WHEELOCK the design became reputable among the Indians insomuch that a larger number desired the Education of their Children in said SCHOOL, and were also disposed to receive Missionaries and School Masters in the Wilderness more than could be supported by the charitable Contributions in these American colonies. WHEREUPON the said ELEAZAR WHEELOCK thought it expedient that endeavours should be used to raise Contributions from well disposed Persons in England for the carrying on and extending said undertaking,

And for that purpose said ELEAZAR WHEELOCK requested the Rev NATHANIEL WHITAKER now Doctor in Divinity to go over to England for that purpose, and sent over with him the Rev. SAMSON OCCOM an Indian Minister who had been educated by the said WHEELOCK, and to enable the said WHITAKER to the more successful performance of said Work on which he was sent, said WHEELOCK gave him a full Power of Attorney by which said WHITAKER solicited those worthy and generous Contributors to the Charity viz. The Right Honorable WILLIAM Earl of DARTMOUTH, the Honorable Sir SIDNEY STAFFORD SMYTHE Knight, one of the Barons of his Majestys Court of Exchequer, JOHN THORNTON of Clapham in the County of Surrey Esquire, SAMUEL ROFFEY of Lincoln's inn-fields, in the County of Middlesex Esquires, CHARLES HARDY of the parish of Saint Mary-le-bonne in said County Esquire, DANIEL WEST of Christ's Church Spitalfields in the County aforesaid Esq're, SAMUEL SAVAGE of the same place Gentleman, JOSIAH ROBERTS of the Parish of Saint Edmund the King Lombard Street London Gentleman, and ROBERT KEEN of the Parish of Saint Batolph Aldgate London, Gentleman, to receive the several Sums of Money which should be contributed, and to be TRUSTEES for the Contributors to such Charity, which they cheerfully agreed to — WHEREUPON the said WHITAKER did by virtue of said Power of Attorney constitute and appoint the said Earl of DARTMOUTH, Sir SIDNEY SAFFORD SMYTH, JOHN THORNTON, SAMUEL ROFFEY, CHARLES HARDEY and DANIEL WEST Esquires, and SAMUEL SAVAGE JOSIAH ROBERTS and ROBERT KEEN Gentlemen to be TRUSTEES of the Money which had then been contributed, and which should by his means be contributed for said Purpose ; which Trust they have accepted as by their engrossed Declarations of the same under their Hands and Seals well executed fully appears, and the same has also been ratified by a deed of Trust well executed by the said WHEELOCK, — AND the said WHEELOCK further represents that he has by power of Attorney for many weighty reasons, given full power to the said TRUSTEES to fix upon and determine the place for said SCHOOL most subservient to the great end in view ; and to enable them understandingly to give the preference, the said WHEELOCK has laid before the said TRUSTEES the several Offers which have been generously made in the several Governments in America to encourage and invite the settlement of said SCHOOL among them for their own private emolument and the increase of Learning in their respective places as well as for the furtherance of the general design in view. And whereas a large number of the Proprietors of Lands in the western part of this our Province of New Hampshire, animated and excited thereto by the generous example of his Excellency their Governor and by the

liberal Contributions of many Noblemen and Gentlemen in England; and especially by the consideration that such a situation would be as convenient as any for carrying on the great design among the Indians; and also considering that without the least impediment to the said design the same School may be enlarged and improved to promote Learning among the English, and be a means to supply a great number of Churches and Congregations which are likely soon to be formed in that new Country with a learned and orthodox Ministry; they the said Proprietors have promised large Tracts of Land for the uses aforesaid, provided the School shall be settled in the western part of our said Province. And they the said Right Honorable, Honorable and worthy TRUSTEES before mentioned having maturely consider'd the reasons and arguments in favor of the several Places proposed, have given the preference to the western part of our said Province lying on Connecticut River, as a situation most convenient for said School; and the said WHEELOCK has further represented a necessity of a legal Incorporation in order to the safety and well being of said Seminary, and its being capable of the tenure and disposal of Lands and bequests for the use of the same. And the said WHEELOCK has also represented that for many weighty reasons it will be expedient at least in the infancy of said Institution or till it can be accommodated in that new Country and he and his Friends be able to remove and settle by and round about it, that the Gentlemen whom he has already nominated in his last Will (which he has transmitted to the aforesaid Gentlemen of the Trust in England) to be TRUSTEES in America should be of the Corporation now proposed and also as there are already large Collections for said School in the hands of the aforesaid Gentlemen of the Trust in England and all reason to believe from their singular wisdom, piety and Zeal to promote the REDEEMER's cause (which has already procured for them the utmost confidence of the Kingdom) we may expect they will appoint Successors in time to come who will be men of the same Spirit whereby great good may and will accrue many ways to the institution and much be done by their example and influence to encourage and facilitate the whole design in view: for which reason said WHEELOCK desires that the TRUSTEES aforesaid may be vested with all that power therein which can consist with their distance from the same. — KNOW YE THEREFORE, THAT WE considering the premises and being willing to encourage the laudable and charitable design of spreading Christian Knowledge among the Savages of our American Wilderness and also that the best means of Education be established in our Province of New Hampshire for the benefit of said province, DO of our special grace certain Knowledge and mere motion by and with the advice of our Council for said Province by these Presents will, ordain, grant and constitute that there be a College

erected in our said Province of New Hampshire by the name of DARTMOUTH COLLEGE for the education and instruction of Youth of the Indian Tribes in this Land in reading, writing and all parts of Learning which shall appear necessary and expedient for civilizing and christianizing Children of Pagans as well as in all liberal Arts and Sciences ; and also of English Youth and any others, And the TRUSTEES of said COLLEGE may and shall be one body corporate and politick in deed action and name, and shall be called, named and distinguished by the Name of the TRUSTEES OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE. AND further we have willed given granted constituted and ordained and by this our present Charter of our special grace certain Knowledge and mere motion with the advice aforesaid DO for US our Heirs and Successors forever will give grant constitute and ordain that there shall be in the said Dartmouth College from henceforth and forever a body politick consisting of TRUSTEES OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE And for the more full and perfect erection of said Corporation and body politic consisting of TRUSTEES OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE WE of our special grace certain knowledge and mere motion DO by these presents for us our Heirs and Successors make ordain constitute and appoint our trusty and well beloved JOHN WENTWORTH Esquire Governor of our said Province and the Governor of our said Province of New Hampshire for the time being and our Trusty and well beloved THEODORE ATKINSON Esquire now President of our Council of our said Province GEORGE JAFFREY and DANIEL PEIRCE Esquires both of our said Council and PETER GILMAN Esquire now Speaker of our House of Representatives in said Province and WILLIAM PITKIN Esquire one of the Assistants of our Colony of Connecticut and our said trusty and well beloved ELEAZAR WHEELOCK of Lebanon Doctor in Divinity, BENJAMIN POMROY of Hebron JAMES LOCKWOOD of Weathersfield TIMOTHY PITKIN and JOHN SMALLEY of Farmington and WILLIAM PATTEN of Hartford all of our said Colony of Connecticut Ministers of the Gospel, (the whole number of said TRUSTEES consisting and hereafter forever to consist of twelve and no more) to be TRUSTEES of said DARTMOUTH COLLEGE in this our Province of New-Hampshire And WE do further of our special grace certain Knowledge and mere motion for US our Heirs and Successors will give grant and appoint that the said TRUSTEES and their Successors shall forever hereafter be in deed act and name a body corporate and politic and that they the said body corporate and politic shall be known and distinguished in all deeds grants bargains sales writings evidences or otherwise howsoever and in all courts forever hereafter plead and be impleaded by the name of THE TRUSTEES OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE and that the said Corporation by the name aforesaid shall be able and in

law capable for the use of said DARTMOUTH COLLEGE to have get acquire purchase receive hold possess and enjoy tenements hereditaments jurisdictions and franchises for themselves and their successors in fee simple or otherwise howsoever and to purchase receive or build any house or houses or any other buildings as they shall think needful and convenient for the use of said DARTMOUTH COLLEGE and in such town in the western part of our said Province of New-Hampshire as shall by said TRUSTEES or the major part of them be agreed on their said agreement to be evidenced by an instrument in writing under their hands ascertaining the same And also to receive and dispose of any Lands goods chattles and other things of what nature soever for the use aforesaid And also to have accept and receive any rents profits annuities gifts legacies donations or bequests of any kind whatsoever for the use aforesaid so nevertheless that the yearly value of the premises do not exceed the sum of six thousand pounds Sterling and therewith or otherwise to support and pay as the said TRUSTEES or the major part of such of them as are regularly convened for that purpose shall agree the President Tutors and other Officers and Ministers of said DARTMOUTH COLLEGE and also to pay all such Missionaries and School masters as shall be authorized appointed and employed by them for civilizing and christianizing and instructing the Indian Natives in this Land their several allowances and also their respective annual Salaries or allowances and all such necessary and contingent charges as from time to time shall arise and accrue relating to the said DARTMOUTH COLLEGE And also to bargain sell let or assign lands tenements or hereditaments goods or chattels and all other things whatsoever by the name aforesaid in as full and ample a manner to all intents and purposes as a natural person or other body politic or corporate is able to do by the laws of our realm of Great Britain or of said Province of New Hampshire And further of our special grace certain knowledge and mere motion to the intent that our said Corporation and body politic may answer the end of their erection and Constitution and may have perpetual succession and continuance forever WE DO for US our Heirs and Successors will give and grant unto the said TRUSTEES OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE and to their Successors forever that there shall be once a year and every Year a meeting of said TRUSTEES held at said DARTMOUTH COLLEGE at such time as by said Trustees or the major part of them at any legal meeting of said Trustees shall be agreed on the first meeting to be called by the said ELEAZAR WHEELOCK as soon as conveniently may be within one year next after the enrollment of these our Letters Patent at such time and place as he shall judge proper And the said Trustees or the major part of any seven or more of them shall then determine on the time for holding the annual Meeting aforesaid which may be alter'd as

they shall hereafter find most convenient And WE do further order and direct that the said ELEAZAR WHEELOCK shall notify the time for holding said first meeting to be called as aforesaid by sending a letter to each of said Trustees and causing an advertisement thereof to be printed in the New Hampshire Gazette and in some public News Paper printed in the Colony of Connecticut But in case of the Death or incapacity of the said WHEELOCK then such meeting to be notified in manner as aforesaid by the Governor or Commander in Chief of our said Province for the time being AND WE do also for US our Heirs and successors hereby will give and grant unto the said Trustees of Dartmouth College aforesaid and to their successors forever that when any seven or more of the said Trustees or their Successors are convened and met together for the service of said Dartmouth College at any time or times such seven or more shall be capable to act as fully and amply to all intents and purposes as if all the Trustees of said College were personally present — and all affairs and actions whatsoever under the care of the said Trustees shall be determined by the majority or greater number of those seven or more Trustees so convened and met together AND WE do further will ordain and direct that the President Trustees Professors and Tutors and all such Officers as shall be appointed for the public instruction and government of said College shall before they undertake the execution of their respective Offices or Trusts or within one year after take the oaths and subscribe the declaration provided by an act of Parliament made in the first year of King George the first entitled “An act for the further security of his Majesty’s Person and Government and the succession of the Crown in the heirs of the late princess Sophia being Protestants and for the extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales and his open and secret Abettors” that is to say the President, before the Governor of our said Province for the time being or by one by him empowered to that service or by the President of our said Council and the Trustees Professors Tutors and other Officers before the President of said College for the time being who is hereby impower’d to administer the same an entry of all which shall be made in the Records of said College AND WE DO for US our Heirs and Successors hereby will give and grant full Power and Authority to the President hereafter by US named and to his Successors or in case of his failure to any three or more of the said Trustees to appoint other occasional meetings from time to time of the said seven Trustees or any greater number of them to transact any matter or thing necessary to be done before the next annual meeting and to order notice to the said seven or any greater number of them of the times and places of meeting for the service aforesaid by a letter under his or their hands of the same one month before said meeting Provided always that no standing Rule or order be made or altered for

the regulation of said College or any President or Professor be chosen or displaced nor any other matter or thing transacted or done which shall continue in force after the then next annual meeting of said Trustees as aforesaid AND further WE do by these presents for US our Heirs and Successors create make constitute nominate and appoint our Trusty and well beloved ELEAZAR WHEELOCK Doctor in Divinity the Founder of said College to be President of said Dartmouth College and to have the immediate care of the Education and government of such Students as shall be admitted into said Dartmouth College for instruction and education and do will give and grant to him in said office full power authority and right to nominate appoint constitute and ordain by his last will such suitable and meet person or persons as he shall chuse to succeed him in the Presidency of said Dartmouth College and the person so appointed by his last Will to continue in Office vested with all the powers privileges Jurisdiction and authority of a President of said Dartmouth College that it is to say so long and until such appointment by said last Will shall be disapproved by the Trustees of said Dartmouth College AND WE do also for us our heirs and Successors will give and grant to the said Trustees of Dartmouth College and to their Successors for ever or any seven or more of them convened as aforesaid that in case of the ceasing or failure of a President by any means whatsoever that the said Trustees do elect nominate and appoint such qualified person as they or the major part of any seven or more of them convened for that purpose as above directed shall think fit to be President of said Dartmouth College and to have the care of the education and government of the Students as aforesaid and in case of the ceasing of a President as aforesaid the Senior Professor or Tutor being one of the Trustees shall exercise the office of a President until the Trustees shall make choice of and appoint a President as aforesaid and such Professor or Tutor or any three or more of the Trustees shall immediately appoint a meeting of the body of the Trustees for the purpose aforesaid And also WE do will give and grant to the said Trustees convened as aforesaid that they elect nominate and appoint so many Tutors and Professors to assist the President in the Education and government of the Students belonging thereto as they the said Trustees shall from time to time and at any time think needful and serviceable to the interests of said Dartmouth College And also that the said Trustees or their Successors or the major part of any seven or more of them convened for that purpose as above directed shall at any time displace and discharge from the service of said Dartmouth College any or all such officers and elect others in their room and stead as before directed And also that the said Trustees or their Successors or the major part of any seven of them which shall convene for that purpose as above directed do from time to time as occasion shall require elect constitute

and appoint a Treasurer a Clerk an Usher and a Steward for the said Dartmouth College and appoint to them and each of them their respective businesses and trust and displace and discharge from the service of said College such Treasurer Clerk Usher or Steward and to elect others in their room and stead which officers so elected as before directed WE do for US our heirs and successors by these Presents constitute and establish in their respective Offices and do give to each and every of them full power and Authority to exercise the same in said Dartmouth College according to the directions and during the pleasure of the said Trustees as fully and freely as any like Officers in any of our Universities Colleges or Seminaries of Learning in our Realm of Great Britain lawfully may or ought to do, And also that the said Trustees or their successors or the major part of any seven or more of them which shall convene for that purpose as is above directed as often as one or more of said Trustees shall die or by removal or otherwise shall according to their judgment become unfit or incapable to serve the interests of said College do as soon as may be after the Death removal or such unfitness or incapacity of such Trustee or Trustees elect and appoint such Trustee or Trustees as shall supply the place of him or them so dying or becoming incapable to serve the interests of said College and every Trustee so elected and appointed shall by virtue of these Presents and such election and appointment be vested with all the Powers and privileges which any of the other Trustees of said College are hereby vested with And WE do further will ordain and direct that from and after the expiration of Two years from the enrollment of these Presents such vacancy or vacancies as may or shall happen by death or otherwise in the aforesaid number of Trustees shall be filled up by election as aforesaid so that when such vacancy or vacancies shall be filled up unto the complete number of Twelve Trustees eight of the aforesaid whole number of the body of Trustees shall be resident and respectable Freeholders of our said Province of New-Hampshire and seven of said whole number shall be Laymen AND WE do further of our special grace certain knowledge and mere motion will give and grant unto the said Trustees of Dartmouth College that they and their Successors or the major part of any seven of them which shall convene for that purpose as is above directed may make and they are hereby fully empowered from time to time fully and lawfully to make and establish such Ordinances Orders and Laws as may tend to the good and wholesome government of the said College and all the Students and the several Officers and Ministers thereof and to the public benefit of the same not repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of our Realm of Great Britain or of this our Province of New-Hampshire and not excluding any Person of any religious denomination whatsoever from free and equal liberty and advantage of Education or from any of the liberties and privileges or

immunities of the said College on account of his or their speculative sentiments in Religion and of his or their being of a religious profession different from the said Trustees of the said Dartmouth College And such Ordinances orders and Laws which shall as aforesaid be made WE do by these presents for Us our Heirs and Successors ratify allow of and confirm as good and effectual to oblige and bind all the Students and the several Officers and Ministers of said College And WE do hereby authorise and empower the said Trustees of Dartmouth College and the President Tutors and Professors by them elected and appointed as aforesaid to put such ordinances laws and orders in execution to all proper intents and purposes AND WE do further of our special grace certain Knowledge and mere motion Will give and grant unto the said Trustees of said Dartmouth College for the encouragement of Learning and animating the Students of said College to diligence and industry and a laudable progress in Literature that they and their Successors or the major part of any seven or more of them convened for that purpose as above directed do by the President of said College for the time being or any other deputed by them give and grant any such degree or degrees to any of the Students of the said College or any others by them thought worthy thereof as are usually granted in either of the Universities or any other College in our Realm of Great Britain and that they sign and seal Diplomas or certificates of such Graduations to be kept by the Graduates as perpetual memorials and testimonials thereof AND WE do further of our special grace certain knowledge and mere motion for Us our Heirs and Successors by these Presents give and grant unto the Trustees of said Dartmouth College and to their Successors that they and their Successors shall have a common Seal under which they may pass all Diplomas or Certificates of degrees and all other affairs and business of and concerning the said College which shall be ingraven in such a form and with such an inscription as shall be devised by the said Trustees for the time being or by the major part of any seven or more of them convened for the service of the said College as is above directed AND WE do further for Us our Heirs and Successors give and grant unto the said Trustees of the said Dartmouth College and their Successors or to the major part of any seven or more of them convened for the service of the said College full power and authority from time to time to nominate and appoint all other Officers and Ministers which they shall think convenient and necessary for the service of the said College not herein particularly named or mentioned which officers and Ministers we do hereby empower to execute their Offices and Trusts as fully and freely as any of the officers and ministers in our Universities or Colleges in our Realm of Great Britain lawfully may or ought to do AND further that the generous Contributors to the support of this design of spreading the knowledge of the only true GOD and SAVIOUR among the American Savages may from time to

time be satisfied that their liberalities are faithfully disposed of in the best manner for that purpose and that others may in future time be encouraged in the exercise of the like liberality for promoting the same pious design it shall be the duty of the President of the said Dartmouth College and of his Successors annually or as often as he shall be thereunto desired or required to transmit to the Right Honorable Honorable and worthy Gentlemen of the Trust in England before-mentioned a faithful account of the improvement and disbursements of the several Sums he shall receive from the Donations and bequests made in England through the hands of said Trustees and also advise them of the general plans laid and prospects exhibited as well as a faithful account of all remarkable occurrences in order if they shall think expedient that they may be published And this to continue so long as they shall perpetuate their Board of Trust and there shall be any of the Indian Natives remaining to be proper Objects of that Charity AND lastly our express will and pleasure is and WE do by these Presents for US our heirs and Successors give and grant unto the said Trustees of Dartmouth College and to their Successors forever that these our Letters Patent or the enrollment thereof in the Secretarys Office of our Province of New Hampshire aforesaid shall be good and effectual in the Law to all intents and purposes against us our heirs and Successors without any other License Grant or Confirmation from us our heirs and successors hereafter by the said Trustees to be had and obtained notwithstanding the not writing or misrecital not naming or misnaming the aforesaid Offices Franchises privileges immunities or other the premises or any of them and notwithstanding a writ of ad quod damnum hath not issued forth to enquire of the premises or any of them before the ensealing hereof any Statute Act Ordinance or provision or any other matter or thing to the contrary notwithstanding TO HAVE AND TO HOLD all and singular the privileges advantages liberties immunities and all other the premises herein and hereby granted and given or which are meant mentioned or intended to be herein and hereby given and granted unto them the said Trustees of Dartmouth College and to their successors forever In TESTIMONY whereof WE have caused these our Letters to be made Patent and the public Seal of our said Province of New Hampshire to be hereunto affixed WITNESS our Trusty and well beloved JOHN WENTWORTH Esquire Governor and Commander in Chief in and over our said Province &c this Thirteenth day of December in the Tenth year of our Reign and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty nine.

(L. S.)

J. WENTWORTH.

By his Excellency's command }
 with the advice of Council. }
 THEODORE ATKINSON, Sec'y.

THE foregoing is an exact transcript of the Charter of Dartmouth College. It will be seen that there is no little deficiency in the punctuation, and no division into sentences and sections ; but in these, as in other, respects, the above copy conforms to the original.

Attest

THO. W. THOMPSON,

*Sec'y pro tem. of the Trustees
of Dartmouth College.*

APPENDIX B.

A LIST OF THE ORIGINAL GRANTEES, WITH THE LOTS FALLING TO THEM IN THE SEVERAL DRAWINGS.

(Italics indicate actual settlers.)

GRANTEES.	No. of Right, Town Lot.	River Lot.	1st Division. 100 A		2d Division. 100 A.		3d Division. 60 A. No.	4th Division. 50 A. No.
			Range.	Lot.	Range.	Lot.		
Elisha Adams . . .	1	45	6	8	3	9	51	21
<i>Jon^a Curtice</i> . . .	2	57	3	13	6	19	1	—
Malachi Conant . .	3	18	4	2	6	2	53	3
Col. Joseph Smith .	4	63	2	4	2	10	28	—
Heman Atwood . .	5	38	1	14	<i>B</i>	14	62	31
Oliver Barker . . .	6	35	6	10	5	2	40	—
<i>W^m Woodward</i> . . .	7	59	1	1	4	15	60	34
David Richardson .	8	17	5	11	3	14	61	19
<i>Deliverance Woodward</i>	9	58	1	4	8	13	16	—
Benning Wentworth .	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
John Downing . . .	11	51	1	10	<i>A</i>	15	48	—
Major Joseph Smith .	12	61	4	11	2	2	47	—
School	13	1	6	5	6	3	22	24
First minister . . .	14	60	3	10	3	17	2	14
<i>Russell Freeman</i> . .	15	3	3	8	3	15	12	—
Nath ^l Hopkins . . .	16	24	4	9	8	18	26	—
Stephen Freeman . .	17	40	1	9	8	14	42	—
John Parker	18	22	5	9	8	12	44	32
George March	19	44	2	13	6	14	3	10
Edmund Freeman . .	20	13	3	3	6	13	7	35
Joseph Storrs, Jr. .	21	39	2	7	6	16	45	17
Major John Wentworth	22	48	2	5	4	1	20	18
Amos Richardson, Jr.	23	46	2	11	9	17	4	—
Sam ^l Herrick	24	26	3	11	6	15	21	16
Sam ^l Storrs, Jr. . . .	25	6	5	5	<i>A</i>	17	59	—
<i>John Wright, Jr.</i> . .	26	66	2	12	7	12	14	12
Joshua Sherwin . . .	27	21	4	5	4	16	39	20
Eleazar Stoddard . .	28	19	4	3	7	19	57	33
Abraham Blackman, Jr.	29	54	1	7	5	1	41	6
Peter Aspenwell, Jr. .	30	56	3	1	7	14	58	1
Eben ^r Dunham, Jr. . .	31	49	1	11	8	19	19	—
Elijah Walcott . . .	32	43	1	8	4	14	17	11
Moses Walcott . . .	33	52	4	4	5	15	55	4
<i>Prince Freeman</i> . . .	34	47	2	3	3	16	35	—
D ^r Matthew Thornton	35	12	6	11	7	13	50	7
<i>Edmund Freeman, 3d</i>	36	14	1	3	7	17	43	—
John Knight	37	55	5	3	<i>A</i>	9	24	28
W ^m Carey	38	65	1	12	<i>A</i>	13	38	—

GRANTEES.	No. of Right, Town Lot.	River Lot.	1st Division. 100 A.		2d Division. 100 A.		3d Division. 60 A. No.	4th Division. 50 A. No.
			Range.	Lot.	Range.	Lot.		
Ebenezer Jones . .	39	20	6	9	6	17	65	2
Nathl Freeman, Jr. .	40	36	3	2	A	11	30	—
Joseph Hatch, Jr. .	41	37	5	8	5	17	15	—
Ozias Strong . . .	42	53	2	6	A	10	33	—
Nathl Freeman . . .	43	62	3	12	5	16	49	—
Phineas Allen . . .	44	28	4	8	7	18	64	—
Silvanus Freeman .	45	4	1	2	7	15	11	27
Prince Aspenwell .	46	2	6	4	2	12	8	30
Olis Freeman . . .	47	32	4	7	A	13	34	—
Danl Allen	48	10	3	6	B	15	13	—
Sampson Sheaf . .	49	15	5	4	5	13	5	—
Nathan Wright . .	50	33	4	6	A	14	36	—
Noah Jones	51	25	4	12	C	15	37	—
Jonathan Freeman .	52	42	3	7	A	16	9	23
John Sherwin . . .	53	27	5	7	2	15	27	8
Stephen Walcott . .	54	50	3	4	1	15	56	—
W ^m Johnson	55	30	2	14	B	16	52	25
Prop. Gospel . . .	56	29	6	12	2	8	46	26
Philip Squire . . .	57	9	3	5	6	18	63	5
Huckins Storrs, Jr. .	58	6	6	6	8	15	23	—
Joseph Storrs . . .	59	34	4	13	8	17	18	—
John House	60	5	5	10	7	16	31	13
Huckins Storrs . .	61	41	5	6	7	10	29	—
John Bissell	62	31	6	7	7	11	32	—
Edmund Freeman, Jr.	63	23	1	5	5	14	66	15
Church Glebe . . .	64	11	5	12	2	9	25	22
Peter Aspenwell . .	65	64	2	1	C	16	54	29
John Walbridge . .	66	8	1	6	B	12	6	9
W ^m Farwell	67	7	1	13	8	16	10	—

APPENDIX C.

A TRUE INVENTORY OF THE RATABLE ESTATE OF THE TOWN OF HAN- OVER FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 1773.

[All taxed at 12s. a head. The dates (no part of the original document) indicate approximately the time of immigration.]¹

Isaac Bridgman (2), 1768.	Nathaniel Lord.
John Bridgman, 1769.	James Murch, 1769.
Stephen Benton, 1767.	David Mason, 1768.
Jonathan Curtice (2), 1766.	Stephen Mason.
Joseph Curtice.	John Ordway, 1767.
David Chandler, 1770.	Moses Parsons.
Tyxhall Cleaveland.	— Parsons.
Benjamin Davis, 1766.	Asa Parker, 1766.
Eleazar Davis.	David Page.
Experience Davis.	Gideon Rudd.
Timothy Durkee, 1770.	Timothy Smith, 1766.
David Eaton, 1771.	Timothy Smith, Jr.
Edmund Freeman, 1765.	John Smith, 1767.
Jonathan Freeman, 1772.	Abijah Smith, 1766.
Elisha Freeman.	Edward Smith, 1769.
Prince Freeman.	Gideon Smith (2), 1766.
Russel Freeman.	William Taylor.
Josiah Goodrich, 1771.	John Tenney, 1770.
Eleazar Goodrich, 1771.	Jeremiah Trescott, 1767.
Asa Hill.	Amos Thompson.
Eleazar Hill.	David Woodward, 1770.
Samuel Haze, 1771.	David Woodward, Jr.
Benjamin Hatch.	Deliverance Woodward (2), 1768.
Barnabas Hascall.	William Woodward, 1767.
John House, 1769.	Nathaniel Woodward, 1.
Jonathan House.	John Wright, 1769.
Nathaniel Kendrick (2).	John Wright, Jr.
Jonas Ketcham.	Ebenezer Wright.
Joseph Ketcham.	Nathaniel Wright, 1770.
Jonathan Lord, 1766.	Isaac Walbridge, 1767.

¹ Gideon Abbee, Zebulon Lee, and Alexander Kinne, who were here between 1767 and 1769, seem to have removed before this date. Benjamin Royce was released from his rates in 1773, and died in 1775. One Zebulon Lee appears soon after in Hartford, Vt.

[In the College district were enumerated :]

Aaron Storrs.	John Payne.
Joshua Hendy.	John Payne, Jr.
Patrick Field.	— Osborne.
Nathan West.	John Woodworth.
Sylvanus Woodworth.	

[Besides the poll Mr. Storrs was taxed £2 3s. for £400 trading stock and a horse; Hendy and Field each 2s. for a cow; and John Payne 14s. 8d. for stock, &c.]

It will be observed that the officers and employees of the College are not enumerated; they were supposed to be exempt from taxation. Ordained ministers, the president, professors, tutors, and students of colleges were — with paupers and idiots — expressly free by law from the poll-tax. Prevailing custom generally exempted also the property of these favored classes. The College officers began to be subjected to taxation upon their estates about 1803, though they enjoyed the exemption from the poll-tax until the Act of Jan. 4th, 1833. Ministers' privileges were taken away by the Act of Dec. 25, 1816.

As settled by the General Assembly for the purposes of apportionment of taxes, in May, 1773, Hanover had 77 ratable polls, and 76 ratable estates, and was in valuation the fourth town in the county (N. H. State Papers, vii. 328).

On Nov. 30th, 1773, the selectmen (John Ordway, John Wright, and Jonathan Freeman) returned the following list to the Governor : —

Unmarried men from 16 to 60	58
Married men from 16 to 60	49
Boys 16 years and under	86
Men 60 years and upward	7
Females married	54
Females unmarried	80
Male slaves	4
Female slaves	4
Total	342
Students at College	90

APPENDIX D.

THE
PEOPLE
THE
BEST GOVERNORS:
OR A
PLAN OF GOVERNMENT
FOUNDED ON THE JUST PRINCIPLES OF
NATURAL FREEDOM

PRINTED in M, DCC, LXXVI.

THE PREFACE.

It was observed by Sir William Temple, that none can be said to know things well, who do not know them in the beginnings. There are many very noisy about liberty, but are aiming at nothing more than personal grandeur and power. Are not many, under the delusive character of Guardians of their country, collecting influence and honour only for oppression? Behold Caesar! at first a patriot, a consul, and commander of the Roman Army. How apparently noble his intentions, and how specious his conduct! But unbounded in his ambition, by these means he became, at length, a perpetual dictator, and an unlimited commander.

God gave mankind freedom by nature, made every man equal to his neighbor, and has virtually enjoined them to govern themselves by their own laws. The government which he introduced among his people the Jews abundantly proves it, and they might have continued in that state of liberty had they not desired a king. The people best know their own wants and necessities, and therefore are best able to rule themselves. Tent-makers, cobblers, and common tradesmen composed the legislature at Athens. "Is not the body (said Socrates) of the Athenian people

composed of men like these?" That I might help in some measure to eradicate the notion of arbitrary power, heretofore drank in, and to establish the liberties of the people of this country upon a more generous footing, is the design of the following impartial work, now dedicated by the Author to the honest farmer and citizen.

THE
PEOPLE *the best* GOVERNORS, &c.

THE just power of a free people respects first the making and secondly the executing of laws. The liberties of a people are chiefly, I may say entirely guarded by having the controul of these two branches in their own hands.

MANY have been the disputes as to the best way of civil government. The Athenians boasted of their popular assemblies; the Aetolians of their representatives, whom they termed the Panaetolium; and as for the Romans, they had a more complicated plan: viz., their consuls, the senate, and plebeians.

I AM not to examine into the advantages of a popular, or a representative government—in this case we are to consult the situation and number of the inhabitants. Were the people of the different counties numerous and wealthy enough, with that degree of knowledge which is common in many parts of the continent, every freeman might then have a hand in making laws to govern himself by, as well as in appointing the person to execute them; but the people of these States are very unequally and thinly settled, which puts us upon seeking some mode of governing by a representative body. The freemen give up in this way just so much of their natural right as they find absolutely convenient, on account of the disadvantages in their personal acting. The question now arises, how far they can with safety deposit this power of theirs into other hands? To this I answer: that where there are representatives who hold the legislature, their power ought never to extend any further than barely the making of laws. For what matters it, whether they themselves execute the laws, or appoint persons to do it in their stead, since these very persons, being only creatures of their own appointment, will be induced by interest to act agreeable to their will and pleasure. Indeed upon this plan the greatest corruption may take place,—for should there be in some important affairs very unjust decisions, where could the injury gain redress? Iniquity might be supported by the executioners [5] of it; they out of the reach of the people, from whom they do not derive their authority; and the legislative body, as they are not the immediate perpetrators, may be often skreened from just reproach.

PERHAPS it will be said by some that the people are sufficiently guarded against infringements of this nature, as their representatives are chosen only for a certain time, may be called to an account for any misconduct in their business, and withal are liable to be turned out by their constituents at any time. There is indeed something plausible in all this ; but it will vanish when we consider that these representatives, while they act as such, being supreme in legislation, and [in] the appointing and supporting the executors of law, may by these advantages assume to themselves a lasting, unlimited power. And I beg of any one to tell me what will prevent it, if they have only art, and are generally agreed among themselves.

BUT it seems there is another objection started by some : That the common people are not under so good advantages to choose judges, sheriffs, and other executive officers as their representatives are. This is a mere delusion, which many have taken in, and, if I may be allowed a vulgar expression, the objectors in this instance put the cart before the horse. For they say that the people have wisdom and knowledge enough to appoint proper persons through a State to make laws, but not to execute them. It is much easier to execute, than to make and regulate the system of laws, and upon this single consideration the force of the objection fails : The more simple, and the more immediately dependent (*exteris [ceteris] paribus*), the authority is upon the people the better, because it must be granted that they themselves are the best guardians of their own liberties.

2^d UPON the above principles we will proceed farther, and say that if there be a distinct negative power over those that enact the laws, it can by no means derive [it] from them as representatives of the people, and for these reasons : As far as there is any power over the rights of the people, so far they themselves are divested of it. Now, by chusing representatives to make laws for them, they put that power out of their own hands ; yet they do not deposit it into the hands of their representatives to give to others, but to exercise it in their room and stead. — Therefore, I say, for the representatives to appoint a council with a negative authority, is to give away [6] that power, which they have no right to do, because they themselves derived it from the people.

Again, there is a palpable contradiction implied ; for this negative power, if it cannot be called legislative, has at least such weight in the legislature as to be the unlimited *sine qua non* (a restraining power). Those therefore who act as a council or negative body make use of a power in the room of the people, and consequently represent them so far as their power extends. In fine, to say that the legislative body can appoint them is as absurd as to say that the representatives have a right to appoint the representatives of the people.

3^d IT appears now that the representatives have no right to enlarge

their power which they have received, nor to alter or put any incumbrance upon it, by making a negative body. The common people, and consequently their representatives, may not happen to be so learned and knowing as some others in a State; and as the latter are bound to their constituents to act by the best light they can get, they may, if they please, chuse a council, barely to give advice, and to prepare matters for their consideration; but not to negative, which is a contradiction in terms. Agreeable to this observation was the government at Athens; the council consisted of 400 persons, and, in a legislative capacity, could devise, and prepare matters for the consideration of the people.

BUT it will be enquired whether the inhabitants themselves, through a State, cannot consistently make a negating body over those that form the laws? To this I answer that there is no real absurdity in their taking such a step: But upon this plan those that are called representatives have only a partial right as such; for they have a delegated power from the people to act no farther than this negative body concurs. Now this said negative body are likewise virtually the representatives of the people, and derive just so much authority from them as will make up the defect of the others, viz., that of confirming. They have been generally named a council in our American States, though they have really acted in a legislative capacity, and seem rather to answer the idea of a *senate*, which was hereditary at Rome, but here elective.

[7] WHERE there is such a body of men appointed, it is best that these should be but few in number, and chosen by the people at large through the government. At least that there should not be districts marked out and the plan fixed, that the inhabitants in the respective counties may choose just so many, only in proportion to their present number, without any regard to the future increase of the people—rather let the same principles of an equal partition of land settling, and settled, take place in this matter, as we shall point out under the next head, when we speak of representation.

To conclude, I do not say that it is expedient to choose a Senate, if I may so call it, with such a negative power as before mentioned; but rather propose, whether a council of advice would not answer better purposes, and that inequality be thereby prevented, which is sometimes occasioned by two distinct fountains of power.

4th WE will next lay open the nature and right of jurisdiction more clearly in examining the best standard by which representation may be regulated. In the first place, it is asserted by some that representation ought to be enlarged or diminished in proportion to the amount of taxes in the different parts of a State; but such a procedure would be very unreasonable. For taxation only respects property, without regard to the liberties of a person; and if representation should be wholly limited by

that, the man who owns six times as much as another would consequently have six times the power, though their natural right to freedom is the same. Nature itself abhors such a system of civil government, for it will make an inequality among the people and set up a number of lords over the rest. In the next place, it is said that representation should be determined entirely according to the number of inhabitants. But to have a State represented adequately upon this plan would puzzle the brain of a philosopher. Indeed, to effect it some townships must be cut to pieces, others tacked together, — and at best many parts would remain defective. And if we look into this matter critically, we shall find it still more egregious. It is an old observation that *political bodies should be immortal*. A government is not founded for a day or a year, and for that very reason should be erected upon some invariable principles. Grant, for a moment, that the number of people is the only measure of representation; as often then as the former increases or diminishes, the latter must, of consequence; as often as the inhabitants in a State vary their situation the weight [8] of legislation changes; and accordingly the balance of power is subject to continual and frequently unforeseen alterations. Turn which way we will upon this plan, we shall find unsurmountable difficulties; so that those who have adopted this measure are either too short-sighted to see the future interests of society, or so secret and designing as to take the advantage of such undeterminate principles. The question now comes in, how shall we find an *invariable* free mode of representation? This I own is a delicate point; yet if we enter into the matter, doubt not but that we shall fix upon something useful.

Every government is necessarily confined to some extent of territory. It may happen by some peculiar circumstances that some parts of the land in a State may be at first much more peopled than others. Yet in time (excepting the metropolis and some places of trade) they become generally alike settled. We find that this was the case in the old republics of Greece, as likewise at present in Switzerland; indeed, it is commonly so through the civilized kingdoms of Europe and Asia. The reasons for this are handy. The God of nature has formed the different situations of land through a government mostly with equal advantages. Some parts are proper for agriculture, others for trade and commerce; some produce one sort of commodity, and some another. By this means it is that people have intercourse together, and are at length equally diffused within the limits of a State. We will now come nearer to the point before us. It has been said that a government should be formed, if possible, upon so solid a foundation as to be liable to no alterations on account of its internal defects. A well-regulated representation is the only security of our liberties. We have seen that it cannot depend upon taxation, nor the number of inhabitants solely, without being subject to

changes and innovations ; and to have it depend on both taken together, will render it intirely capricious. Land is the most solid estate that can be taxed, and is the only permanent thing. Let that therefore be divided into equal convenient parts in a State, as is the case with our townships, and let the inhabitants possessing the said parts or townships be severally and distinctly represented. By this means the plan of the legislature will be fixed, and an earnest of it handed down to posterity, for whom politicians were rather made, than for those who live in their time.

[9] But it may be objected by some that live in a government where towns are very unequally settled that there is no right or justice in the inhabitants having the same advantage as to representation, since those that live in the larger towns must not only support their own but also help to support the representatives of the smaller ones. The objection is trifling. Every government is an entire body politic, and therefore each particular member in the legislature does not represent any distinct part, but the whole of the said body. Blackstone's words are these : "For it is to be observed that though every member is chosen by a particular county or borough, yet, as is justly observed by Lord Cooke and others, when in parliament he serves for the whole nation." The consequence is, that if every incorporate town, small as well as large, has a right to chuse a representative, he does when chosen represent the whole government ; and therefore ought to be paid by it. Besides, the inhabitants of the smaller towns do upon this plan pay their proportion for representation, and a small sum may be as much for a poor man as a large sum for a rich man, agreeable to what the Scripture observes of the widow that cast her mite into the treasury. Again, shall we sacrifice a free constitution barely to avoid the trifling expense of a free government? But is there not enough said yet to satisfy the objectors? Then let every town support its own representative, but in consideration of that, place the seat of government in the centre of the State. This inequality will last but for a few years ; the smaller towns are growing. Nor does it become patriots to study their own ease, at the expense of embroiling their children.

WHAT has been proposed I cannot but think to be the only sure foundation to form a legislature upon, — all others are wavering and uncertain.

5^{thly} THE question now that closes the whole arises, what it is that ought to be the qualification of a representative. In answer, we observe that fear is the principle of a despotic, honour of a kingly, and virtue is the principle of a republican government. Social virtue and knowledge, I say then, is the best and only necessary qualification of the person before us. But it will be said that an estate of two hundred, four hundred pounds, or some other sum, is essential. So sure as we make interest necessary in this case, as sure we root out virtue ; and what will then

become [10] of the genuine principle of freedom? This notion of an estate has the directest tendency to set up the avaricious over the heads of the poor, though the latter are ever so virtuous. Let it not be said in future generations that money was made by the founders of the American States an essential qualification in the rulers of a free people. It never was known among the Antients; and we find many of their best leaders in very needy circumstances. Witness the Athenians Cimon and Aristides; the Romans Numa, Cato, and Regulus. Thus I have gone through what I had to say on some interesting points of government; and it is proposed with more cheerfulness, as many of the sentiments oppose the present regulations of most of our States.

Now is the time for the people to be critical in establishing a plan of government. For they are now planting a seed which will arise with boughs, either extended to shelter the liberty of succeeding ages, or only to skreen the designs of crafty usurpers.

THAT this short treatise may not be left imperfect, I will only propose for the consideration of the people a concise plan, founded on the principles that have been laid down.

It is observed then, in the first place, that the freemen of each incorporated town through a State shall chuse by ballot, at an annual meeting, one person respectively, whom they shall think suitable to represent them in a general assembly.

2^{dly} THAT, if the metropolis, and some particular large places, may require an additional number of representatives, it may be granted them by the general assembly as the latter shall think proper.

3^{dly} THAT the general assembly should meet at certain times twice every year, and that if the State is extensive, there may be two seats of government, in which case the said assembly are to convene at them, once in their turns.

4^{thly} THAT the people chuse annually by ballot in their town meetings a council consisting of twelve persons, through the government at large, whose business shall be to help in preparing matters for the consideration of the assembly, to assist them with their advice; And lastly it shall be their duty to inquire into every essential [11] defect in the regulations of government, and to give the people seasonable notice in a public way, with their opinion respecting the matter.

5^{thly} THAT they likewise chuse annually a first executive officer, without any concern in the legislature; but it shall be his duty to transact such occasional business as the assembly may devolve upon him; And that he be the general commander of the militia, and in these capacities the people, if they please, may stile him a governor — and in case of his incapacity a lieutenant, &c., may be appointed as before, to act occasionally in his stead.

6^{thly} THE said governor, with advice of any three of his council, may at any time call a special assembly on extraordinary business.

7^{thly} THAT the freemen vote annually, in their town meetings respectively, for the judges of the superior court, at large through the government.

8^{thly} THAT the judges of the inferior court, attorneys general, probate judges, registers, &c., be chosen, in manner before mentioned, by the inhabitants of each respective county : And that the justices of the peace be also chosen by the people of each respective town in proportion to the representatives.

9^{thly} THAT there be one general proxy day agreed upon for the people through the government to vote for the officers as aforesaid, and that the representatives likewise fix upon one day of election, to be annual, at which time the votes are to be brought in from the different towns and examined ; and the persons for governors, a council, judges, registers, sheriffs, &c., are to be then published through the State.

10^{thly} THAT all the resolves of every assembly be conveyed from time to time by the representatives to each respective town, and there enrolled for the inhabitants to see, in order to instruct their said representatives.

11^{thly} THAT no person shall hold too [two] public offices in a State at the same time.

12^{thly} THAT no person shall be capable of holding any public office except he possesses a belief of one only invisible God, that governs all things ; and that the bible is his revealed word ; and that he be also an honest, moral man.

13^{thly} THAT any freeman through the government may freely enter a complaint of defect or misdemeanor to the general assembly against any of the executive State [12] officers, and if the assembly think there is just grounds for the said complaint, they may suspend the person so complained of in his office, appoint another for the present in his stead — but be obliged to publish in the superior or county courts, according as the person sustained his said office, their proceeding in that matter, with all their reasons for them ; that the people if they please may drop the said person or persons, in their next annual election.

14^{thly} THAT the assembly may have power to negative any of their members a seat ; but, should they do it, be obliged to inform the town or towns that sent him or them so negatived, with their reasons for such procedure, that the inhabitants may have an opportunity to chuse another or others as soon as conveniently may be, which second choice it shall not be in the power of the said assembly to negative.

15^{thly} THAT the particular town officers be chosen yearly by the inhabitants, as usual ; and that each town clerk be the recorder of deeds.

16^{thly} THAT any orderly free male of ordinary capacity, and more than 21 years of age, having resided one year in a town, may be a legal voter during his continuance ; but if he should be absent afterwards steadily more than a year, that he should be divested then of the privilege of voting in said town as if he never had resided there ; PROVIDED he has not a real estate in the aforesaid town of at least one hundred pounds lawful money.

17^{thly} THAT any legal voter shall be capable of holding any office, unless something that has been said to the contrary.

It is a darling principle of freedom that those who make laws ought not to execute them ; but notwithstanding should it be enquired whether there may be a proper course of appeals in some important matters from the superior court to the general assembly, I would answer affirmatively. The cases between man & man together with their circumstances are so infinite in number that it is impossible for them all to be specified by the letter of the law. The judges therefore, in many cases, are obliged not to adhere to the letter, but to put such a construction on matters as they think most agreeable to the spirit and reason of the law. Now so far as they are reduced to this necessity, they assume what is in fact the prerogative of the [13] legislature, for those that made the laws ought to give them a meaning when they are doubtful. To make then the application : It may happen that some very important cases may be attended with such circumstances as are exceptions from the written law, agreeable to the old maxim, *summum jus, summa injuria* [*injuria*], *extreme right is extreme wrong* ; or they may come under doubtful constructions. In either of these instances the person that is cast by the verdict makes his appeal from the court to the general assembly ; that they would virtually in deciding his case, make a regulation, or rather in a legislative capacity put a lasting construction on the written law, respecting affairs of that particular nature. Thus, by examining the principles of such appeals, we find they imply not that the legislative act in an executive capacity.

LASTLY, let every government have an equal weight in the general congress, and let the representatives of the respectative states be chosen by the people annually by ballot in their stated town meetings ; the votes to be carried in and published at the appointed election as with respect to a governor, council, &c., in manner aforesaid ; and the assemblies of the respectative states may have power to instruct the said representatives from time to time as they shall think proper.

It appears that the forms of government that have hitherto been proposed since the breach with Great Britain, by the friends of the American States, have been rather too arbitrary. The people are now contending for freedom ; and would to God they might not only obtain, but likewise keep it in their own hands. I own myself a friend to a popular govern-

ment ; have freely submitted my reasons upon it. And although the plan here proposed might not ever [have] been adopted as yet, nevertheless those as free have alone secured the liberties of former ages, and a just notion of them has guarded the people against the sly insinuations and proposals of those of a more arbitrary turn, whose schemes have a tendency to deprive mankind of their natural rights.

THE END.

APPENDIX E.

CHARTER OF THE TOWN OF WHEELLOCK.

(L. S.) THE GOVERNOR, COUNCIL, AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE
FREEMEN OF THE STATE OF VERMONT:

To all people to whom these presents shall come, GREETING.

KNOW y^e that whereas Dartmouth College and Moor's Charity School, being situated on the east bank of Connecticut River, have been and still are of important service in diffusing useful literature among mankind, and through this State in particular; and whereas the honorable John Wheelock, Esquire, our well beloved friend, for and in behalf of the honorable Trustees of said College, and in behalf of said School, has applied by petition for a grant of a tract of unappropriated lands, within this State, for himself as President of said College and School, and his successors in office, and for the Trustees of said College, and their successors, We have therefore thought fit, for the due encouragement and for promoting the useful and laudable designs of said College and School, and for many weighty considerations us thereunto moving, We do by these presents, in the name and by the authority of the Freemen of the State of Vermont, give and grant the tract of land hereafter described and bounded unto him the said John Wheelock, as President of said School, and to the Trustees of said College; viz.: "Beginning at the southwest corner of the township of Lyndon," etc., etc.

And that the same be and hereby is incorporated into a township or precinct by the name of WHEELLOCK, and the inhabitants that do or shall hereafter inhabit said town or precinct are declared to be enfranchised and entitled to all the privileges and immunities that the inhabitants of other settled towns within this State do by law and the constitution thereof exercise and enjoy.

The said Wheelock as President, and for his successors in office, to have and to hold the one moiety of said premises as above described solely and exclusively for the use and benefit of said School forever; And the said Trustees, and their successors in office, to have and to hold the other moiety solely and exclusively for the use and benefit of said

Dartmouth College forever. All the appurtenances and privileges thereunto belonging and appertaining are hereby also granted to the President and Trustees for the purposes aforesaid, on the following conditions and reservations ; viz. : that one hundred and fifty acres of land be reserved for the use, benefit, and support of the ministry of the Gospel in said township or precinct forever ; one hundred and fifty acres of land for the use and support of an English school, or schools, in said township or precinct forever, to be located as near the centre of said township or precinct (on good tenable lands), as the situation thereof will admit.

And whereas the said grant of land is for a public and important use, it is hereby declared that the lands and tenements in every part of said township or precinct shall forever be *free and exempt* from public taxes ; that is to say, so long and while the incomes and profits shall be actually applied (by the said President and Trustees, and their successors) to the purposes of said College and School as above expressed.

In testimony whereof we have caused the Seal of this State to be affixed this 14th day of June, 1785, and in the 9th year of the independence of this State.

THO^S. CHITTENDEN.

By his Excellency's command,

JOSEPH FAY, Sec^y.

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